Educating the whole person?
The case of Athens College, 1940-1990

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Abstract

This thesis is a historical study of the growth and development of Athens College, a primary/secondary educational institution in Greece, during the period 1940-1990. Athens College, a private, non-profit institution, was founded in 1925 as a boys' school aiming to offer education for the whole person. The research explores critically the ways in which historical, political, socio-economic and cultural factors affected the evolution of Athens College during the period 1940-1990 and its impact on students' further studies and careers.

This case study seeks to unfold aspects of education in a Greek school, and reach a better understanding of education and factors that affect it and interact with it. A mixed methods approach is used: document analysis, interviews with Athens College alumni and former teachers, analysis of student records providing data related to students' achievements, their family socio-economic 'origins' and their post-Athens College 'destinations'. The study focuses in particular on the learners at the School, and the kinds of learning that took place within this institution over half a century.

Athens College, although under the control of a centralised educational system, has resisted the weaknesses of Greek schooling. Seeking to establish educational ideals associated with education of the whole person, excellence, meritocracy and equality of opportunity and embracing progressive curricula and pedagogies, it has been successful in taking its students towards university studies and careers. Alumni's records and their memories of community life at Athens College revealed their learning experiences and their points of view on the impact Athens College had on their lives. The achievements of Athens College students have shown that school does matter and can - to a certain extent - counterbalance social inequalities.

Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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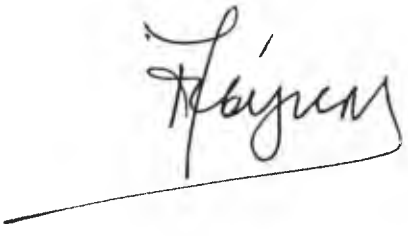

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Abbreviations

ACAAA: Athens College Alumni Association of America

AID: Agency for International Development

BoD: Board of Directors

EAM: National Liberation Front

EON: National Youth Organisation

EPON: Youth branch of EAM

ERE: National Radical Union Party

GPA: Grade Point Average

HAEF: Hellenic-American Educational Foundation

MoERA: Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs

OIELE: Greek Federation of Private Schools Teachers

OLME: Greek Federation of Secondary Education State School Teachers

SAKA: Athens College Alumni Association

School: with a capital 'S' indicates Athens College, while school with a small 's' means schools in general.

SELKA: Athens College Teachers' Association

TEI: Technological Professional Institute

Education Doctorate Supportive Statement

When I enrolled in the EdD Programme at the Institute of Education, University of London in October 2004, I was seeking renewal in my work. Having been in secondary education for twenty-three years and having acquired a lot of experience, I felt that I had to offer myself an opportunity for new learning and professional development. I also wished to communicate with colleagues working in similar positions in different settings. This statement reflects my eight-year experience of the Education Doctorate (EdD) and the impact it had on my learning and professional practice.

My learning and professional background

Before presenting my learning experience through the EdD, I will describe my learning trajectory before pursuing the EdD programme. I had wanted to become a teacher since I was a small child. Probably because my father was a deeply respected secondary school teacher in a provincial Greek town or because I greatly admired 'Miss Gogoula', my first grade teacher, teaching shaped my early years.

After studying at the Philosophical School of the University of Athens (BA in Classics, BA in English Language and Literature), I started teaching in private secondary schools. After five years of teaching, I attended the School of Further Education for Teaching Staff, run by the Pedagogical Institute of Athens, a counselling body to the MoERA. I continued teaching and simultaneously I acquired an MA in Curriculum and Teaching, at Michigan State University. My appointment in 1982 at Athens College was a critical point in my career, as I found myself in an environment where tradition and innovation were intertwined, and where life-long learning was valued and encouraged. I have been a member of the Senior Management team of Athens College since 1992.

The taught elements of the EdD

In 2004, having substantial experience of teaching, I decided to put into effect my desire to further my knowledge by pursuing the EdD Programme at the Institute of Education. The structure and the flexibility of the programme made it possible to combine a very demanding position in Athens College with the demands of the rigorous programme that the EdD is. My enrolment in the programme was another critical incident in my professional life.

Participating in the taught elements was a rewarding experience and counterbalanced flying from Athens and dedicating all my weekends and vacations to studying and writing. With English being a second language for me, I had to study harder, and prepare the reading material in advance in order to follow discussions. This made me think of how students with disadvantages feel in our classes and how they manage to cope with their difficulties. Teaching and learning are like the two sides of a sheet of paper.

The four assignments were closely related to one another. The first module, Foundations of Professionalism, greatly appealed to me. Its structure was stimulating and the content was most interesting, covering as it does all possible aspects of teachers' professionalism. For my assignment I explored ***'The impact of the 1997-1998 education reform in Greece on secondary education teachers' professionalism and professionality'***. There is a complex relationship between educational policy and educational practices connected to teachers' professionalism and professionality, which in the transformation period we go through needs considering as a new form of professionalisation from the perspectives of both policy makers and the teachers' community.

In Methods of Enquiry 1 and 2, I started shaping in my mind the focus of my EdD thesis and oriented myself towards the field of the history of education. The history of Athens College, a private non-profit institution, had intrigued me since I was first appointed there. The School's distinguished reputation and increasing demand on the part of the parents stimulated my thought especially on issues of school effectiveness (Silver, 1994) and of the impact school can have on students' lives and careers. Brian Simon's (1985) question 'Does education matter?' guided me towards researching the origins of Athens College, its educational ideal, and its values underpinning educational policies and practices. The titles of the assignments were: ***'Curricula, extracurricular activities and pedagogical practices in Athens College, from its founding in 1925 to 1936'*** and ***'Memories and opinions of former students of Athens College in the period 1925-36'***. I was especially interested to see how alumni's points of view compared to the School's self-image as it emerges from official texts and documents. In these modules, I learned a lot about research methodologies and how to support my personal theoretical position.

For the Initial Specialist Course I selected Leadership and Learning in Educational Organisations. Being a headteacher myself I wanted to learn more in order to be able to affect teachers' professional development and all students' learning more effectively in my School. The topic of the assignment was: '***An Exercise in Leadership for Learning: Towards a Networked Learning Community in Two Greek Schools'.*** The four modules related closely to my professional practice in that the way teachers live, feel and develop in their school career affects students' learning. Educational research is crucial when looking to improvement because it enables one to make decisions based on data.

The IFS and the Thesis

Going through the four modules and the workshops on advanced research methods, I decided that the topic of the IFS and the thesis would be the history of Athens College. This would be not simply a chronological sequence of events in the School's trajectory through time, but a critical approach focusing on themes that constitute important elements of its special character. In the IFS ***('A Study of Athens College, 1925 to 1940. Institutional Growth and Development')***, I investigated the founding of Athens College (1925-1940) and the development of its main characteristics as compared to characteristics of 'good' schools; in the thesis (***'Educating the whole person? The case of Athens College, 1940-1990'***), I traced the growth of the School (1940-1990) in relation to historical, socio-economic and cultural factors of the Greek and international environment, students' remembrances of their learning and community life in Athens College as well as the impact they think Athens College had on their lives and careers.

Tracing the history of Athens College I had the opportunity to reflect on issues related to public and private education. In Greece, schooling became compulsory in 1834 but it was not until 1976 that state education gave free access to education for all children and the leaving age was defined as 15. There is no doubt that in the modern world education is a public commodity and that the Welfare State is obliged to offer quality education for all children. Nevertheless, the situation of state education encourages many parents that can pay the fees to select private schools for their children. Private education also satisfies the needs of parents with special cultural interests and complements state education. In Greece, private schools are under the control of the state and this is up to a point understood, as private schools are private enterprises. But state control should not suffocate private initiatives and efforts towards alternative types of education on the

basis that this is quality education. In the name of social equality, state control should not make all schools equal following the bottom line, but raise quality of education in all schools. Good schools, no matter whether they are state or private, should be exemplars for the others.

Writing the history of the school in which I work was a challenging experience as I realised that I ran the risk of being suspected of bias in spite of my efforts to be objective. I think this is a limitation for every insider researcher. It is probably a limitation of the genre. I decided to do my best to lessen the limitations and increase the credibility of my findings by triangulating data from different sources. Listening to the students' voices and writing the School's history 'from below' made me realise in a hands-on way that history is a social construct and depends on the point of view you are writing from. There is no one history, but many interpretations of historical events. Oral history presents events of the past as seen by people who lived through them. In the interviews I conducted, Athens College alumni revealed their thoughts and aspirations about, and aspects of school life as they witnessed and understood it. Finally the case of Athens College helps in the understanding of how things happened and why they happened the way they did not only in the specific school but in education in Greece in general. If many such accounts are studied, they may give the whole picture more clearly and more understandably.

Initially I intended to avoid collecting and analysing numerical data. I found it unavoidable, though, as I was curious to find out the relationship between alumni's origins and their achievements in School, further studies and career destinations. The research questions led me to collect and analyse data from official documents, students' records and interviews, which therefore led to mixed methods research integrating quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to address them better.

Impact on my professional practice

In my professional practice I was affected by having proceeded through the EdD Programme. I can now be critical about the literature. An academic paper is not valid purely because it is an academic paper printed in a journal. I believe that research is necessary in schools so that decisions can be made based on data, not just impressions. As Headteacher, I am now enabled to communicate my values to my colleagues and as an educator I am more confident of my own point of view now and I can state it. I

believe that there are a number of good teachers at my School who, especially at staff meetings, do not dare to have a voice. Having been impressed by the opinion of alumni of Athens College about what was the strongest element of the School, where the majority said that it was the knowledgeable and caring teachers they had, I focused on teachers' CPD. By developing teachers, you develop schools, and this made me organize more systematically the CPD events and programmes offered to different groups of staff according to their needs. From the outset of the EdD I wanted to share what I was learning with my colleagues. I made all necessary arrangements and as a result, in cooperation with the Institute of Education, we have offered an MA in Educational Leadership at Athens College starting in 2008. Already nine teachers have finished the MA, and another 22 are on their way.

Studying the history of Athens College, I realised that big changes happened through the years. Still, the past is strong and apparent in the School's present, which made me think that there is something that enhances this continuity, with tradition and innovation advancing together. I believe it is the values that the School had and still has that made it so resistant and regenerating. Might this be the solution to Greece's current crisis? A crisis that is not only financial but mainly a crisis of values.

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I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Gary McCulloch for his thought-provoking guidance, encouragement and support and my previous supervisor, Dr David Crook. Both of them made me believe in myself and the value of my work and encouraged me to continue when I felt uncertain. I also wish to thank Cathy McSweeney for her consistent administrative support and Andrew Welshman for his extraordinary patience.

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1. Introduction

This thesis investigates the growth and development of Athens College, Greece, in the years 1940 to 1990. Athens College was founded in 1925 by the Hellenic-American Educational Foundation as a private, non-profit educational institution offering holistic education to promising male Greek students. The motto *'ΑΝΔΡΑΣ' ΤΡΕΦΟΝ'* (*'andras trefon'* meaning 'nurturing men') on Athens College's coat of arms (invented in the 1930s) states that the school's goal is to educate the person as a whole and to mould students' moral character rather than merely to transfer knowledge (Christoyannopoulos, 1962, p. 3).

Today, Athens College has 2,000 students. In 1980, the HAEF founded a second school, Psychico College, initially as a primary school, which was completed in 2000 with a junior and a senior high school. In total, Athens College and Psychico College have 4,000 students in two campuses, which also serve as centres of HAEF afternoon and evening programmes for young learners (from Athens College, Psychico College and other schools), and adults.

The 87 years of Athens College's history can be divided in three phases: from the School's founding in 1925 to the Second World War, during which Athens College established its special educational characteristics; from 1940 through 1990, when - after survival and reconstruction - it grew and developed to an educational institution with a strong reputation within the Greek educational and social environment; and then from 1990 up to the present day.

This study will focus on the second phase of Athens College's history for the following reasons: in an earlier report (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009) I investigated the origins of Athens College, and examined aspects of the School's philosophy, values and policies, its innovative curricula, teaching practices, and extracurricular activities from its founding in 1925 to 1940. WWII brought the School to a point at which its very survival was in question; thus, WWII is a milestone in Athens College's history and a suitable starting point for this second phase of research. This thesis seizes the

opportunity to build on the previous work, extending the chronological study of Athens College to review its development from 1940 to 1990. In these 50 years Athens College grew in numbers and reputation and stabilised its special character. In the 1990s major changes occurred, giving the School its current structure; this makes 1990 a good point to close this intermediate period in the history of Athens College. I think that the third phase constitutes a distinct period of the School's history, comprising pivotal changes that need special attention and more length than this study allows.

There is a second reason to confine the research to the period leading up to 1990. Having worked as an educator in Athens College for 30 years, and holding senior administrative positions since 1992, it is clear that possibilities offered by insider research might be neutralised by certain pitfalls associated with being personally involved with policy and procedural changes over the past 20 years (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2006, p. 47; Sikes and Potts, 2008, p. 7).

In this thesis, as in my earlier study, I was careful not to unfairly impose contemporary value judgements on the past. Over the past half century several historians - most notably David Lowenthal (Lowenthal, 1985, p. xvi) - have referenced the opening words of L.P. Hartley's 1953 novel, *The Go Between*: 'The past is a different country: they do things differently there'. This was the first lesson to learn when it came to undertaking historical research.

1.2. The research questions

The thesis investigates three key research questions as follows:

1. In what ways did historical, political, socio-economic and cultural factors affect the growth and development of Athens College during the period 1940-1990?
2. What was the experience of students at Athens College in academic and social terms, and what impact did Athens College have on students' further studies and careers?
3. To what extent did Athens College provide a model for modern schooling in Greece?

Beyond these questions, there is a set of more specific themes to be explored, including: Athens College's educational ideals, pedagogies and curricula, including moral

education and citizenship training; administrative issues; scholarships and student mobility; autonomy compared with regulation, including legislation and relationships with the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (MoERA) and, more broadly, the Greek state.

In placing Athens College in its broader historical, political, social and educational context, I sought to unfold aspects of schooling in depth and to critically point out the School's successes and shortcomings. In pursuing these approaches, I was influenced by Labaree's methodological approach to placing the evolution of an American school in its historical and socio-political context (Labaree, 1988, p. 2). A thematic approach to data-gathering facilitated the identification of chapter headings. The presentation of material establishes essential political, socio-economic and other contexts and chronologies.

1.3. The rationale

Athens College was founded in 1925, three years after the 'Asia Minor catastrophe' (Clogg, 1993, p. 100) which had caused the influx of 1,100,000 refugees from Smyrna and other parts of Turkey to Greece in search of a new life. Describing the guiding ideas for the founding of Athens College, Stephanos Delta invoked the words of a French Minister saying:

> The students of our Lyceums and Colleges are not specialising for some high University office...They are young people who submit themselves to various disciplines in order to enjoy, together with some general knowledge of the world in which they are destined to live, those capacities of mind and character which will make them act as honest and useful men. Secondary education does not aim to produce wise men, but to educate the person, the citizen (Delta, 1932b, p. 8).

Stephanos Delta describes here the future Athens College alumnus who will have received an education of the whole person. Furthermore, at a 1929 ceremony to mark the move of the School from a rented house to a purpose-built school building, Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos stated:

> I direct my speech to our students, who have the good fortune to be educated at this fine institution. I wish to tell them how they should truly be happy, for their education is being carried out under the best possible conditions. At this educational institution, which is a collaboration of the

> Ancient Greek spirit and today's ideals of the great North American Democracy, at this College, students will receive an education of spirit and soul, they will hone their will and strengthen their body so that they are able to, one day, upon graduating from the College, be of service not only to them, but also to our country, of which one day they will be among its leaders (Eleftheron Vima, 1929b, p. 7).

These two quotations were a motivation for me to identify the educational ideal of Athens College and the degree to which it was realised. Both Delta and Venizelos expressed their aspirations that Athens College would become a beacon and model for Greek schools. Delta's vision was to educate the person, the citizen. Venizelos's expectations were that Athens College would educate and nurture boys who after completion of their studies would be of service not only to themselves and their families, but also of benefit to the public good, to their country, among whose leaders they would be one day. Was education for leadership, the educational ideal of the English public schools (McCulloch, 1991, p. 10), in Venizelos's mind?

Education for leadership does not come up in texts or speeches produced by Athens College, while the terms 'meritocracy', and 'excellence' are used to state the School's philosophy. Athens College being a private yet non-profit institution, was meant to enrol students coming mainly from middle class families, but also from rich families and from poor families - students with the potential to develop into good and useful citizens. In this endeavour the School's founders envisioned an educational institution that embodied both the Greek historical and cultural tradition as well as the practical, meritocratic spirit of the United States of America in order to fulfil the nation's twentieth-century needs and aspirations for creative and progressive schooling (Delta, 2004, p. 9). This 50-year study seeks to explore Athens College's growth and development in the period 1940-1990 and aims to assess the extent to which Athens College educated students as whole persons and equipped them with the knowledge and the motivation to excel in their endeavours, no matter what their social origins were.

1.4. Research opportunities and constraints

Care has been taken, in considering the research design, to maximise the benefits open to insider researchers, while controlling for, if not altogether eliminating, the possibility of bias. I have already had certain benefits as an insider researcher. My request for privileged and unrestricted access to institutional archives was granted by the Board of

Directors; having an insider's knowledge of institutional record management was an asset that hastened the process of identifying and inviting Athens College alumni and former teachers to participate in the research as interviewees and/or to contribute memorabilia or materials that might advance the research; most of the documentary material used in this study is kept in Athens College itself. Whilst accessing some materials required visits to external archives and repositories, I was able to work on materials stored in the College at my convenience after the school day and at weekends.

As an insider researcher, I was also presented with challenges. For example, I was aware that when interpreting data, there was a risk of making unconscious subjective judgements to which an outsider would not be exposed. I was as careful as possible not to be influenced by personal experiences, judgements based on nostalgia, or criticisms of current changes. I was also aware that there might be an unconscious, albeit instinctive, tendency deriving from loyalty towards my workplace, not to draw attention to research findings relating to the history of the College that might embarrass those now holding management and governance responsibilities or senior colleagues.

It is true that much of the literature of school histories 'is commissioned for the purposes of the institution itself, whether to commemorate a specific anniversary or, more generally, to celebrate its growth and successes' (McCulloch, 2008, p. 51). 'Insider' researchers are often suspected of the creation of such a school's history for the simple reasons of either 'over-identification' (Stein, 2006, p. 72) or loyalty and commitment to the organisation that employs them (Sikes and Potts, 2008, p. 7) Nevertheless, 'outsider' researchers are no less to be suspected of writing such a history for the benefit they will earn, for example in the form of academic advancement. Realising all the limitations coming from my position in the School, I tried to write an account of the growth and evolution of Athens College from 1940 to 1990 as objectively and critically as possible.

Some of the tensions associated with studying the past immediately became apparent. Viewed through a twenty-first century lens, shaped by the forces of gender, equality, and social justice, the aspirations of the predominantly male founding figures associated with Athens College, 87 years ago, tend to reinforce the notion of change over time. But the endurance of Athens College also points to a powerful continuity.

1.5. The study's substantial and original contribution to knowledge

This thesis aimed to make a substantial and original contribution to knowledge by illuminating aspects of schooling in a specific school, during a period in the past, that can help our understanding of education in current times and in other educational settings. Investigating the history of a school can shed light on broader educational and social issues and be of interest to both academic and more general audiences. Interpreting the past through a 'historical perspectives' approach can help the understanding of the present and may even contribute to preparations for the future (Aldrich, 1996).

Moreover, well-executed school histories can also have a resonance across boundaries of time and place and, within the global – and not purely Western – field of history of education, present exciting possibilities for comparative institutional studies. While acknowledging the possible limitations of case study approaches, historical research findings emanating from a single school may reveal cultural and work practices that offer contrasts, comparisons and lessons for other societies.

MacBeath and Mortimore say that in the 1960s influential researchers were critical of the failure of schools to provide equal opportunities for all children (MacBeath and Mortimore, 2001, p. 3). On the other hand, studies at the forefront of the modern school effectiveness movement have argued strongly that schools have a powerful effect on students' learning, their social mobility and social integration (Mortimore et al, 1988). This thesis will make a contribution to this debate by presenting and analysing Athens College data relating to aspects of schooling and its impact on former students' achievement, university studies and careers. The voices of alumni will offer the learners' points of view (McCulloch and Woodin, 2010, p. 136) and will contribute to understanding, from a historical perspective, the influence and impact that Athens College educationalists and policy makers had upon students' lives, and upon education and society in Greece.

It will be argued that Athens College offered a paradigm for the development of the Greek state school. In the 50-year period to be studied in this thesis, Greek schooling, both at elementary and secondary levels, sought to shift from an authoritarian, centralised, exclusive model, characterised by uniformity and overloaded curricula

(Demaras, 1986, B, p. κα΄) to one embracing progressive pedagogies and ideals associated with democracy and equality of educational opportunity. In light of this, the present case study takes on a particular importance as the development of Athens College and of Greek society were intertwined.

Using sources and methodologies appropriate to historical research in educational settings (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000, pp. 102-119), the thesis aspires to complement and eventually challenge published accounts (Davis, 1992; Delta, 2004; Karamanos, 2001; Karamanos, 2003; Karamanos, 2010; Phylactopoulos, 1976) on Athens College. On the other hand this research has produced a unique archive of oral histories (25 alumni's and twelve teachers' interviews) relating to the first 65 years of Athens College. These recordings have shed significant light on the history of the School and provide (anonymous of course) a valuable source of information complementing the School's official records.

1.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, the research problem, the research questions, the study's rationale, its opportunities and constraints, and its contribution to knowledge are presented, all seen through the lens of schooling offered by a single educational organisation aiming to offer holistic education. Despite being from a single institution, these findings may be of broader interest.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This study is historical in its approach, but is also influenced by theoretical perspectives associated with the sociology of education. Education constitutes a significant element of the social system and is closely linked to numerous manifestations of the activity of the human as a social being. Although societies adopt different forms of education, they have in common that human beings can learn and survive only within a society (Despotopoulos, 2003, p. 2). Schools have always been (together with family, church and community) one of the major agencies for the transmission of the civilisation of the society to which they belong. Thus, although educational systems and schools vary according to national, geographical, historical, and social differences, they also have a lot in common (Balaskas, 1984; Silver, 1994). They reflect the ideals of a society for the formation of better human beings, 'real' human beings (Theodorou, 1985, p. 14).

In this chapter, the main educational ideals and curricula linked to them will be exposed in an effort to identify Athens College's educational ideal and explain the way the School evolved through the years (sections 2.2. and 2.3). These sections in combination with section 2.5 on Greek politics, the state and social history, and education in Greece in the twentieth century will be the context in which the history of Athens College will be constructed. Factors that affected the growth and development of this Greek institution will be studied (research question 1) and the relations and interactions between Athens College and Greek education and society will be sought (research question 3). Social mobility issues (2.4) will also be explored (research question 2). Finally institutional school histories will also be focused upon in this part of the thesis. This section (2.6) will present the field of writing histories of schools as a part of the history of education.

2.2. The educational ideal: Educating the whole person

Greece, since its recognition as an independent state in 1830, has adopted the liberal educational ideal following German models (Lateiniche Schule/Gymnasium) (Demaras,

1885, A, p. κθ΄). The strictly centralised organisation of the educational system remained as a permanent characteristic, together with a theoretical and classicist programme of studies. From the end of the nineteenth century, as the international educational environment followed the evolutions of science and society, efforts at reform were made, albeit with no results for at least a century. The founding of Athens College can be seen as a private initiative within these efforts.

The founders of Athens College viewed the new School as a nursery for the future scientists, professionals, bureaucrats and businessmen (Delta, 1932b, p. 33) that Greece needed, and they envisioned students educated as whole persons. Yet, in the public's opinion, Athens College may be seen as an institution established to educate future leaders for Greece. Public opinion is reinforced by Athens College alumni seen in eminent positions of the public and private sector in Greece and abroad. Four Greek Prime Ministers and many ministers and members of the Parliament were Athens College students (Walker, 2011). Nevertheless, frequently in texts produced by the Athens College administration, the terms 'education of the whole person', 'meritocracy', and 'center of excellence' are used to describe the School's philosophy.

The concept of 'education for leadership' as an educational ideal was first conceived by the philosopher Plato in the fourth century BC. Plato was the first to elaborate on this idea's implications (McCulloch, 1991, p. 1) for the prosperity of the state: 'If it receives the appropriate education, the genuinely outstanding nature attains every virtue, and when such persons come of age, only they are those deserving to govern the state' (Plato, 1935, 487a, 474bc, 499b).

The ideal of education for leadership 'was a key theme in the humanistic scholarship of the sixteenth century, and later, in the nineteenth century assumed the status and the trappings of an "English tradition"' (McCulloch, 1991, p. 1). The theory that education serves a certain society and its needs can explain this ideology: Athenian society of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, as well as British society of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, needed 'to train a cohesive, enlightened elite to rule nation and Empire' (McCulloch, 1991, p. 1). Thus, education for leadership was the educational ideal of the nineteenth-century English public school and schools offering similar education in other parts of the world. A classical curriculum, character training, communal living, and public service were the main characteristics of the education offered by these class-

based, gender-specific schools (Cookson and Hodges Persel, 1985, p. 73; McCulloch, 1991, p. 11; Sherington et al, 1987).

Although education for leadership was meant to be an 'English tradition', the notion can be seen to have exerted a strong influence in other countries in Europe and in the USA as well. By the beginning of the twentieth century, elite institutions offering systematic schooling had been established in the United States, continental Europe and elsewhere. Such model schools were founded in developing countries, as an 'investment in international good will' as Albert Staub, Director of the Near East Colleges Association, wrote to Stephanos Delta (Staub, 1926). In fact, the American Near East Colleges Association established a number of schools in countries of the former Ottoman Empire and east Mediterranean Sea, which spread and promoted American civilisation and influence. During the 1860s this Association founded two educational institutions in Constantinople, one in Sofia, and one in Beirut. In 1891, it founded the International College in Smyrna. Athens College, the subject of this thesis, founded in 1925, was a member-school of the Near East Colleges Association. It had, however, more differences than similarities with the other schools of the Association (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009, p. 15).

In the twentieth century, education for leadership lost ground and declined. In Great Britain there were attempts by educationalists like Cyril Norwood before the War (McCulloch, 2007, p. 156) and Eric James (McCulloch, 1991, p. 70) in the post-war years to adapt the characteristics of education for leadership to modern forms of educational institutions to appeal to changing needs of society. Thus, the role of education for leadership changed gradually (McCulloch, 1991, p. 22).

Ringer (Muller, Ringer and Simon, 1987, p. 1), in the introduction of *The rise of the modern educational system*, described the transformations of educational institutions in England, France and Germany in the later nineteenth century as bringing 'secondary and higher education into closer interaction with the occupational system of the high industrial era'. Ringer presents the economic functionalists' interpretation 'as the adjustment of educational systems to the technological requirements of high industrial and late industrial technologies' (Muller, Ringer and Simon, 1987, p. 2).

In more recent times, education for leadership has been largely forgotten and disregarded (McCulloch, 1991, p. 5). Wiener argues 'it presided over the steady and continued erosion of the nation's economic position in the world...it did little to support, and much to discourage...the earlier enthusiasm for technology... emphasised the social evils brought by the industrial revolution' (Wiener, 1981, p. 158). In the twentieth century, critics of the social functions of education, emphasising the desirability of equality of opportunity, have influenced school curricula and practices. Proctor says that in Australia 'a large reform of New South Wales education established a state-wide educational ladder of opportunity...providing a site for social mobility for the most talented of the children who attended the state's elementary schools and possibly for the nurture of a leadership class, an "aristocracy of intellect and character"' (Proctor, 2009, p. 260)

The notions of equality of opportunity and meritocracy are strongly related to concern for economic efficiency. The demand for mass education and the social progress of the competent and the hardworking has a utilitarian and a moral purpose: society cannot afford to lose able children who, because of their origin from lower social groups, are hindered in obtaining a good education and therewith in becoming useful members of society; on the other hand, social justice requires the diligent and able to be rewarded, not the lazy and incompetent (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 6).

Meritocracy became the educational ideal in post-war societies, theoretically in accordance with the demands of social justice; nevertheless there were critics of meritocracy in education who argued that in the final analysis the notion of 'equal opportunity is unequal'. Michael Young, who himself introduced the term 'meritocracy' in his famous book *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (Young, 1958/1979), attacks it as putting students coming from lower classes in a disadvantaged position. Other critiques on the way meritocracy should be practised come from two Americans, Bowles and Gintis, and others who argue that schools are mechanisms of social control in the service of capitalist employers and political stability (Bowles, 1977). In France Bourdieu does not believe that meritocracy can be practised and describes schools as reproducing social inequalities (Bourdieu, 1966, cited in Fragoudaki, 1985, p. 374).

In the 1960s the interest in the equality of educational opportunity triggered the school effectiveness and school improvement movement (Coleman, Campbell and Hobson,

1966; Jencks et al, 1972). The research proved that the social background of the pupil is the determining factor for success at school. Whether schools can have an impact in spite of social determinism has been addressed by several studies over the last three decades (Sammons, Hillman and Mortimore, 1995) of research that have resulted in school being exonerated by many scholars from the responsibility of solving the entire social problem (MacBeath and Mortimore, 2001, p. 2). What was also found was that 'schooling *does* make a difference...no surprise to parents who often go to a good deal of trouble to get their children into schools of their choice' (Rutter *et al*, 1979, p. 1), that 'some schools are more effective than others' and that 'disadvantaged students did make more progress in more effective schools than their counterparts in the least effective schools' (Brookover W. et al, 1979; Mortimore *et al*, 1988; Scheerens, 1997 cited at MacBeath and Mortimore, 2001, p. 6) .

Excellence is another notion that came onto the educational stage in the 1960s combined with 'standards' in education. In England excellence was a characteristic attributed to 'grammar schools much more than their supposed role in producing "leaders"' (McCulloch, 1991, p. 79). As education for leadership was in disrepute, policy makers avoided using the term. The need to raise educational standards at all levels spread rapidly with the increase of comprehensive schools.

In America in the 1960s and 1970s, the movement for school effectiveness and achievement for all is illustrated by the struggle to educate ethnic minorities and children of low-income families. Philip Altbach argues that 'when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the schools were called on to help prepare the basis for American technological growth' (Altbach, 1985, p. 15) and 26 years later the National Commission on Excellence in Education report on American education states: 'Our Nation is at Risk. The educational foundations of our society are presently eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people' (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 5). Richard Hunter comments that the National Commission on Excellence in Education 'recognised the priority of rebuilding a strong academic structure, based on a higher standardised system of scholastic achievement, and has initiated steps to address the problems of educating our children' (Hunter, 1985, p. 129). Education of all children is nowadays an imperative. But as Cyril Taylor and Conor Ryan argue 'it would be naïve to suggest that education is not also an economic imperative. The needs of a highly competitive global

economy require all our young people to be challenged to perform to the maximum of their potential' (Taylor and Conor, 2005, p. 1).

Today, after more than a century of educational policies promoting meritocracy and equality of opportunities, education for leadership may appear antiquated; yet inequalities still exist, as well as the idea that schools identify and select those best prepared to serve societies and their needs. The ideal of 'education for leadership' still endures in British public schools. Beyond the example of Western countries, high-status private schools educating future leaders are also to be found in China, Thailand (Smith, 2006), New Zealand (McCulloch, 1988, p. 257) and elsewhere. However, a heavy emphasis to the academic curriculum is given in schools, and a lack of attention to the moral curriculum, to the cultivation of the whole person.

2.3. Curricula

Aristotle, elaborating his ideas about education, insists that education should be uniform for all pupils (Burnet, 1936, p. 106): that is, with a common curriculum and always to be conducted in groups. He also mentions the quandary of his contemporary theoreticians in education: whether its aim should be the evolution of the intellect rather than the moulding of the pupils' ethics. Similarly, whether in being led toward virtue and excellence on the road of life, the lessons to be taught should be differentiated according to the pupil groups, or again, among three specific objectives, to which differing emphases might be given: a grounding to earn a living, the formation leading towards a virtuous life, or purely the inculcation of learning (Burnet, 1936, p. 107; Racham, 1997, 1137a 1-3, p. 632).

The quandary of education still includes the themes that Aristotle puts forward: what to teach and how to best teach the young for good learning and learning for the good; questions about the aim of education being transmission of knowledge rather than moulding of character; a common curriculum that is the same for all students or a curriculum differentiated according to the competence, interests and intellect of the groups of students; a programme of studies orientated toward the labour market or education of the whole person?

In the nineteenth century, education for leadership created a specific form of schools in England (public schools) and elsewhere in Europe and the USA (Cookson and Hodges Persel, 1985, p. 35) that had specific characteristics: '*classical* curriculum; emphasis on training for *character*; stress on the value of *communal living*; the ideal of the "English gentleman", involving self-restraint and *public service*; they were "*class-based*"; they were *gender-specific'* (McCulloch, 1991, p. 10).

In the mid-nineteenth century, new social classes appeared as a result of industrialisation in England, continental Europe and elsewhere: a middle class and a working class. (Anderson, 1975; Gildea, 1983) New professions appeared as well (Perkin, 1996). The middle class gradually acquired power and reintroduced classical education as 'the most appropriate to the small section of the population destined to attend the "public" schools and then to assume responsibility for governing the country' (Simon, 1987, p. 96). At the same time, educational institutions were transformed 'bringing secondary and higher education into closer interaction with the occupational system of the high industrial era' (Muller, Ringer and Simon, 1987, p. 1).

The emphasis given to athleticism in the public school curriculum is an area of multiple interpretations. Mangan, in his book *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School,* adopts Vivian Ogilvie's characteristics of public schools: 'it is for the well-to-do, expensive, predominantly boarding, independent of the state, but neither privately owned nor profit making' (Mangan, 1981, p. 2). On the other hand others talk about 'over-athleticism', 'the worship of the athlete with its attendant deification of success, and the mere physical virtue of courage', and 'the exaltation and disproportionate regard for games which often resulted in the denigration of academic work and in anti-intellectualism' (Mack, 1941, p. 126)

In the twentieth century, scientific and technological advances, as well as the concern of governments over international commercial competition and control of the markets, opened the road for educational reforms. The 'progressive educational movement added more technical curricula to support the needs of industry and science' (Wirth, 1980, p. 40). In Greece, curricula remained for the first decades of the century centralised, with a strong classical element taught in an obsolete manner, absence of the sciences and technical/vocational orientation (Fragoudaki, 2000, p. 149). Kazamias and Massialas (1965) list five reasons for the slow pace of reform and the hesitancy to make radical

changes in the Greek school curriculum: the backward pull of the classical-humanistic tradition; the potent force of powerful "pressure" groups and organisations that have vested interest in the preservation of the *status quo;* no visible rewards that would compare with those traditionally associated with a *gymnasium* type of education; a sharp distinction drawn between manual and non-manual work; a scarcity of skilled personnel and of facilities to carry out any large-scale program of curriculum reorganisation (Kazamias and Massialas, 1965, p. 115).

Under these circumstances affecting the situation of state education in Greece, one can understand why private initiative (in the case of Athens College expressed by Emmanuel Benakis and Stephanos Delta) created islands of private educational institutions working in a more organised and systematical way. This study will contribute to the field of what and how we teach in relation with the exit skills, knowledge, and attitudes we want school graduates to have, thus providing a case study of a private school in the Greek context aiming to offer education of the whole person that can be of broader interest (research question 1).

2.4. Social Mobility: Students' origins and destinations

The question whether education can change students' lives and, moreover if it can change society, is a perennial one. Many researchers have approached the notion of students' social mobility, among them a research team chaired by A. H. Halsey, who conducted a national survey in 1972 in England and Wales, drawing data - familial and educational biographies - from 8,529 men living in these two countries in 1972 (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 16). Andrew Miles defines 'social mobility' as 'the process by which individuals move between occupations and social groups, either between generations, or over the course of a lifetime' (Miles, 1999, p. 1).

Halsey, Heath, and Ridge identify two basic theories about education and social change in the twentieth century (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 2): 'The first is the human capital theory, represented by T. W Schultz, which holds that education creates new knowledge, ensures that people can use advanced scientific cultures, and brings individuals into the jobs they are able to do'. Critics of this theory, such as Bowles, Gintis, and Illich, developed a second theory based on Marxism, which is that 'education is essentially an organisation of control by one generation over the next.

Schooling is the major public instrument for the production of appropriate social personalities and for reproducing and legitimising the social division' (Bowles, 1977, p. 148; Illich, 1976, p. 11). However, there are those Marxists such as Brian Simon and other scholars who argue that in spite of such controls, education can still change society over the long term (Simon, 1985, p. 14).

Public debates on education have been influenced by both theories. For example, R. H. Tawney's aim was secondary education for all (Tawney, 1931, p. 145) and, as Harold Silver has argued, 'for most of the [twentieth] century discussion of education in relation to such concepts as "equality" "equality of opportunity", "democracy" or "social justice" has focused on the *structure* of the educational system, and access from different social groups to its different parts' (Silver, 1973, p. xi).

Nevertheless, class differences have been considered responsible for letting children of working class backgrounds miss out on more advanced or more privileged levels of education, thus hindering economic efficiency and social justice, which have been major goals of educational policy. It is argued that 'talented children from the working class are denied the opportunity to develop their abilities: "wastage of ability" becomes a crucial educational issue' (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 4). Class differences among children with equal ability should not play a decisive role in their advancement if we claim to be a society of justice. D. Bell clearly stated:

> By the logic of a meritocracy, these high scoring individuals, no matter where they are in society, should be brought to the top in order to make the best use of their talents. This is the basis of the liberal theory of equality of opportunity and of Jefferson's belief of the 'natural aristoi' against the ascriptive nobility (Bell, 1973, pp. 410-411).

By contrast, Michael Young attacks the notion of meritocracy and calls it 'positive discrimination'. Bowles and Gintis argue that 'in practice, merit, as conventionally defined by IQ, has little to do with economic efficiency: meritocracy, rather, is an ideology which serves to justify existing inequalities' (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 6). The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has developed his theory on *cultural capital,* which - he claims - determines which children will have access and will achieve in school (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 487-511).

These debates have influenced educational policies: in England, the 1944 Education Act gave access to secondary education to all children, while before World War II state secondary schools were restricted to a small minority of the population. The grammar schools charged fees, but also had a system of 'free places' of scholarships for pupils from the elementary schools who passed an examination at the age of eleven (McCulloch, 1991, p. 3). In Greece the primary school and the first cycle of secondary school became mandatory with free access for all students to it according to Law 4379/1964 (Bouzakis, 2006, p. 123). I cannot say whether economic efficiency or equality of opportunity was the goal of the 1964 Greek educational reform. It may be both, but the connection of Greece with the European Economic Community in 1961 rendered the necessity of financial restructuring, which presupposed changes in education in order to be able to supply Greek production with the appropriate labor force.

The debate over the effectiveness and efficiency of education offered at state schools has been going on throughout the twentieth century. Subsequent educational reforms indicate the efforts of governments to offer the best state education in a cost-effective way. Nevertheless, some parents prefer selecting private institutions to send their children for different reasons. R. Aldrich (2004, p. 3) argues that private schools may fulfill different functions in different societies and at different periods in history and cites aspects of authors such as Tooley's argument that private schooling should displace much that is provided by the state (Tooley, 1999, p. 11), and others, such as Tapper's, concern to examine the possibility of creating a more unified educational system (Tapper, 1997, p. 122). The Assisted Places Scheme introduced in England under the 1980 Education Act is an example of such an attempt (Aldrich, 2004, p. 3). Edwards, Fitz and Whitty, evaluating the scheme, argue that 'the central thrust of the scheme was the restoration of the traditional "ladder of opportunity" for poor but able pupils' (Edwards, Fitz and Whitty, 1989, p. 217). The Scheme was abandoned in 1997.

In Greece, private schools can function only with state license according to article 16 (§ 8) of the Greek Constitution, and Laws 682/1977 and 1566/1985. The Greek state exerts control over the private schools and most of the legislation for state education also applies to private education. Private schools in Greece are not subsidised by the state. According to the Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research, in Greece in 2008-09, 7% of students attended private schools (Foundation for Economic and Industrial

Research, 2011, p. 2). Athens College, although a private school, has granted financial aid to students from low income families according to the needs of the family since its founding in 1925. These are not excellence scholarships, but depend only on the financial need of the family.

Pupils' origins and destinations have been a challenging issue for many researchers and students' social mobility compared to their starting point in terms of social status is educationally interesting as it can trace the role of education in this process (Goldthorpe, Llewellyn and Payne, 1980; Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980; Miles, 1999; Sutherland and Sharp, 1984). In Greece not many studies of this type exist. Moreover, the experience of learners and learning has tended to be neglected in the past. This research can add to this area providing the voice of students and alumni on what school meant to them and their perceptions on the impact the School had on shaping their personality (research question 2).

2.5. The Greek context

The history of the modern Greek educational system starts with the official recognition of Greece as an independent state by the Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Russia) in 1830/1832, after the revolution of the Greeks against the Ottomans. Two Protocols of Independence, in 1830 (Ekdotiki Athinon, 1975, v. XII, pp. 540) and 1832 (Ekdotiki Athinon, 1977, v. VII, p. 577), defined the status and the northern boundaries of Greece. The formation of an integrated educational system was among the first concerns of Ioannis Capodistrias, the first Governor of Greece. The educational system was organised according to German models with French influences. Together with the state educational system, following the pre-revolutionary tradition, educational systems were developed by local private initiatives and foreign missionaries (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 5). Greek education's main characteristics were: classicism; centralisation; absolute control of teachers and teaching by the Government, central or local; and strict discipline of students (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 5).

The period from 1850 to 1900 was one of transition for Greek society, due to economic restructuring and ideological conflicts causing a political crisis (Fragoudaki, 2000, p. 17). The ascent of the Greek middle class, the gradual appearance of small- and medium-sized properties, of increased agricultural productivity and investment, were

followed by industrial development and the concurrent emergence of a working class. Ideas were promoted, bringing about measures related to the need for a just and democratic operation of the state, and the education and the enlightenment of the populace (Ekdotiki Athinon, 1977, v. XIV, p. 11).

Reform efforts at the beginning of the twentieth century were an expression of the *'educational demoticism'* movement. The *'demoticists'*, among whom leading figures were Alexandros Delmouzos, Dimitris Glynos and Manolis Triantafyllidis, believed that *'Demotic Greek'*, the spoken language of ordinary people, should be recognised as a common, national language and be taught in schools instead of the *'Katharevousa'* (purist Greek), the official language (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009, p. 21). The language issue was an issue of broader ideological dispute and lost its narrow language character (Haralampous, 1987, p. 28). Conservative *'purists'* clashed - sometimes violently - with progressive *'demoticists'*. The practical application of *'demoticist'* beliefs was realised in the founding of the Girls' Higher Primary School in Volos in 1908 with a pioneering educational orientation different from other state schools, which did however propound middle class principles and had a humanistic programme of studies (Papanoutsos, 1978, p. 42). This establishment became the target of reaction on the part of conservative, social and educational agencies and, following a series of dramatic events, closed its doors in 1911. As Kazamias argues 'education in [modern] Greece has been an area of intense political controversy' (Kazamias, 1980, p. 132).

A reform effort in 1917 failed due to the animosity of the conservatives and the change of power in 1920 when Eleftherios Venizelos, Greece's Prime Minister, was defeated (Svoronos, 2007, p. 123). Venizelos came back to power in 1928 and introduced new reforms, aiming towards creating a 'people's school' (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009, p. 22). Laws were passed by Education Ministers: Constantinos Gontikas in 1929 and George Papandreou in 1930. Among them was Athens College's Founding Law 3776/1929 (MoERA, 1929). The 1929 reforms tended toward new pedagogical trends, toward the 'working school' with vocational sections. Emphasis was put on school buildings, textbooks and the curriculum of secondary education (Fragoudaki, 2000, p. 63). However, Venizelos did not stay in power long enough to see the fulfilment of his vision of the Greek school. In 1932 he resigned and the conservative part of the middle class that came to power put an end to the reform effort of 1929 (Fragoudaki, 2000, p.

66). It was in this context that Athens College was founded in 1925 and it developed its distinct characteristics with the support of Eleftherios Venizelos.

WWII and the Occupation of Greece by the Nazis disrupted education. Unfortunately, when the War was over and all European countries were healing their wounds, Greece entered a catastrophic three-year civil war. The decade of the 1950s found education still in a situation that D. Glynos has described as 'an unburied dead' (Glynos, 1925). According to the 1951 census, 33% of the agrarian population over 10 years old were illiterate (50% of the women of the same population were illiterate). Of the total population of the country, 32.4 % were illiterate, 2.9% had a diploma from a secondary school and 1.1% were graduates of tertiary education. 30% of children 6-12 years old did not finish the six-year mandatory elementary school (Bouzakis, 2006, p. 116)

In 1964 Prime Minister George Papandreou took on the Ministry of Education and promoted an educational reform bill, which was voted in by Parliament (MoERA, 1964). The reform provided adjustment of education to the new social, economic and cultural situation for the urban modernisation of Greek education: free education for children 6-15 years old, an academic *Apolytirio* (High School Diploma), the use of *Demotic* language at all levels of education, adjustments for technical education, and establishment of the Pedagogical Institute. Two more bills submitted in 1965 completed the reform: one concerning vocational education and one 'On the Founding of Universities' in Athens and other cities. The reform was again not applied because a counter-reform started and in 1967 the Greek Junta of colonels abolished it. Education in Greece returned to the old obsolete laws. Many educationalists were persecuted for their political beliefs (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 148).

Demaras expresses his view that despite the reforming efforts of subsequent governments, the reform whose fundamental elements had been established in the years between 1910 and 1930 had not yet been accomplished in 1967; as the title of his well-known book states, it was *The Reform that did not Materialise* (Demaras, 1986). The reform throughout that lengthy epoch of about a hundred years had been promoted by progressive liberal governments and had been 'undermined or nullified by conservative, reactionary or dictatorial political forces' (Fragoudaki, 2000, cited in Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009, p.21).

The dictatorship stayed in power through July 1974. It was after the political changeover that education was given priority (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 187). Article 16 of the new Constitution voted on in 1975 institutionalised nine-year mandatory education, free access to all levels of education, establishment of the *'Demotic'* language as the official language of teaching: that is, the basic elements of the 1964 Reform that had been abolished by the dictatorship. In 1976 the entrance exams from the six-year Elementary School to the three-year Middle School were abolished, thus enabling the nine-year mandatory attendance for all children. The co-education of boys and girls was established with Law 309/76 (MoERA, 1976). In 1977 an effort was made by the MoERA to adjust issues of vocational education and entrance exams to the Greek universities. This period was characterised by strikes of educationalists that lasted for days, demanding an improved working status (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 187).

In 1981, new changes were promoted, towards a modern, open, democratic school. Some of those changes were: the establishment of the *'monotonic'* (single accent) system, the introduction of the School Counsellor replacing the Inspectors of Education, the institution of Technological Professional Institutes, the establishment of four-year university studies for primary teachers, the abolition of exams for access of students to the High School, the founding of a new type of High School, the United Multi-branched High School (*Enieo Polykladiko Lykeio*) and others (Terzis, 1991, p. 25). New books were written according to the philosophy of new curricula, entrance exams for Higher Education were regulated, and a long debate opened for the evaluation of teachers with no results. It is important to understand this Greek historical, social and educational context for an understanding of the changes Athens College has undergone through the years.

2.6. Institutional school histories

The study of school histories internationally strengthens understanding of how the past can offer the benefit of context to the present and future. Placing a school in its broader historical, political, social and educational context unfolds aspects of schooling that can be of more general interest. The international examples of school histories that will be presented will also show the critical points and risks in writing such histories.

There have been other researchers in my field of study who have confronted the risks of conservatism and parochialism when writing institutional histories of their own workplaces. Barry Blades (Blades, 2003) at the Institute of Education, who wrote a PhD thesis on the history of Deacon's School, Peterborough, where he was deputy head teacher, cites an important warning by W.G. Hoskins, a pioneering professor of local history:

> The writing of the history of individual schools is usually an act of piety. Such histories are rarely of any general interest and tend to be rather arid compilations, of interest here and there only to former pupils (Hoskins, 1984, p. 94).

Similarly, Ron Brooks, author of *King Alfred School and the Progressive Movement, 1898-1998*, has stated that 'School histories are written for past pupils and centenary histories to record their glorious deeds' (Brooks, 1998, p. xi).

These reflections show the risks of writing school histories where the object of the research is merely to compile facts about achievements or to provide a Whiggish, hagiographic narrative. Yet there are commendable examples of incisive school histories, too. Introducing one such example, a study of an Australian Church of England grammar school in Sydney, Australia, Geoffrey Sherington (Sherington, 1983, p. vii) argues that it is possible for institutional histories to be lively in style and of interest to broad audiences, including not only those with a direct connection to the school, but also readers seeking to understand the relationship between educational and social history. In considering how his case study of Central High School in Philadelphia, USA might best contribute to a broader understanding of the American high school, David Labaree decided not to follow a strictly chronological approach, but instead organised the material 'by topics - origins, bureaucratisation, governance, pedagogy, curriculum - that reflect significant aspects of the institutionalisation of the American high school' (Labaree, 1988, p. 2).

Tim Card's *Eton Renewed* (Card, 1994) offers an important example of a school history. The author undertook the challenge of writing the school's history from 1860 to the present day, 'since the Victorian history of Eton College had been written by Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte', as he realised that many things had happened to Eton in the previous thirty years that had changed it substantially (Card, 1994, p. xi); still, he realised that

'there are things which endure at Eton - first of all an understanding of what a school is about' (Card, 1994, p. 293).

A further example is Christopher Tyerman's *A History of Harrow School, 1324-1991*. The author realises that 'books on public schools are rarely neutral' because 'as institutions they stir strong emotions of devotion and antagonism'. He continues:

> What follows assumes no determinist inevitability of the school's success; nor does it seek to judge the social justice or morality of such schools. It merely attempts to investigate how the school developed and why and to locate its history within shifting social, political, and educational circumstances that gave rise to such institutions, later sustained them, and more than once threatened their extinction (Tyerman, 2000, p. 2).

Both of these authors, dealing with very old institutions, stress how both continuity over time and change coexist up to the present. The schools' archives offered a very large number of written sources, along with the oral sources also deployed by their authors. Aldrich (2002, p. 259) agrees that change and continuity are the essentials of history.

The long history of schools in Greece offers opportunities to explore issues of theory and practice. Plato's *Academy* and Aristotle's *Peripatos* stand as important examples of higher learning institutions in ancient Athens. In *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution*, John Lynch argues that if one is to understand the character of Aristotle's school, it is necessary to rely on the evidence indicating actual practice and policy in the Lyceum, not on Aristotle's educational theory because, although institutions embody ideals, those often could only be applied in a politically ideal community (Lynch, 1972, p. 69).

This sets out an important challenge for the historian undertaking a school history. While it may be instructive to make use of documentary materials such as mission statements and regulations, they do not always reflect real life at the specific school and contribute little to an understanding of the motives and actions of its leading figures operating in specific contexts of time and circumstance. Often the rhetoric of the texts is not consistent with actual practices and procedures, something we need to bear in mind.

In the modern Greek context, historian of education Alexis Demaras acknowledges the limitations of historical research in relation to all aspects of a school's function in his chronicle *1936-2006.Turning over the pages of 70 years of education*. Thus, in his

account of the history of Moraitis school, a private school in Greece, he attributes the omission of information related to financial issues and the material taught, and statistics related to the numbers of students, parents' occupations etc. to a lack of data. He focuses rather on the '"small" history of school, the events and situations that render a human perspective to the presentation of things that happened' (Demaras, 2007, p. 13).

Sonia Geladaki's presentation of the archives of three historic schools in Athens sees a conflict between the archives of the schools and the legislative adjustments published in the *The Government Gazette*. The conflict consists in that the schools' own archives strive only to present the glory of those places to the local public and make known the uniqueness of the schools from which they come (Geladaki, 2004, p. 14). The legislative adjustments, however, form part of the more general framework of the efforts of the central authority to impose its will and control school units all over the country, contrary to the tendency of every educational institution to develop individual features related to the peculiarities of the area which the school serves and the priorities of the local community. Thus, 'two poles of influence are created, that play an important role in the way every school unit develops' (Geladaki, 2004, p. 14). Geladaki emphasises the importance of the school archives. In her account of B΄ Boys' School of Athens, Geladaki bases her research on school archives and interviews with former students (Geladaki, 2005, p. 2). Also, E. Skliraki, guiding a group of current students of The Experimental School of Athens, gathered and classified sources (direct or indirect) from the school's history related with its founding and operation (Skliraki, 1994, p. 11).

School histories are mainly case studies of institutions operating on a local level. It is important, though, to understand how they evolve, reacting to the changes happening around them. In his professorial lecture, G. McCulloch, defining Simon's legacy to the history of education, argues that 'the key role of the historian of education is to understand the relationship between education and social change, in all its many forms' (McCulloch, 2004b, p. 17). This may show us the way to discover patterns that may be generalisable and useful to more than those who attended and benefited from the specific institution.

My aim is not to write a celebratory and laudatory history of Athens College such as many school histories have been produced. If this study is to be of any use to the School itself and the educational community it should present a balanced and critical discussion

of aspects of schooling at this important institution. By doing this the study can add to the field of writing institutional histories from a critical point of view and contribute more generally to the history of education.

2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, educational ideals were explored as they developed through the centuries, linked with school curricula and practices created to apply them. The notion of social mobility and students' academic achievements and career destinations compared to their family origins were explored as they were examined by many researchers in an effort to answer the question as to whether education can change society and counterbalance social inequalities. The Greek political socio-economic and educational context was presented, being the framework in which Athens College grew and developed as an institution offering education of the whole person. Finally, the writing of Athens College's history gave me the impulse to study institutional school histories and explore the critical points and risks of such an undertaking. In the following chapter, methods and methodologies used for this research will be presented.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

My professional standpoint influenced me in selecting my methods and seeking to study on the one hand documents for education (local or national) and on the other hand empirical evidence about alumni's achievements and undocumented experiences from the time they were students. In this chapter, methodological issues will be explained, such as why a mixed methods approach and a case study method were selected as the most appropriate for this piece of research; the use of oral history techniques and the substance and type of research questions will be analysed to justify the decisions made for designing and implementing the research; sampling issues, data gathering and analysing techniques will be presented. Finally, ethical considerations in relation to specific methods and techniques used will be discussed.

3.2. Mixed methods research

Historically-framed educational research employs a number of methods and uses a range of sources (McCulloch, 2011, p. 248), quantitative or qualitative. Traditionally quantitative approaches were used by positivists concerned with the search for facts, while qualitative methods by researchers working in an interpretative frame concerned with the construction of meaning (Brown and Dowling, 1998). For many decades there was an opposition between the two kinds of research (Thomas, 2009).

Creswell argues that 'with the development and perceived legitimacy of both quantitative and qualitative research in the social and human sciences, mixed methods research, employing the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches has gained popularity' (Creswell, 2009. p. 203). Crotty agrees that 'our research can be qualitative or quantitative, or both qualitative and quantitative, without this being in any way problematic' (Crotty, 2004. p. 15) and Carpentier adds that quantitative data offer possibilities and provide an important source of evidence of past activities and that 'although it is important to keep in mind the specific nature of quantitative sources, the promises and problems associated with their use are not too dissimilar from those of

qualitative sources such as oral and written testimonies, paintings and photographs' (Carpentier, 2008, p. 701). Although 'the holiness of writing' (Portelli, 2006, p. 32) leads us to forget that no source is objective, and the use of quantitative data is a valuable instrument of planning, monitoring, or evaluating educational policies and practices, we should recognise that such data are not neutral and they need to be subjected to our critical view in terms of their 'origins and destinations' (Carpentier, 2008, p. 704).

This thesis followed a mixed methods approach (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2006, p. 86), endorsing the view that 'both quantitative and qualitative approaches are needed, that neither is better than the other, that both have their strengths and weaknesses, and that they can and should be combined as appropriate' (Punch, 2000, p. 5). The basic premise is that 'mixed methods research questions guide mixed methods investigations and are answered with information that is presented in both narrative and numerical forms' (Teddie and Tashakkori, 2009, p. 8). I believe that both documents and interviews are social constructs which allow the researcher to question them, evaluate their validity and reliability and reconstruct the context that created them. Therefore, interpreting data of any kind involves an open, questioning and cautious approach (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009).

More specifically this research uses documents from Athens College's archives and oral sources (interviews). Relating information from documents to information from living respondents (Athens College former teachers and alumni) led to a deeper insight into school life during the period 1940-1990. Also, involving documentary evidence and interviews with alumni and retired teachers allowed triangulation and methodological pluralism (McCulloch, 2004a, p. 129), which gave the flexibility to address the research questions from appropriate perspectives. For example, administrative records showing students' achievement were subjected to statistical, quantitative approaches (research question 2), while data emanating from interviews were treated with qualitative ones (research questions 2.3) and a critical approach was used for historical documents for education (research questions 1.3)

The use of data expressed through the spoken word in research caused reactions among researchers in the 1970s. On the one hand positivist social scientists and traditional documentary historians criticised oral history as a method (Thomson, 1998) and

expressed their concerns about its reliability and representativenes. Data produced by oral history interview were accused of 'questionable reliability' the charge resting upon three grounds:

> that such data draw upon the vagaries of individual memory; that they are the products of the present and not, as with the historical document, of the past; and that they are always critically influenced by, perhaps fundamentally shaped by, a conspiring interlocutor wearing the guise of objective historian (Cunningham and Gardner, 2004, p.4).

Oral testimony has been considered by traditional historians to move into myth rather than history (O' Farrell, 1979, p. 8). O' Farrell argues that 'all claims made for oral history-accuracy, immediacy, reality- come under most serious suspicion, and we move straight away into the world of image, selective memory, later overlays and utter subjectivity (O' Farrell, 1979, p. 5).

On the other hand there are those arguing that oral history is a valuable research method for the reconstruction of history (Anderson and Jack, 2006; Grele, 1996; Lummis, 2006; Perks and Thomson, 2006; Portelli, 2006; Slim *et al*, 2006). As Alistair Thomson puts it 'the so-called unreliability of memory might be a resource, rather than a problem, for historical interpretation and reconstruction' (Thomson, 1998, p. 585), and Paul Thompson writes that 'most of the essential skills in judging evidence, in choosing the telling extract, or in shaping an argument, are much the same as when writing history from paper documents' (Thompson, 2000, p. 265), that both the interviewer and the documentary historian try to reconstruct the past from their place in their own present, they interpret their sources and cannot avoid the accusation of adding their personal subjective element in the narration of the past in the way they understood it. As is the case for interviews, documents are also human constructs, their construction and survival are no less suspected than oral testimonies, therefore no more reliable than oral narratives.

Increasing interest in and study of oral history in terms of theory and methods has put memory in the center stage, and has contributed to the development of historical educational studies (Stephenson, 2008). Michael Frisch argues that by treating memory as an object of historical analysis, oral history could be 'a powerful tool for discovering, exploring, and evaluating the nature of the process of historical memory' (Frisch, 1990,

p. 188) and Pierre Nora claims that '*lieux de memoire*', the sites of memory where memory crystallises and secretes itself, are no longer real environments of memory. 'Contrary to historical objects... they are their own referent: pure, exclusively self-referential signs' (Nora, 1989, pp.7, 23). Even if one does see memory in a sophisticated way as Nora and others, we must confess that oral testimonies are empirical evidence about often non documented experience coming from the people who experienced and lived through historical situations.

Because 'oral history has the capacity to generate a sense of authenticity which can seem irresistible' (Cunningham and Gardner, 2004, p. 4), and because documents are traces coming straight from their own time, the use of oral history together with written sources can help the historian to better confront the dangers of being misled or deceived by untrustworthy, false, incomplete or biased evidence. For all the above reasons I selected using sources both numerical and verbal deriving from both written documents and oral testimonies. I believe that the combination of 'diferent sources of evidence allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical and behavioral issues' (Yin, 2003, pp. 114-115). Advocates of mixed methods research argue that it 'respects the mixed, messy real world, and that it increases validity and reliability' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p. 26). Moreover, relating documents from the past with voices of the present enabled me to bring together the historical and the social dimension in my study.

I am aware that the final product of this research has been to a degree defined by the use of both numbers and words, written and oral sources 'represented as a union of distinctiveness and inseparability' (Cunningham and Gardner, 2004, 10) and that this final product conveys meanings as perceived by both interviewees and myself as a researcher while selecting, organising, analysing and interpreting data. Portelli notes that 'the documents of oral history are always the result of a relationship, of a shared project in which both the interviewer and the interviewee are involved together, if not necessarily in harmony' (Portelli, 2006, p. 39). There is thus a mutuality of the construction of the narrative and the role of the interviewer. I agree with Eick who foregrounds 'oral histories as primary sources that tell about meaning, belief and perception, and not as reflections that corroborate, disprove, or expand on historical events' (Eick, 2010, p. 7). Thus, in this study oral testimonies are also used as primary sources not to complement, prove, or disagree with written documents but interweave

and interact with them, to show multiple perspectives across alumni of different ages about events and issues described in documents.

3.3. Why a case study?

This thesis is a case study, since it focuses on the 'characteristics of an individual unit' (Cohen and Manion, 2004, p. 185). It 'is a study of a singularity conducted in depth in natural settings' (Bassey, 1999, p. 47). More specifically, it is a historical case study since the period under investigation is 1940-1990 (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000, p. 23). The nature of the research questions (p. 17) led to the adoption of a case study method. The most important changes that happened in Athens College over a time span of 50 years had to be traced and explained in the light of, and in combination with, changes that happened in Greek education and society, which led to an exploratory/explanatory case study of a historical nature (Yin, 2009).

In educational research 'the nature and value of the "case" have become a focus of stringent analysis' (Silver, 1983, p. 293). Historians have studied the relationships between the representative and the typical, the specific and the general. Those influenced by the positivistic scientific paradigm regard with suspicion both qualitative research and case study methodologies as 'subjective, value-laden, and therefore unscientific and invalid' (Troyna, 1995, p. ix). Others acknowledge the substantial contribution to knowledge of case studies (Adelman, Kemmis and Jenkins, 1980, p. 47). MacDonald and Walker defined case studies as 'the study of the instance in action' (MacDonald and Walker, 1977, p. 24) and Stephen Kemmis wrote that 'case study consists of the imagination of the case and the invention of the study' (Kemmis, 1994, pp. 96-142).

The main criticism of case study is that one cannot generalise from 'one case'. Yin argues that 'a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2003, p. 18). On the other hand, Silver has argued that 'the case study is not representative, but exemplary' (Silver, 1983, p. 296) and Stake claims that 'case studies will often be the preferred method of research because they may be epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience and thus to that person a natural basis for generalisation' (Stake, 2000, p. 19)

There is no suggestion that Athens College in this period was a typical Greek school: indeed, it was unique, which is important when one addresses how far it provided a paradigm or model. This invites a more considered understanding of how schools may serve as historical case studies. Case studies are concerned with the specific, a single instance, a story, in order 'to strengthen or weaken the prevailing orthodoxies about the picture in the sector or nationally' (Silver, 1983, p. 294). In the same way, David Labaree (Labaree, 1988, p. 2) studied the history of a particular school, Central High School of Philadelphia, which was also unique: it was the forerunner and a model for the contemporary American high school. It is true that while conducting a case study there are clear dangers in making claims for 'typicality' on the basis of a single case study. It is important to be cautious in all phases of research and propose how one's findings can be of use to others and be applied in similar settings.

3.4. Methods of data collection

Yin suggests that 'the benefits from using six sources of evidence (documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and artefacts) can be maximised if you follow three principles: use multiple sources of evidence, create a case study database, and maintain a chain of evidence' (Yin, 2009, p. 101). In this case study, data emanates mainly from three types of evidence: documentary sources, archival student records, and interviews.

Documents are the most important objects of study for historians. If analysed properly, they can throw light on the historical dimensions of education, yet provoke ideas for connections between the past and the present, and trace changes and continuities over time. As I went through careful appraisal of such documents referring to Athens College, I tried to select the most appropriate to answer my research questions, to be sure they were authentic and final versions - handwritten and signed were the most welcomed. I tried to select the right documents, read them, and find their meaning and substance (Thomas, 2011, p. 164).

I was aware that historical documents are considered by some researchers 'not only to privilege official voices and "great men" but also frequently appear silent about deeply embedded practices and beliefs and daily routines' (Proctor, 2009, p. 248). Stephanie Spencer agrees that 'there is no place for children's voices to be heard and adults'

memories of school days are often relegated to the first few introductory pages of biographical narratives' (Spencer, 2006, p. 437). I decided to include alumni's and former teachers' voices in this research by conducting interviews with them to elicit their memories of learning and everyday life in Athens College when they were students (Jacobs, Leach and Spencer, 2010, p. 220).

Thus, the data for this study consist of documentary sources, archival student records and interviews. Documentary sources include administrative and operational texts from Athens College; archival student records comprise records of 597 alumni from the archives of Athens College; interviews were conducted with thirteen Athens College alumni and ten retired teachers.

3.4.1. Documentary sources

The documentary sources included in the study are either primary – that is, documents produced between 1940 and 1990 - or secondary - that is, sources emanating later from researchers of the history of Athens College (Marwick, 1970, p. 132; McCulloch and Richardson, 2000, p. 79). Data deriving from the works of diverse other writers or from the contemporary press were also examined.

Documents relating to the history or operation of Athens College were found mainly in the archives of Athens College, in the Lambrakis Press Organisation archives, and the family archive of Alexis Phylactopoulos, the son of George Phylactopoulos, the head of the Boarding House for 38 years, who generously lent me copies from his father's personal archive. Athens College's archives are neither systematically organised nor complete. A large part of them was destroyed by the German Nazis in 1941 when they occupied Athens and turned Benakeio, the main Athens College building, into a military hospital. Today, the College archives are scattered in several storage spaces within the College.

An initial vast quantity of documents, administrative and operational texts of Athens College was gradually reduced to a manageable number that I selected as being 'representative'. In the process of selecting the material, foremost in my mind was the need to be sure about the validity and authenticity of the documents. Special attention was given to the primary sources, depending on the different nature of each one (Tosh

and Sean, 2006, p. 60). The safest were the minutes of faculty meetings, as they were handwritten in a large book signed by all teachers who attended the meetings. I was reading 'between the lines' of the documents, trying to understand their content, the exact time and the reason for their production, their context, possible biases and silences (McCulloch, 2004a, p. 1).

The materials ranged from published articles and histories of the College to official documents: reports, speeches, curricula, timetables, annual reports, minutes of faculty/committee meetings, correspondence, students' records, students' publications, and photographs. Contemporary documents of every sort came under scrutiny. Representative samples of the different types of documents were kept.

The Story of Athens College-The first thirty-five years (Davis, 1992) was a key starting point in the literature about Athens College. Homer Davis was a participant and pre-eminent figure in the founding of Athens College. He remained President of Athens College for 32 years, with some interruptions during the Second World War. This source is a valuable testimony about the founding and the first 35 years of the operation of Athens College. It is mainly an autobiography, thus it provides detailed information relating to Davis's own participation in the launching and evolution of Athens College. The author gives his personal analysis and interpretation of how things happened through the lens of his devotion to the School. The book was published by Athens College (in accordance with Davis's will) after his death. Davis acknowledges that his writings were worked on over a long period of time. This book's characteristics led me to treat it as both a primary and a secondary source (McCulloch, 2004a, p. 32).

Three articles by Stephanos Delta, 'the father of Athens College', as he was called, published from 1929 to 1932 in the magazine *Ergassia* under the title "Athens College. Its Founding, Action and Novel Directions of its Programme of Studies", were valuable because they express the philosophy and the educational vision of one of the main founders and a benefactor of Athens College

Existing histories of Athens College were a significant base of information. I was already familiar with the books written on the founding and first years of Athens College. I had to go back to these works many times during the data collection and data analysis, as reference sources and testimonies to be either endorsed or questioned

according to the data that came up. The most important sources of this type were: *Concise History of Athens College from its Founding until Today,* by G. Eleopoulos (1960); *Athens College 1925-1975. Fiftieth Anniversary* by G. Phylactopoulos (1975); *Athens College 1925-2000; Turning Points and Milestones* by D. Karamanos (2001); *Education of Spirit-Joy of Life*, by D. Karamanos (2003); and *Benakeio Didaktirio* by D. Karamanos (2010).

Many other works refer to Athens College, either books written by alumni or journalistic accounts. Of course, secondary sources have their own problems: they are written after the events they describe and authors give their own perceptions, viewpoints and interpretations. In many cases memory has not preserved the exact details, or sometimes has preserved some, and has omitted others. Still, they are valuable in indicating 'gaps of knowledge, problems unsolved, suspect explanations' (Marwick, 2000, p. 301).

3.4.2. Archival student records

The data providing the basis for the study of alumni attainment and social mobility are drawn from student records kept in the School archives. Keeping records of the whole life of the child is something that all schools do, as 'educational success is [found to be] dependent on more data about the child and the home being available so that effective interventions could take place' (Grosvenor, 2009, p. 222). From the time Athens College opened in 1925, Registered Students' Books have been kept for all students who entered the School up to the present. The information for each student consists of a single line in a roll book every year including the student's name, date of entering and leaving, father's occupation, age and grade of admission, qualification certificate grades for each course, Grade Point Average (GPA) at the end of each grade, promotion to the next class or graduation.

Initially I started with a list of 710 students who enrolled in the first year of each decade (1940-41, 1950-51, 1960-61, 1970-71, 1980-81, 1990-91) in the entrance grade of Athens College (which changed through the years). That is, in the fourth grade of Elementary School until 1971, third grade from 1971-72, second grade from 1976-77 and first grade from 1978-79 and ever since. Many students left Athens College for various unidentified reasons which are not written down in the students' books. Family

reasons were probably among these. Another reason was if students could not keep up with the academic level of their class. The family of such students would be counselled to withdraw their son. A third category of students leaving Athens College before graduation were those who left at the end of grade E (eleventh grade) of the Upper School (High School), to finish twelfth grade in another school and acquire the Apolytirion, thus avoiding the extra year that Athens College provided. These were called 'X' alumni. For all these reasons, about one third of the students left Athens College and other students were accepted in intermediate grades after exams.

In order to be able to follow the studies and careers of those students, I decided to form my sample taking the graduating classes of 1949-50, 1959-60, 1969-70, 1979-80 and 1991-92/1992-93, thus forming a sample of 597 students. The fifth cohort was composed of students who entered in 1980-81, in the first grade of Elementary. Those students graduated from Athens College either in June 1992 following a three-year cycle or June 1993 following the traditional four-year Lyceum. This was feasible after 1983-1984. Since then students have been able to choose to attend either the traditional four-year High School (Lyceum) or the three-year Lyceum. The final number of alumni records is 597.

The questions to be answered were: if there is a relation between fathers' occupation/class and alumni's academic performance at school, further studies and career; if this comprises social mobility; if there is a difference between the results (attainment, studies and careers pursued) taken for the whole population of 597 alumni compared to the separate groups (scholarship holders/non-scholarship holders).

In order to trace alumni's social mobility, a comparison was attempted between their occupations after finishing their university studies and their fathers' occupations. I attempted a replication of classification of occupations linked to class division used by Halsey, Heath and Ridge in their research on social mobility conducted in 1972 in England and Wales, which they describe in their book *Origins and Destination*s. They note: 'We were anxious to avoid implicating ourselves in a conception of stratification in Britain as a monolithic hierarchy of a "layer cake" of strata', which is exactly what I wanted to avoid too. Their classification derives from the Hope-Goldthorpe social grading of occupations within eight occupational groups and three broader social classes

'whose incumbents typically share in broadly similar *market* and *work* situations, the two major components of class position' (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 17).

It was not possible to follow that classification in this study of Athens College, as the students' official records were in many cases vague and insufficient. For example, one father's occupation written down as 'employee' did not help placing the occupation in one of the eight categories corresponding to the three 'services' described in the Halsey, Heath and Ridge research.

D. Labaree, in his book *The Making of an American High School*, distinguishes four class categories, also based on the father's occupation: '*proprietary middle class,* consisting of those occupational groups that are self-employed, such as shopkeepers, manufacturers, self-employed craftsmen, and professionals; *employed middle class*, made up by white-collar employees, clerks, supervisors, and government employees; *skilled working class*; and *semiskilled-unskilled working class* (Labaree, 1988, p. 40). The two middle classes used in his study correspond in practice with the old middle and the new middle classes used by such historians as Robert Wiebe (1967, pp. 111-32) and Mary Ryan (1981, pp. 182-83), although they see the old middle class as having consisted of those occupational groups that constituted the middle class before the advent of industrial capitalism, whereas the new middle class consisted of those groups that arose with and prospered under industrial capitalism (Labaree, 1988, p. 185).

Other authors have used similar ways to classify occupations and relate them to social classes. Mylonas, trying to identify social inequalities in Greek education, researched the secondary education offered to agrarian compared to urban high schools. He distinguishes the following occupational groups: farmers and workers, merchants, employees and professionals (lawyers, civil engineers, medical doctors, etc.), noting that the occupational situation on the father indicates the socio-economic situation of the family (Mylonas, 2004, p. 132).

Mary Ryan (Ryan, 1981, p. 244), in her research *The family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, reorganised the 270 jobs listed in the New York State Census for 1855 and 1865 into eight ranks, combining the last three to constitute one category of unskilled labourers: Merchants, manufacturers, financiers; Professionals; Shopkeepers and small commercial enterprises; White collar and public service (private/ public);

Artisans/craftsmen; Unskilled (commercial sector); Factory employment (semi- or unskilled); Personal service.

Recently, many researchers have used the classical classification of occupations in statistics of education proposed by OECD. This classification is based on four levels of skills corresponding to primary, secondary and tertiary education qualifications needed for a particular job (Elias, 1997, p. 7). Athanassiadis (Athanassiadis, 2005, p. 44) uses the OECD classification in a slightly adapted form.
From all the above Labaree's occupation classification seemed to work best with the data available to me. As I did not officially have any other feature of the fathers as heads of the family I decided to base my classification on Labaree's division as far as possible. My hypothesis was that students who received financial aid might have improved their lives compared to their fathers' lives. I decided to use three occupational groups as follows: *self-employed middle class; employed middle class; skilled-unskilled workers.*

3.4.3. Interviews

In this thesis my interest extends not only to what was going on in the classrooms of Athens College, but to the lives of those who lived and worked there (students and teachers). Their perceptions on how this school affected their personal development and their lives are as interesting as the growth and development of the school itself. Systematic use of oral-history techniques are a central part of the research method of this study in order to reach an understanding of the history of this specific educational institution from a bottom-up, everyday perspective (De Coninck-Smith, 2008, p. 735).

On the other hand, the interaction of spoken and written sources complement or set up a deeper dialogue with what actually happened, which is the duty of the historian (Cunningham and Gardner, 2004). By looking at both living memories/testimonies of many of those who experienced an event in the past or lived in the period under scrutiny in an institution and archival records generated by those who administered it, we come to understand the common object of both perspectives better and also gain a more general insight into what we may expect.

Thus, the second type of data emanates from interviews of Athens College alumni and retired teachers who had been in Athens College in the fifty years under investigation. It was elicited by me as researcher, to be used as a form of triangulation in my effort to consider major claims or beliefs about Athens College. This may complement and perhaps challenge (Jacobs, Leach and Spencer, 2010, p. 219) what the documents do not say voluntarily or involuntarily. I believe that the alumni and teachers of a school are the most appropriate witnesses of the work done there.

Semi-structured interviews of approximately 60 minutes each were conducted with thirteen Athens College alumni and ten retired teachers. Two of the alumni interviews that were conducted by me for the needs of earlier research (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009) were reanalysed from different perspectives as 'secondary analysis can give fresh insights into data, and ready-made data sets or archives do provide extremely valuable and cost-efficient resources for researchers' (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2006, p. 170).

A leaflet with the description of the research project was given to the interviewees to inform them about the study and Consent Forms were signed by them. The interview schedule consisted of thirteen questions. It was an axis for discussion, not followed strictly, but I did make sure I did not miss basic questions. Prompts were given by me in order to go deeper in eliciting memories and facilitating the discussion in the direction of answers addressing my research questions. I insisted on clarifying examples or incidents of special interest to them. Subject to the permission of interviewees, the interviews were recorded. They were coded by me and transcribed, half of them by professionals and half by me. Every precaution was taken to preserve anonymity.

3.5. Sampling

The way documents were selected has been discussed earlier in this chapter. In relation to the themes, I selected those that corresponded to major changes in educational policy, either of the MoERA. In any case, there is always a subjectivity issue which has to do with the researcher's choice and with his/her interpretive point of view.

A methodological technique of the thesis was the analysis of individual student records, detailing social origins and attainments for 597 students, drawn from enrolments in 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 combined to graduation in 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980,

1992/93. These data, for example, shed light on the distribution of scholarships, graduation and drop-outs, and university studies. All the students who graduated in the specific years (100%) were included in the sample (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1: Sampling plan by cohort at entering class of Elementary School

Year of admission	Grade	Students enrolled	Students at graduation	Students who left	% of students who left/died
1940-41	4th	29	9	20	68%
1950-51	4th	108	63	45	42%
1960-61	4th	129	71	58	45%
1970-71	4th	144	97	47	33%
1980-81	1st	176	144	32	18%
Total		586	384	202	34%

(Athens College Archives)

Table 2: Sampling plan by cohort at graduating class of Upper School

Year of graduation	Enrolled in entering class	Entrants in other classes	Students at graduation	Sample	Sampling fraction
1949-50	9	22	31	31	100%
1959-60	63	15	78	78	100%
1969-70	71	14	85	85	100%
1979-80	97	19	116	116	100%
1991-92 and 1992-93	144	143	287	287	100%
Total	384	213	**597**	**597**	100%

(Athens College Archives)

The sample of interviewees was a hard decision to make. The difficulty was the selection of the interviewees among the many. Being an insider researcher, I had to prove that I did not choose the interviewees that would tell the things I wanted to hear. On the other hand, by being an insider, I could know who had the information I wanted (Foddy, 1993, p. 190) and who were the most respected by their classmates/colleagues. I could select interviewees randomly or by lottery. In both ways there was a chance that they might not be able or willing to talk much or they might not have substantial things to say. A second way would be to select alumni who participated actively in student life. I decided to select alumni in the second manner, trying to be sure they were persons able to provide different kinds of comments and not just sympathetic views. I was aware that alumni often talk about their schools with nostalgia for lost youth and that those who agree to participate in such studies sometimes tend to have a disposition to celebrate their time there rather than criticise it (Jacobs, Leach and Spencer, 2010, pp. 221, 226).

I interviewed as wide a range of different 'types of students' as possible: alumni coming from all five decades of the period under scrutiny, fee-paying students/those on scholarship holders/non-scholarship holders, male/female, day-students/boarders and at least two girls from the last decade in which the student population was mixed (co-educational). The most important criterion was that they had things to say and they were in a condition of good health, especially the old ones. It is difficult to base statistically robust research plans on the continued longevity, health and willingness of human subjects, so this aspect of the research conformed to what Robson (Robson, 2002, p. 263) and Blaxter et al. (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2006, p. 165) have described as non-probability purposive sampling. There were also benefits from 'snowball sampling', where one interviewee suggested other alumni for interviews. However, I realise that other students may have had different or less positive experiences than the participants of this research.

3.6. Methods of data analysis

Approaches for analysing the data reflect the diversity of the qualitative and quantitative source materials (O' Leary, 2004; Robson, 2002). As Tosh and Sean have noted, particular types of primary source materials demand special attention, and the researcher 'needs to find out how, when and why [a document] came into being' (Tosh and Sean,

2006, p. 91). Documents' authenticity is the most important issue to be established for the researcher to base his/her judgements upon them. Provenance, correctness and completeness of the document must be ensured (McCulloch, 2004a, p. 42). Reliability of the documents must be appraised, biases and silences must be identified. By triangulating information from documents with data from other sources, such as secondary materials and interviews, I was able to build an evidence base to support the analysis and argument of the thesis and to minimise speculation. I encountered issues of documents' meaning and interpretation in putting the texts in the context in which they were produced. Having adopted a mixed methods approach, I analysed each type of document according to their form: for example students' records merited a positivistic approach, while texts and interviews were subjected to an interpretive approach (McCulloch, 2004a, p. 46).

Once gathered, the qualitative and quantitative data were thematically filed, then codified and organised in themes and patterns (Creswell, 2007, pp. 156-157). I used NVivo 8, mainly to store and organise the data, particularly from the interviews. By reading the transcripts of the interviews many times I created codes from the themes and categories – those that I had anticipated and those that came up - and I tried to find patterns showing the relations among them (Bazeley, 2007, p. 3). Where the software did not live up to expectations or looked as if it might introduce unnecessary complications, more traditional analytical devices were used instead. Microsoft Excel was used for basic calculations associated with statistical data. Contact and Document Summary Forms were used for the systematic analysis of the data as proposed by Miles and Huberman (Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp. 54-55).

3.7. Ethical considerations

I abided by Richard Aldrich's 'three duties for the historian of education'. These are: a duty to the people of the past (treating non-participant/non-living human subjects with the same consideration and respect as living ones); a duty to our own generation (to pursue high-quality, defensible, ethical scholarship); a duty to search after the truth (as a noble enterprise, while acknowledging that there may be different versions of the truth and that truth may never emerge) (Aldrich, 2006, pp. 17-25).

Bassey also describes research ethics 'under three headings: respect for democracy, respect for truth and respect for persons' (Bassey, 1999, pp. 74-75). I believe that as a researcher I enjoy the freedom to investigate and ask questions; to give and receive information; to express ideas and criticise the ideas of others; the freedom to publish research findings. On the other hand I accept that it is logical that I am expected to be responsible: to show respect for the freedom of others, for truth and for persons who trusted me.

I respected the principles of an ethical approach to research: to ensure I had the support of the owners of the information and of those to whom the information refers (Gregory, 2003, p. 36). Upon request, I was given approval to carry out this research and have access to all archival deposits held by the College and I took every care to ensure the 'informed consent' and anonymity of interviewees. As part of the process of securing interviews, I provided potential interviewees with a note of simply-stated points, explaining what my thesis was investigating and why the 'voice' of former teachers and pupils was important. I invited individuals to raise any questions or concerns with me before an interview commenced. Participants were clear that, after the interview was transcribed, they would be consulted before their words or views were included in the thesis and that, if they were not happy with it, the material would not be used. Absolute confidentiality was guaranteed.

Confidentiality was considered a main issue and it was maintained at all levels. I promised the interviewees that data emanating from interviews would be treated and presented anonymously. As an administrator I was familiar with data protection restrictions relating to past and current students' records and I took appropriate measures to protect the names of participants (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000, p. 104). I was aware that in the event of accidentally coming across misplaced documents or files revealing personal data that lay outside the sphere of my interest, I would have to bring them to the attention of those responsible for the archive.

3.8. Conclusion

Methodologies and methods used for this research were presented in this chapter. This historical case study is going to examine data coming from documents, institutional student records and interviews. A mixed methods approach and a wide range of

documents and interviewees gave the research the flexibility to get answers for the research questions and triangulate them. Primary and secondary sources were studied, appraised and analysed with the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches depending on the nature of the research questions. The first research question demanded extended study of documentary sources on education from the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, local education authorities, the Hellenic General Statistical Service, the School's archives, journals, and national newspapers. The second question used students' records and documents from the School's archives and data emanating from alumni's interviews conducted by the researcher. The third question was based on data coming from both alumni's interviews and documents.

Ethical considerations related to this research were explained and measures taken for the respect of those to whom information belongs and to whom it refers were exposed. In the next chapter a general overview of the history of Athens College in the years 1940-1990 will be presented in the light of an institution seeking to educate the whole person.

CHAPTER 4: ATHENS COLLEGE-CULTIVATING A TRADITION

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter the main developments in the history of Athens College will be presented in relation to the state and broader social and political changes. In the 50 years under investigation, Athens College, based on the ideals, values, structures and achievements of its first phase (1925-1940), cultivated and enhanced its traditions and distinctive educational characteristics. Written official accounts have preserved these traditions which constitute self-images of the School, some of them still in operation. Such official accounts often generate a somewhat idealised image of a school's history, which may in some cases be modified by reference to more detailed archival evidence and interviews. Athens College's goal for the development of children into well-rounded personalities comes up in all official accounts. Yet the School underwent changes inevitable within broader educational, political, and social changes. Key changes at Athens College are scrutinised and presented in this chapter, interpreted in the light of a private institution created -according to its founders' vision- to lead in the sector of education and to serve the public good, thus affirming Aldrich's argument that, today, public and private are not as distinct as they used to be (Aldrich, 2004, p. 2).

Before entering the period 1940-1990, a brief overview of the years 1925-1940 will introduce the period under investigation. Athens College's struggle for survival during WWII, efforts for reconstruction of its buildings as well as its academic rehabilitation after 1940s, its growth and expansion in the 1950s and 1960s within a gradually improving socio-economical context will be unfolded. Key changes in the status and structure of Athens College in the 1970s and 1980s will be followed and simultaneously the intersection of Athens College's evolution with the organisation and bureaucratisation of the Greek state and the MoERA will be traced.

4.2. Athens College before World War II

Athens College, according to historical accounts and official texts, owes its foundation in 1925 to the vision, decisive action, fruitful perseverance and generosity of some enlightened Greeks and American philhellenes (Davis, 1992, p. xiv; Karamanos, 2001, p. 29). Two Greek benefactors, Emmanuel Benakis and his son-in-law Stephanos Delta, were the leading actors providing the funds to create a school for boys, at the forefront of education, dedicated to public service. Stephanos Delta, believed strongly in international collaboration for the success of a school '...with a programmed goal of educating good and useful Greek citizens, combining the spirit of classical ancient Greece with the progressive and practical mentality of America' (Delta, 1932a, p. 3). Seven years after Athens College's founding, Stephanos Delta was to write in *Ergassia*, a magazine of that era:

> ...The founders dreamt of a school which would provide Greek society with patriotic men, humanists of straightforward character, young men endowed with bodily strength and the character required to overcome discouraging obstacles...(Delta, 1932a, p. 4)

At the official inauguration ceremony of Benaki Hall, the main building of the Psychico campus, on 25 May 1929, Greece's Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos expressed his expectations of Athens College:

> In private institutions, greater and more successful innovations are feasible, because private institutions, being merely under the supervision of the state and conforming only to the general directions of the state, have the freedom lacking in state schools, and for this reason they can achieve greater progress. Such progress we expect Athens College to accomplish (Eleftheron Vima, 26 May, 1929b, p. 7)

Greek Parliament facilitated this by voting for the Founding Law 3776/1929, which defined Athens College as a private school equivalent to the state schools (*isotimo*) and gave it a statutory autonomy to go beyond Greek school curricula and practices. The School created its own Programme of Studies, a progressive curriculum (Analytical Programme of Athens College with Supplement, 1933; Davis, 1992, p. 82).

Athens College's stated purpose of offering its students, 'the harmonious development of the mental, moral, and bodily forces, particularly the character, of the boys in accordance with Greek Laws and in cooperation with the Greek Orthodox church'

(Athens College, 1925; Statutes of the Somateion 'Hellenic-American Educational Foundation', 1925) attracted the interest of many parents living in Greece and abroad, who wanted their children to acquire quality Greek education.

Athens College rapidly developed as a centre of educational reform (Dewing, 1940, p. 14) with teachers drawing on such facilities (Athenian News, 1932, p. 2) as the school library and science laboratories to develop practical, rather than theoretical, teaching and learning approaches (Ractivand, 1931, p. 14). In parallel with the demanding academic Programme of Studies, a programme of character-building extra-curricular activities was established (The Athenian News, 1933, p. 2; The Athenian, 1939, p. 1).

Although middle class families were Athens College's main clientele, its admission policy included provisions for recruiting children whose families were not able to pay the fees, similar to English grammar schools. Unlike English grammar schools, the fees were not paid by the state but by the Athens College Scholarship Fund. The Fund was established almost simultaneously with the founding of the school to facilitate this objective (Eleftheron Vima, 1929a) by Penelope Delta (Notarial Deed, 1936), Emmanuel Benakis's daughter, Stephanos Delta's wife and an eminent author of children's literature (Samaras, 2001, pp. 31-3). Financial aid was awarded to children of needy families (Eleftheron Vima, 1939) according to financial criteria. The Scholarship Fund was supported for many years by Penelope and Stephanos Delta, enabling children from modest family backgrounds to study at Athens College. The 'Regional Scholarships' Programme recruited students from distant and isolated Greek areas (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 228).

According to Davis, 'the dictatorship 'marked the beginning of a period in which the progress of the "creative years" was destroyed step by step... August 1936 marked the turning point, the beginning of the erosion of the progress we had worked so hard to achieve' (Davis, 1992, p. 233). Interferences by the Government in the affairs of the College and radical changes in the educational system affected the Programme of Studies at Athens College. In 1938, Athens College was classified by the MoERA as a foreign school sponsored by American friends. Its Founding Law, although 'not repealed, was rendered largely null, and void' (Davis, 1992, p. 236-240). Nevertheless, it contrived to keep its distinguishing features.

4.3. War and struggle for survival

On the day of the official inauguration ceremony of Benaki Hall, Herbert Goold, Chargé d' Affaires of the American Legation in Athens had included in his speech the following words:

> ...For who knows but that a young man or a group of young men will emerge from Athens College with the ability to persuade the human race not to permit itself to be destroyed... to persuade the Western peoples that the greatest of all loyalties is loyalty to Western civilisation itself, their heritage from ancient Greece, and that no more shall cathedrals, abbeys, schools and other beautiful buildings such as this, works of art, laboratories and splendid libraries be wantonly destroyed in outbreaks of fanatical patriotism (Davis, 1992, p. 89).

Eleven years and three months after that ceremony, the most destructive of all wars began.

When Greece entered the war, on 28 October 1940, all schools closed (Davis, 1992, pp. 249-250). Athens College teachers offered one thirtieth of their salary to the Panhellenic whip-round for the expenses of the war (Teachers' Faculty Meetings Minutes, 5 December 1940. Initially Benaki Hall was requisitioned by the Greek military authorities to become a military hospital. Most of its movable property was requisitioned by the Ministry of War. The school kept seven rooms for the remainder of its property. When the German Nazis entered Athens the following spring (1941) they requisitioned the building. They destroyed the greater part of the School's archives. On the day the Germans entered Athens, Penelope Delta committed suicide, leaving Stephanos Delta in deep grief (Davis, 1992, p. 264).

Many stories of heroism and commitment to duty have been written of soldiers or civilians who defended their country. Like many other educationalists and administrative staff in other parts of the world, Athens College Board of Directors, administrators and teachers 'were determined that the education of children would continue, sometimes in ridiculously impossible situations' (Stranack, 2005, p.xiii).

From June 10, 1941 to November 11, 1945, Athens College was housed in two buildings: the "Kentrikon", on Academias Street in the centre of Athens, offered by Lambros Eftaxias, a member of the Board of Directors, and the "Parartema" on

Parnethos Street in Psychico, close to Athens College's campus, rented by parents of younger students living in the northern suburbs of the city. Conditions were very poor. As there was no furniture, students had either to bring chairs from home or sit on the floor. All Americans, among them the American President Homer Davis and foreign Athens College teachers, had to leave Greece when the war started (Davis, 1992, p. 256).

During the Occupation Years, from April 27th 1941 until October 12th 1944, living conditions in Greece were terrible. Especially in winter 1941-42, the horror of war was accompanied by famine and cold. Starving people, children among them, were dying in the streets and a municipal truck collected the bodies and carried them to the morgue just around the corner of the Academias Street building of Athens College to be taken one or two days later for burial in common graves (Davis, 1992, p. 269).

Without its excellent facilities and without the foreign personnel, the school functioned on a reduced scale, abandoning many elements of its curriculum. Alumni remember that there were no sports, no science labs, and the schedules were drastically reduced in teaching hours (A1). Due to the absence of foreign teachers and the facilities necessary for the functioning of the curriculum, and with a Government Representative attached to the Board of Directors ensuring that Athens College was complying with the rules of the Nazi-appointed government, the seven-year programme for which so much effort had been exerted could not be applied.

The Nazis left from Athens College and Greece on 12 October 1944 (Svoronos, 2007, p. 142). Benaki Hall was requisitioned once more, this time by British commandos and became a British hospital unit. The School came back to the Psychico campus on 12th November 1945. In 1974, George Phylactopoulos concludes in his account of the German Occupation: 'Looking back on these events..., it is comforting to realise that, though badly damaged physically, Athens College emerged from that horrible experience perhaps a bit wiser and spiritually unsullied' (Phylactopoulos, 1991, p. 50).

4.4. The end of the War: Reconstruction

The War, the Occupation and the civil war that followed left the Greek educational system in total disarray, with schools functioning rather as welfare organisations for the

children than as centres of culture and education (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 102). Although Athens College returned to its empty premises in Psychico in November 1945, the Academias Street school building continued working, with 170 younger students whose families lived in the centre and the southern suburbs of Athens. The Board of Directors and Homer Davis tried to find funds in Greece and in America for both the reconstruction of Athens College and the increased needs for scholarships. In the school year 1946-47 the Boarding House of Athens College operated again with 132 boarders. The following year there were 325 boarders, many of them victims of war.

In 1946, a new financial policy (Davis, 1992, p. 343) was launched to ensure that all income from the Endowment Fund was given to scholarships: until then the fees were lower than the real cost of the education of each student. This means that all students, even those coming from rich families, were benefiting from the reduced fees. With the new financial policy, the tuition fees were tripled to cover the real expenses. The students whose families could not afford to pay the fees could apply for scholarships. Thus, in a way, the rich families subsidised the scholarships for the needy students. The granting of scholarships continued as long as the financial need of the student continued and did not set any conditions for excellent achievement by the student. The scholarships were considered as honour loans to be rendered back when scholarship holders were in a position to pay them back. This policy was justified by the post-war demands for social justice offering equal opportunities for quality education to all children, regardless of their economic or social background.

Together with the renovations of the damaged building and surrounding school grounds, the necessity for reorganisation of the Programme of Studies also became obvious. In 1946-47, a seven-member Educational Council was formed 'with instructions to attend to the academic rehabilitation of Athens College' (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 122). In spring 1950, a new curriculum reducing the student work-load and introducing important innovations was worked out and incorporated for the faculty's consideration. It was put into effect in 1950-51 (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 133).

As Athens College was trying to heal the wounds of the war, the concern of students, staff, parents and the entire Athens College community centred not only on their school but on their devastated country's rehabilitation as well. The Athens College Student

Community collected money among the students and built a school in the mountain village of Cambia in Phthiotis in order to contribute to Greece's reconstruction. From that year the Student Association continued offering the funds for the building of a school in Greece every year. Books, educational equipment, desks, writing materials, clothing and shoes, as well as food were offered to these schools. By 1970-71, 20 such schools had been built. The Academy of Athens, at its session of 27 December 1962, bestowed upon the Student Association of Athens College an award in recognition of its nation-wide public welfare activities (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 130; Karamanos, 2001, p. 56).

In 1948, some alumni under the auspices of the Athens College Alumni Association (SAKA, founded in 1931) took the initiative to raise money for the completion of Benaki Hall as the west wing had not until then been erected.

4.5. 1950-1970: Growth and prosperity

An ambitious building programme started in the 1950s (Karamanos, 2010, p. 84). The west wing of Benaki Hall was completed in 1951-52 giving the building the Greek letter Π (Pi shape it has today. In 1954, a covered gym hall was built with the funds given by John Carras, an Athens College alumnus of 1936. A new stadium was built as student numbers kept increasing and the sports programme was expanding. The new stadium was dedicated to the memory of Stephanos Delta, who had died in 1947. A new building was erected on the Psychico campus in 1954 to house the increasing numbers of boarders in a home-like environment. Until then the boarders lived in the east wing of Benaki Hall. Kyriakos Tsolainos and his wife Phoebe donated the funds and the building was named in memory of Panayotis Tsolainos, Kyriakos's father. Five more buildings were erected on the Psychico campus to house the boarders and complete the Boarding Department: the House of the Owl (Glafka) in 1957, Capps Hall (the administrative centre) in 1958, Vassileia in 1959, and the Davis and Lila buildings in 1960 and 1961 (Karamanos, 2010, p. 86; Phylactopoulos, 1976, pp. 164-166).

Davis retired in 1960. George Phylactopoulos (1976, p. 158) said: 'As the presidential regime draws to its final stage, the College reaches an unprecedented record in physical growth and academic excellence, in national usefulness and international prestige'. The new President, Charles M. Rice, undertook the direction of Athens College from

October 1960 until 1964. In 1962, Constantinos Lalopoulos succeeded Emmanuel Troullinos in the Co-Direction of Athens College. After a short interim presidency of Homer Davis, James H. Beaverson was appointed President in September 1965.

In 1966 a new 15-member Educational Council was formed in Athens College with the task of reorganising the Programme of Studies and the curriculum and adjusting it to the changing needs of society. The new programme was put into effect in 1969-70. The first year was a pilot year and George Phylactopoulos, chairman of the Educational Council, supervised the programme's application in this first transitional year.

Athens College continued to develop alongside Greece's financial development, with more student enrolments and new buildings being erected (a Library and a Science Building in 1966, the chapel of Pammegiston Taxiarchon in 1971, a swimming pool in 1972). In 1964, Law 4379/1964 was voted in Parliament (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 147), introducing an educational reform towards the modernisation and democratisation of the Greek school (MoERA, 1964). In 1965, disagreement between the royal family and the government brought about the government's resignation. The subsequent governments that succeeded one another were unable to govern in a normal, stable democratic fashion.

Street riots caused a state of instability of which a group within the military took advantage, mounting a coup on 21st April 1967 that overthrew the legal government, proclaimed martial law and established a dictatorship (Svoronos, 2007, p. 152). A series of arrests were effected of citizens, politicians and resisting military figures, censorship was imposed, eradicating democracy. The reform effort in education was unlawfully halted. The military dictatorship obstructed the functioning of the schools, Athens College among them, with constant interventions and controls over school life. More specifically, a supervisor was appointed by MoERA with the task to see if Athens College was complying with the state curriculum and legislation. Athens College again struggled to find ways to avoid the implementation of this measure and maintain the elements of its Programme of Studies that differentiated it from other schools.

In 1971, a site on the campus was allotted by the Board of Directors of Hellenic American Educational Foundation to the SAKA for an 'Alumni House' in the hope that the creation of a house gathering-space for alumni would enhance the bonds of the

School with its alumni and motivate them to demonstrate interest in the College's needs and the Scholarship Programme. The founding of the "Athens College Alumni Association of America", in New York in 1953 and of the "Athens College Alumni Association" in London in 1959 underlined the wish of Athens College alumni abroad to cultivate bonds among themselves and to keep contact with and support their *alma mater* (Karamanos, 2001, p. 57).

4.6. 1970-1990: Changes and continuities

The wind of change started blowing with a radical move away from the traditional admission process in use since 1925. The admission of students to Athens College was decided upon the results of exams that candidates had to pass to enter at the 4th grade (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 191). Athens College, having a high reputation as an educational organisation, was in a position to select the best candidates in terms of mental ability and level of achievement at the time of the examination. The selection procedure was meritocratic and based on intelligence and effort. On the other side, once the students had been admitted, the School gave them the opportunity to apply to the Scholarship Programme for financial aid according to their family's needs. A combination of the ideology of meritocracy and equality of opportunity may be seen here.

Under legislative adjustments (MoERA, 1964), the Lower Section of the School (primary, 4th, 5th and 6th grades) had to become a six-grade elementary school. Starting in 1971-1972, students were admitted in the 3rd grade (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 224) and in 1976-77 in the 2nd. When, in 1978-1979, the 1st grade was added, the selection procedure by exams ceased, substituted by lottery. Thus the student body in the elementary school was typical of the population, as in all other schools. This change came to interrupt the traditional selection procedure for all students, but still Athens College could select a number of students entering the seventh grade (Junior High School).

The collapse of the dictatorship in 1974 brought about many changes in the political and social life of the country. The restoration of democracy, the referendum with the people's decision for a Republic without a king as the country's regime, a background of continuing tension with Turkey, clashes among the parties and union protests all had

serious negative effects in the education sector too, both public and private. State interventions, friction in the teachers' working relations, and students' participation in political activities created problems of a functional and financial nature. By Law 309/1976 on the organisation and administration of general education and Law 682/1977 concerning private schools (MoERA, 1976; MoERA, 1977), Greek educational legislation reformed Greek schools but also placed private schools under the control of the state, thus restricting their autonomy. Athens College, like all private schools, was controlled, though not subsidised, by the state. Athens College's efforts for autonomy and its deregulation efforts have been continuous and were affected by the state policy towards private education and the relations of the MoERA with the teachers' federations (OLME, the state secondary school teachers' federation and OIELE the private school teachers' federation) in the framework of educational, political socio-economical and other parameters.

In 1977 the elementary school moved to a second campus, Kantza. The building was named 'Bodosakeio' after its donor, Bodosakis Athanassiadis, who put up money for the acquisition of 165,000 sq. m of land in Kantza, a suburb of Athens (Karamanos, 2010, p. 89). Another major change took place in 1977: after 52 years as a boys' school, Athens College became co-educational. The *'Andras trefon'* (which in modern Greek means *'nurturing men'*) of the Athens College coat of arms was kept, since the ancient Greek meaning of the word *'andras'* is 'men' but also 'persons'. The proportion of boys to girls was initially two boys to one girl, but from the beginning of the 1990s admissions were random.

Important changes took place in the 1980s, affecting the status and size of Athens College. The School faced a severe financial crisis at the beginning of the decade. State interventions prohibited private schools from increasing fees, regardless of the costs of the education offered. This, in combination with inflation and the costs for completion of the Bodosakeio, caused a severe deficit to the School. On the other hand, the school's reputation attracted more and more parents who wanted their children to be admitted. The Board of Directors, under pressure from these parents, many of whom were alumni or parents of children already attending the school, decided to create more places. It was their hope that a larger number of students could be given the advantages of the quality education that the school offered. The financial problems that the School faced would be reduced by more students attending the elementary school. This was not the case at

the secondary level and especially with the Senior High School. The smaller class sizes at this level, in combination with the hiring of specialised teachers, made it an expensive school unit that left a deficit year after year. The increase in the number of students at elementary level would compensate for the deficit of the Senior High School. In parallel, an 'S.O.S. campaign' was undertaken by the school in 1983, completed in December 1984 (Karamanos, 2001, p. 77) with the expected results coming from Athens College alumni and friends' contributions, Giannis Latsis, the Greek shipping tycoon, first among them.

In 1980, a second school, Psychico College, was founded under the umbrella of the Hellenic-American Educational Foundation (Papacostopoulou, 2011, p. 15). Psychico College was housed in the buildings of the Psychico campus that were evacuated as the Boarding House was gradually shrinking. Students finishing the 6th grade of both primary schools continued their studies at Athens College's three-year Junior High School and four-year Senior High School.

The development of Athens College and Psychico College and the ensuing fresh demands led to the construction of a new theatre which was completed in 1982. It was 'a gift of the American Government (Agency for International Development) to the youth of Greece' as the inscription on the entrance wall declares. On the other hand, the closing of the Boarding House, in 1983, was inevitable, as only 35 students were living in it in the school year 1982-83. Changes in Greek society and in the world caused this evolution in the character of Athens College. Education as boarders became less popular among Greek families. As many countries of the world, formerly colonies, acquired their independence, many Greeks returned home from Africa, Asia etc. In general the Greek school concentrated more and more on its educational and less on its character-building role. The closing of the Boarding House put an end to the regional scholarships, as regional scholarship holders coming from all over Greece were boarders away from the family home.

Law 1566 (MoERA, 1985), concerning the structure and operation of primary and secondary education, regulated state schools without really changing them. The educational system remained centralised, bureaucratic and paternalistic (Bouzakis, 2006, p. 180). MoERA's intervention, provoked by the Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College (founded in 1977), brought about another

major change in the School's structure: since 1983-1984, a three-year Senior High School operated in parallel with the traditional four-year Senior High School of Athens College. This was an important change to the structure of Athens College and a crucial intervention of the Parents' Association in the course of events of the School in general.

In 1988 the first 69 alumnae graduated from Athens College. The descent of the women graduates down the steps of Benaki Hall at Commencement was diversely commented upon but constituted a landmark in the School's history.

4.7. Conclusion

In this chapter the self-image of cultivating and continuing traditions and innovations at Athens College is illustrated. After surviving the War, in the 1950s Athens College pursued an extended building programme with funds from donations. The Scholarship Programme facilitated the entrance of boys from needy families and regional scholarships were established. The Athens College Student Community contributed to the rehabilitation of other schools and was awarded a prize by the Academy of Athens. In the 1960s students' numbers and Athens College's reputation kept growing steadily alongside Greece's financial development.

In the 1970s, due to legislative adjustments, the selection procedure by entrance exams for the fourth grade ceased and students entered in the first grade by lottery. After 52 years Athens College became co-educational. Bodossakeio was built in Kantza to house the elementary school. In the 1980s financial problems, along with Athens College's growing reputation, drove to the School's increase/augmentation in student numbers. A second School, Psychico College, was founded by the HAEF. Since 1983-1984, students of Athens College Senior High School could choose between a three-year Lyceum and the four-year Lyceum. Law 4379 (MoERA, 1964), Law 309 (MoERA, 1976; MoERA, 1977), Law 682 (MoERA, 1977) and Law 1566 (MoERA, 1985) were the main legislative state formations by which the MoERA regulated both public and private schools in its effort to offer equal opportunities to all Greek children.

In spite of the changes, traditions cultivated and institutions established in the early years of the School proved to be very stable and the special character of the School remained the same through the years. Education of the whole person, high academic standards, character-building extracurricular activities, sports, cultivation of the arts,

citizenship training, and the Scholarship Programme made Athens College a school different to others in the Greek educational environment.

This chapter has addressed the first research question and it has highlighted the key changes in the history of Athens College, its trajectory to its growth and development and the main historical, socio-economic and cultural factors that affected its evolution. The next chapters, based on a range of primary source material, enable a more detailed understanding of particular aspects of the School's work in these years and will allow a deeper, and in some respects more critical, interpretation to be developed.

CHAPTER 5: CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the analysis of documents related to the Programmes of Studies, curricula and teaching methods applied in Athens College in the period under investigation. The main changes to the Programmes of Studies and curricula will be described in relation to developments in the School's structure and broader changes of educational policy by the MoERA, as well as changes in Greek society. The primary documents were located mainly in the School's archives. They were Proceedings of the Athens College Educational Council, committee reports, minutes from Athens College Faculty meetings, operational texts etc.

From 1925 until 1990 Athens College assigned the study of academic and pedagogic matters to an Educational Council four times: in the years 1932-36, when the Programme of Studies of the Seven-Year Programme was drawn up; in the 1946-50 period following the difficult years of the German Occupation; in the years 1966-69; and in the years 1980-81. I will summarise the work of the Educational Council in the years 1932-36, because in those creative years the educational and pedagogical character of the School was formed and the Seven-year Programme constituted a solid traditional base on which subsequent changes were built. The Programmes of Studies of 1950, 1969-70, 1980-81 will be presented in more detail.

The Founding Law 3776/1929 decreed that Athens College was a private school comprising a three-year elementary school and a six-year secondary cycle: a classical Gymnasium, a Practical Lyceum (of scientific orientation) and a Commercial school (the later ceased as an option in 1935). The School was recognised as equivalent to state schools. English language, which did not exist in the Greek syllabus then, was a major subject at Athens College and the language of instruction – potentially - of all subjects except religion, and Greek language/literature/history/geography. Athens College could make changes in the curriculum on the condition that all the subjects and the teaching material prescribed by the MoERA would be covered.

Initially President Homer Davis conceived the idea of extending the programme of studies by one year. Demetrios Georgakakis, the Co-Director, embraced the idea and so did the Faculty. The proposal was approved by the BoD and the Ministries of Education and National Economy also approved an experimental application of the programme in the school year 1930-31. The Athens College endeavour coincided with a broader effort to reform the Greek educational system, which relapsed at the fall of Eleftherios Venizelos from power in 1932. Moreover, all around Europe and the United States the winds of progressive education, as well as of experimentation, were blowing in response to the threat posed by economic depression and increasingly by fascism.

In 1934 the Supervisory Council of the Lower School was established in order to oversee a thorough study of the varied facets of the curriculum and of school life, initially of the Primary School and subsequently of the Upper School grades. The Council systematically and thoroughly scrutinised the specialised techniques best suited for the teaching of each class at each age.

Finally the united efforts of the BoD, the President and the Co-Director succeeded with a law being passed in January 1936 legalising the seventh year of studies in the Upper School (secondary section) of Athens College (MoERA, 1936). This was a landmark in the history of Athens College as it ensured that its educational staff controlled its curriculum. The New Programme provided time for the teaching material to be covered in depth and breadth and gave the students extra time for extracurricular activities, cogitation, research, and play. Actually, the adoption of the Seven-year Programme made Athens College different from all other Greek schools.

5.2. Curriculum of 1949-50: Academic rehabilitation

After the German Occupation and the ensuing civil war, together with the building work refurbishing the College's premises, the necessity, additionally, of intellectual reorganisation also became clear. In the 1946-47 academic year, a seven-member Educational Council was appointed, presided by George Phylactopoulos.

The Educational Council issued annual reports of their proceedings (Educational Council, 1948; Phylactopoulos, 1950). The report of spring 1950 was the one that comprised the proposed New Programme of Studies, fruit of the labours of four years of

hard work of many Athens College educationalists. In its first part it comprises the underpinning educational and pedagogic principles for the drawing-up of the proposed Programme. In the second part, a detailed description of the teaching material of the subjects for each year is presented.

The Council's objective is stated to be the academic reconstruction of the School and its main goal the finding of ways that would reduce the number of teaching periods per week. In the *Proceedings of the Athens College Educational Council in the 1949-50 school year* (1950, p.5), the goal of its members' task is stated: 'the educational advantages that had initially arisen from the application of the seven-year programme had gradually disappeared in the course of the stormy and tragic years since 1936' (meaning the Metaxas dictatorship of the 4th August, 1936 and the subsequent outbreak of WWII). It had to be 'not merely revived .... but, advancing further, to coordinate all the educational means the College disposed of, so that in future the goals for which it had been founded should better be attained' (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 132).

Starting from the theoretical and philosophical fundamentals and re-orientation of the values upon which the society of Greece would be supported after World War II, the Council studied the role to be played by, and the mission of, Athens College, in the spirit of the vision of its founders in order that it should once more open new horizons for the education and society of Greece, combining classical humanistic traditions with the Western progressive spirit. Athens College had its Founding Law which ensured a degree of autonomy, means and infrastructures that needed to be reformulated and coordinated in order to process and compose a new Programme of Studies. According to the Council's chairman George Phylactopoulos,

> emphasis was to be placed on the need to prepare a cadre of capable, responsible, and democratically minded citizens, ready to place themselves at the service of the people by consciously developing during their school days the habit of placing their personal ambitions within the more general framework of the common weal (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 132).

During the first three years, matters were studied regarding teaching as well as criteria of evaluation on a scale of five instead of twenty that the state had adopted (Educational Council, 1948, p. 5), quality and quantity of homework. Modern scientific achievements and the new requirements of the day necessitated a modernised Programme of Studies and re-adaptation of methods and means.

The Educational Council's work initially was independent of the Academic Departments 'as it was judged that the matter had to be dealt with as a whole rather than mainly consider[ing] the aspirations and special interests of each department' (Phylactopoulos, 1950, p. 10). On the other hand, the teachers, organised in Academic Departments according to specialisation and holding regular meetings, settled issues of methodology and pedagogy, with a view to convergence in dealing with them in the School's functioning.

Following a three-year period of preparatory groundwork, the New Programme of Studies was drawn up during the 1949-50 academic year. It was approved by the Teachers' Faculty (Teachers' Faculty Meetings Minutes, 17 May 1950) and the Board of Directors, and was operational from the 1950-51 school year. In the final report, George Phylactopoulos explains on behalf of the Educational Council that their first concern was within the limits set by Law 3776/1929, to 'try to raise the intellectual level by improving the quality of the work done'. Their second aim was

> to create in the school, through a revised curriculum, the conditions...that would allow and encourage the boys to develop the attitudes, ideals and loyalties necessary for responsible, intelligent and effective citizenship in a free democratic society... to cultivate in the boys the ideal of service ...by making a more judicious use of the opportunities offered by a programme of extra-curricular activities for the training of the character (Phylactopoulos, 1950, pp. 16-17).

The members of the Council soon realised (as Davis had underlined two decades earlier) that no real improvement was possible without a great reduction of the daily workload of students. Only when students had time to study, reflect, research and reach deep understanding could they produce quality work in assignments, grasp the fundamental essences and attain independent and creative thinking. The same syllogisms were developed regarding extra-curricular activities. It is mentioned there that Athens College was justifiably proud of the major service it offered Greek education by introducing the institution of extra-curricular activities in Greece. Nevertheless, the members of the Council thought that if extra-curricular activities did not operate correctly they could do more harm than good, because instead of generating a sense of responsibility as desired, they might on the contrary encourage the development of boys to have a cursory and frivolous character without the proper social sense (Davis, 1930, p. 6; Phylactopoulos, 1950, p. 21).

The Educational Council decided that a drastic reduction of the weekly teaching hours should be implemented, with concentration of the subject matter of particular subjects into more compact units, in order to reduce the number of subjects the student had to study every year. To do this 'the curriculum of the entire period of ten years was viewed as one unit divided into only two cycles: a lower cycle comprising the first six years and an upper cycle comprising the last four years when the curriculum was to be more flexible and partly differentiated' (Phylactopoulos, 1950, p. 20).

In the 1950 Programme of Studies much was done to lighten the students' work-load, overburdened by extra English teaching, laboratories, and varied activities of the students. Time had to be found for the students to reflect, deepen their perceptions and indulge in creative work. The number of teaching periods for most lessons was reduced; moreover the total weekly scheduled teaching periods were reduced to 35 (from 41 including sports). Tuesday and Thursday afternoons were left free for 'clubs' (student societies according to the students' interests), for rehearsals and work on school publications. Special time had been provided in the programme for athletics/sports (Table 3).

Table 3: The percentage reduction of the weekly periods in the proposed programme as compared with other curricula.

PROPOSED CURRICULUM AS COMPARED WITH	IN RESPECT TO 'OFFICIAL' LESSONS	IN RESPECT TO ALL PERIODS (including study, lab, English, elective courses, etc.)
STATE CURRICULA	30%	---
A.C. PROGRAMME IN FORCE	15%	10%
1933 A.C. PROGRAMME	13%	8%

(Proceedings of the Athens College Educational Council, 1949-50, 1950, p. 24)

Two major concerns were expressed in the report: first, the necessity for integration in the programme of the requirements for both scientific research/progress and the liberal/humanistic tradition of Greek education; and second, the number of specialist courses offered in the Upper School curriculum where students could select the classical or the practical/science section. While in the first six years of the ten-year Programme

of Studies of Athens College, students received a general education, common to all students, in the four years of the Upper School, 27 teaching periods out of 126 in total were different in the two types of school (Classical and Science). The specialisation hours constituted 21% of the total periods, rising to 30% with the elective courses, thus leaving 70% of the education offered in the last four years of studies common to all students (88% if the ten years of studies at Athens College are considered) (Phylactopoulos, 1950, p. 29).

The elective courses were offered not in the interests of specialisation but mainly in order to reduce the number of mandatory teaching periods, to provide a cultural background for the boys and to give flexibility to a rigid, static curriculum. The principle of a broad, well-rounded education was predominant in the minds of those who set up the proposed programme. They were aware of the worth of a humanistic education, especially in instilling values in the boys and moulding their character but they were also aware of the necessity of preparing students for a society where developments in science and technology demanded specialised cadres to staff the research laboratories and commercial enterprises.

Athens College's new restructured programme was put into effect in the school year 1950-51 and was combined with teachers' professional development days and authorship of new textbooks. The difficult times Greece had endured rendered any systematic teachers' training or professional development impossible. Moreover, the textbooks were published by the Organisation for the Publication of School Books of MoERA (the use of the specific books for each subject/grade was obligatory and identical for all schools of Greece). Teachers' professional development days were organised by the Educational Council, such as two teachers' conferences in Athens (1949-50 and 1950-51) at Athens College, a third one in Delphi in 1952, and one in Nafplion in 1953.

New textbooks, suitable to the new teaching approaches for almost all subjects and other different school activities were considered necessary tools, thus teachers were encouraged to devote themselves to their writing. A list of 39 volumes were written by Athens College teachers and published by Athens College from 1948 to 1980 (some copies thereof can be found in the Athens College Library). Finally, a committee of the Educational Council studied the way teachers assessed students in the first month of the

school year compared to those of previous years and exchanged their thoughts about the findings. Necessary adjustments in the assessment procedures were made for better assessment.

By a fortunate coincidence, a grant received from the Point IV Division of the Technical Cooperation Administration of the U.S. State Department gave Athens College the opportunity to start a pilot project in commercial, secretarial and technical studies which lasted for two years. It did not bring changes in Athens College's programme or policies and practices. But because about one third of the grant was allotted to the purchase of equipment, the School's science laboratories and manual arts were better equipped (Davis, 1992, p. 397). During the period 1951-1953, two hundred students enrolled having been selected through competitive exams followed by interviews.

Modern Greek

In Chapter 2 there was an explanation of the problems that arise from the two forms of Modern Greek, *'Demotic'* and *'Katharevousa'*. Educational reforms and counter-reforms from the beginning of the century maintained the language issue at the centre of the changes they promoted, until after the fall of the Junta dictatorship when the Constitution of 1975 instituted *'Demotic'*, the students' native (vernacular) language as the language of instruction in education (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 147). When the 1950 Programme was applied at Athens College, the state schools limited the teaching of Modern Greek to having the students writing 'compositions' in *'Katharevousa'*. At home and in everyday life, the students spoke *'Demotic'*, but at school they had to use *'Katharevousa'*. *'Demotic'*, was not considered suitable for teaching; nor was it necessary that it be taught.

In the Athens College 1933 curriculum, a great innovation had been the systematic teaching of Modern Greek. This teaching comprised grammar, syntax, oral exercises, reading and analysis of excerpts from works of Greek Literature, both in *'Demotic'* and *'Katharevousa'* (Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009). In the final grade of Upper School, works of Greek Literature were analysed historically and critically compared to works of foreign literature. Students were required to make use of literary studies, dictionaries and referencing.

In the 1950 Programme an even more systematic teaching of Modern Greek was promoted. Demetrios Monoyos and Vassilis Moskovis 'using the functional method

compiled a great number of exercises to help the students develop the necessary skills in using the correct grammatical and stylistic form in every instance' (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 140). Then, based on their experience, the two teachers wrote the textbooks *Systematic Teaching of Modern Greek* (Monoyos, D., Moskovis, V., Vol. I, in 1953, Vol. II, in 1957) and *Syntax of Modern Greek, Vol. I: Katharevoussa* (Monoyos, D., Moskovis, V., Prevelakis, P., Phylactopoulos, G., in 1969). It was announced that Vol. II on 'Demotic' was to follow.

Ancient Greek

The subject was required by the national curriculum in all grades. The common practice in Greek schools was that grammar and syntax were taught systematically. Thus only some fragments of Ancient Greek literature were taught. In Athens College, even before the War, efforts were made by some teachers to avoid devoting a lot of time to grammar and syntax, but rather to focus on the spirit and the ideas of Ancient Greek texts. In applying the 1950 Programme, Athens College introduced teaching of part of the ancient authors through modern Greek translations. Davis recalls that approval for this was given by the Ministry of Education 'which fifteen years later followed our example by a revolutionary decision of the Papandreou Government...' (Davis, 1992, pp. 113-114).

Phylactopoulos remembers this introduction of translations for the study of Ancient Greek: 'We didn't give away the ancient language at all. In addition to the Ancient Greek from the original text, there was also Ancient Greek in translation, so students could do many more things that were not included in the government curriculum. The students could do a little Hippocrates, for instance, they could do Aristotle, they could do Plato, they could do the tragedies...For the first time Ancient Greek became a pleasant subject' (Ambert, 1992, p. 24). In fact, after many struggles, the official curriculum introduced the teaching of Ancient Greek from translations in Middle Schools in 1964 (MoERA, 1964).

English

English was a major subject at Athens College from its founding in 1925. During the Occupation the teaching and use of English was forbidden. It took three to four years for the standards in each class to approach normalcy (Davis, 1992, pp. 391-392). In the 1950 Programme, English was taught as follows:

LOWER CYCLE

Grade 4: 5 periods of instruction/week plus 2 periods of supervised study/week; grade 5: 5 periods/week; grade 6: 5 periods/week; Prep. III: 10 periods/week; Gymnasium, III: 5 periods /week.

UPPER CYCLE

Freshman Classical/Science: 3 periods/week; Sophomore Classical/Science: 3 periods/ week; Junior Classical/Science: 3 periods/week; Senior Classical/Science: 3 periods/ week.

Emphasis was given to the subject in the Prep. III class, with 10 hours of English (out of 37 ½ hours in total) because it was expected that by the end of the Lower Cycle the boys would have completed learning grammar/syntax and use of language and would have a vocabulary of 3,000-5,000 words. Thus they would be very well equipped to follow the more demanding grades of the Upper Cycle not only in the subject of English Language but also in the subjects taught in English.

In the Seniors' (Classical/Science) grade the programme provided teaching of English literature (selections from British and American authors), grammar (thorough review of material taught in preceding classes), composition (Précis, paraphrase, special idioms, one written composition monthly, one written précis or paraphrase weekly), translation (from the Greek, one each semester, replacing required monthly compositions). Special work for advanced students was assigned at the discretion of instructor and according to the ability of students (T6, T7).

History

History was allotted two hours per week in all classes of primary and secondary education of the official curriculum. The main teaching method was narrative and rote learning was usual. In the 1933 Programme the teaching of history had been an innovation compared to the teaching of the subject in other schools. At Athens College, teachers did not use only one school book prescribed by the MoERA. Students were referred to various sources, primary or secondary. The practice of the 1933 Analytical Programme was enhanced. As it is described there 'the teacher set up weekly diagrams of the material "in units" with references to the texts or other sources with questions/issues to be studied, always commensurate with the students' abilities and under the supervision of the teacher. The conclusions of the research were handed to the

teacher in writing and were the object of discussion by the entire student body of the class, with weekly checking of each pupil's work' (Analytical Programme of Athens College with Supplement, 1933; Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009).

Davis, in his account, admits that history in Greece was a delicate subject, meaning that one of the main goals of teaching history has been the cultivation of students' historical consciousness and national identity. However, 'particularly in a school popularly known as the American College', teachers unanimously agreed 'on omitting history from the first three years of the Gymnasium and of providing very thorough courses in the latter years' (Davis, 1992, p. 117). In the 1949-50 Programme this practice continued. Moreover, in the Upper cycle one to two hours per week were given to the History Laboratory. In these hours students worked on their assignments/projects in the History Lab, a branch of the Library, under the guidance of their teacher.

Science

The subjects of the Science Department were taught by visual aids. Laboratory work was an integral part of the science curriculum in additional hours allotted for this purpose every week. The curriculum provided time for work in the laboratories, at specific hours of the weekly schedule with specific content and activities. Students had to perform a number of experiments in the laboratory. In those times there were no laboratories in Greek schools. In Athens College's laboratories, students were privileged to be able to conduct experiments in all science subjects (physics, chemistry, biology and geology). This was a great innovation in those days and something of which both teachers and alumni were proud (T2, A1, A9).

Physical Education

Physical Education consisted of a Programme of physical exercises (mostly Swedish exercises), marching drills and sports. A variety of motor activities were designed to promote health and good physical condition as well as the ideal of life-long exercise.

English and Physical Education/Sports were the two subjects given great emphasis and more time was allotted to them in the curriculum compared to state schools. Students were encouraged to participate in all sports and games. Football/soccer, volleyball, basketball, handball, track and field, were organised among classes. The Good Sportsmanship Award was bestowed to the Senior student with outstanding athletic

achievements and behaviour. Four elements were considered very important by the Physical Education Department for the students' assessment in the subject: effort, competence, collaboration and athletic spirit (Athenian News, 1932, p. 2).

The donation of the funds from an alumnus of Athens College for the building of a Greek-style gymnasium and courts for sports gave a great impetus to Physical Education and Sports. Training no longer had to be skipped even on rainy days. In 1954 a semi-circular stadium was built, the *Stephanos Delta Stadium*, dedicated to the memory of Stephanos Delta who died in 1947. The spring athletics competition was also named the *Delta Games* (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 146, Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Delta Games

(*Thesaurus '78*, p. 25)

Free Activities

Free Activities continued operating the way they had started in 1930-31. As Phylactopoulos says, Richard Hasbrouck, a young American teacher, 'rigged up a kind of workshop in the attic for work in carpentry as a recreational activity for the boarders

in weekends' (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 77). This is how the Free Activities started initially for the boarders and gradually included day students as well.

The cultivation of the students' creativity, the development of their interests and talents, and respect for manual work were the main aims of the activities. The belief that when the hands are working, the brain is also working was the underpinning concept of the Free Activities. When Costas Placotaris joined the Athens College faculty in 1935, the Free Activities programme was further improved and enriched. Placotaris 'combined the talents of a sensitive artist and an imaginative craftsman with a gift for organisation and administration' (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 77). In the Lower School the subject was allotted two double periods per week. The teacher of the section supervised the students who were working individually or in groups.

Before the War, these activities took place in the attic. Each student chose the activity of his preference. When they finished one activity they could select another one from a long list: pottery, gardening, joinery, paper-cutting, drama-acting, music, literature or other activities (Papadakis, 1936, p. 72). After the War, the funds from the Point IV Programme enabled Athens College to equip the manual arts workshops with updated apparatus for the training of the students in manual activities.

Elective courses

An important innovation of the 1950 Programme was the elective subjects which were added in the last four grades (Upper Cycle). Each class was taught for two hours per week and each student could choose two subjects per semester out of thirty subjects. The electives made the programme more flexible and balanced since the students could select a subject according to their interests, competencies and needs for further studies.

When students split in classical or science section, they dropped certain classes which they could however pick from the programme of electives, thus receiving a richer and more multifaceted general education. The purpose of the programme was not a premature professional specialisation. On the contrary in the ten years of attendance the percentage of general education compared with specialisation that a student obtained was 88%.

A special committee, named the Guidance Bureau, guided and supported students in the selection of the elective subjects most suitable for them. About thirty elective subjects were offered from four areas: Humanistic Studies, Mathematics and Science, Social Sciences and Professional courses (such as Business English, Typing and Shorthand). Thus the Athens College Electives Programme balanced the pedagogical need for general education with the needs of the transforming Greek society and the global markets that demanded early specialisation.

Study periods

The purpose of the study periods in Lower and Middle school (five hours per week) was to enable students, under the guidance of teachers, to acquire good homework habits and correct work methods for their preparation of the next day's assignments. The supervising teacher's duty was to guide students in their study/homework preparation.

In the Upper school, three hours per week were devoted to study in the Reading Room of the Library (Athens College School Regulations, 1952, p. 16), with use of dictionaries, encyclopaedias, maps and other support material. Students could borrow books from the library for their homework (Phylactopoulos, 1950, pp. 32, 36).

Student Community (Social Life period-Assemblies)

According to the founders' aims to mould students into knowledgeable and active citizens, from the early years of Athens College the student body was organised into 'societies' (Delta, 1932b, p. 10). Each division constituted a 'society' represented by an elected Student Council (Figure 2). The Student Association of Athens College was established at the founding of Athens College and did not exist in other Greek schools at that time. The Student Association of Athens College in the post-War years was called the Student Community of Athens College. Students learned to follow the rules for democratic dialogue and decision making according to *The Manual of Parliamentary Procedure* (Phylactopoulos and Demetracopoulos, 1934). The aims of the Students' Government Association were clearly stated in the *Manual of Parliamentary Procedure*:

> ...Athens College offers its students this opportunity in civic training..., in the belief that such an experience contributes materially to an educational programme which aims at the making of better citizens for Greece. (Phylactopoulos and Demetracopoulos, 1934, pp. 6-8)

Once a week, one period was devoted to discussion and decision making on issues concerning one section or a whole class, on issues put forward by the Student Council or related to the School's regulations, elections of members to the student councils or for sending representatives to the various student committees. In this period announcements were made, financial issues of the section were settled and programmes were prepared (Athens College Student Community, 1974, p. 6). Students were used to the principles of respectable and effective discussion and decision-making based on the requirements of the parliamentary process.

Figure 2: The Student Council

(Thesaurus 1950, p. 59)

Teachers of the School or other persons invited from outside Athens College delivered lectures to the students of the Upper school of national, educational and cultural content. Concerts were organised as well. General Assemblies of the student body were convened by the Student Council for discussion on topics related to the whole Student Community (Athens College Student Community, 1974). The Regulations for the Operation of the Student Communities of all Greek Schools were legislated in 1982 (MoERA, 1982; MoERA, 1986).

Extra-curricular activities

Extra-curricular activities and the activities of the Student Community played a leading role in the School's educational policy, as to a great extent they served the moulding of character and the education of good citizens. The most popular among them were the clubs and the students' publications: *The Athenian* (published by a group of students since 23rd February, 1929), *The Thesaurus* (the graduating students' Yearbook since 1930)(Figure 3) and *The House* (later the House Times published by the boarders since

1948). Publications, oratory competitions (Athenian News, 1933, p. 2; The Athenian, 1939, p. 1), prizes and awards offered the students rich possibilities for further research.

Figure 3: *The Athenian* editorial staff, the *Thesaurus* editorial staff

(Thesaurus 1944, p. 19).

Student theatre performances in the school theatre (Choremi Hall built in 1932), under the direction of Karolos Coon, the director who, after leaving Athens College in 1936, became famous internationally, were discussed at the school as well as in Athens' cultural circles as experimental, avant-garde and brimming with imagination (Kazantzis, 1964, pp. 18-19).

The Educational Council appointed a committee to study the way the extra-curricular activities were operating. The committee did not finalise its work but came up with some initial observations and suggestions. They noticed that, if not correctly operated, the extra-curricular activities might cause the students to function cursorily and frivolously; at times activities were pursued for their prestige rather than their substance; the activities could be at the expense of students' homework or health; students - especially in Student Government activities - might copy behaviours unsuitable to the character of a student (Phylactopoulos, 1950, pp. 123-4).

The committee suggested that the extra-curricular activities should be reorganised on new foundations: opportunities should be distributed to a greater number of students; weak students should not participate; the number of activities in which a student could participate should be limited; sessions for each activity should be fixed; the approval of the Direction should be sought for the application of students' decision; an advance budget should be drawn up at the beginning of the year and income and expenditure should be controlled; a teacher counsellor approved by the Direction should guide each activity as part of his duties/schedule; students must be accustomed to lead and be led, to control and be controlled with propriety, always to behave with self-respect and honesty for the good of the whole.

Educational excursions

Alongside academic subjects, a programme was instituted of educational excursions to the most important archaeological and historical monuments of Greece for all students (at least one to a frontier area) and excursions lasting several days.

5.3. Curriculum of 1969-70: "Faith in progress but also progress with faith"

Law 4379/1964 established an educational reform to adjust education to the new socio-economic situation in Greece. Free access to education for children of 6-15 years, '*demotic*' language at all educational levels, adjustments for technical/vocational education and students' preparation for entrance to the Greek Universities were instituted. However, this reform (which introduced radical measures toward inclusion of all children, including the children of lower social classes usually remaining outside school) was not put into effect. The change in the political scene brought powers to the forefront that started a counter-reform until the military coup of the junta of 1967 abolished all the adjustments of 1964.

As long as the MoERA was trying to transform the educational system connecting the school with society and economy, Athens College undertook the role of adjusting its Programme of Studies to the socio-economic and cultural changes of Greece. In the autumn of 1966, a fifteen-member Educational Council was appointed, again presided over by George Phylactopoulos, for a more complete application of the College's goals in the Programme of Studies.

Specifically, the Educational Council's goal was to 'operate as an inter-deliberative and legislative-preparatory body in the pedagogic-academic sector of the College's work.' The problem posed to the Council was: 'how the College's young people were to be helped to be in step with the young people of the developed countries, while however remaining within the framework of their own intellectual traditions...' (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 216). The motto of the Council was 'faith in progress but also progress with faith'.

The Programme of Studies that resulted in 1969 (Phylactopoulos, 1971, p. V) was experimentally applied in the 1969-70 academic year and conclusively in 1970-71. It introduced many innovations, such as making time for research in the library and laboratories; increasing the number of classes conducted in English while reducing the hours of English language classes; the reorganisation of the elective subjects programme; the invigoration of the History class in the higher grades; the obligatory teaching of Economics and a new method of approach to Ancient Greek texts. The most important innovation was, however, the diversification of the programme in the final two years to serve the future professional aspirations of students (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 217).

The students aspiring to study humanities followed the classical section as before. But the students following the science sector were divided into three sections: one for those aspiring to study Maths, Sciences, or at Polytechnic Schools in Greece, one for those wishing to study the same but in Universities or Polytechnic Schools abroad, and one for the candidates of Medical/Pharmaceutical schools or Finance. There was a provision for the last section to be subdivided in two for the last two different directions of studies. The 1970 Programme solved a number of problems and was better suited to the pupils' needs for their preparation for higher education (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 217).

The 1970 Programme was the result of developments that gave the impulse for academic progress: in the early fifties, the Point IV Programme was beneficial in making funds available, that were used for the equipment of Free Activities workshops with apparatus for the training of students in manual activities; in 1966 Athens College acquired a separate building for Library, a Science Building and a language laboratory in Benaki Hall with 72 seats. They were all donations from the people of the USA to Greek youth.

These developments enhanced traditional practices and teaching methods: The members of the Science Department believed in training the students in observation and scientific research, thus teaching was conducted with the use of experiments in fixed hours in laboratories, previously located in the Benaki Hall attic. The study for establishing a separate Science Building started in 1957 and the Head of the Department was sent to the USA for two years to update his pedagogical knowledge in new methods of teaching physics and chemistry. He also visited many American schools and science buildings to become acquainted with issues of structure, facilities and equipment. Thus the Science Department responding to the rising interest in the Science subjects (Waring, 1979, p. 12) decided to equip the Science Building with the most up to date material, educationally of greatest benefit to the students, enabling them to conduct experiments and scientific research.

The new Science Building became operational in 1966. The experience required for the teaching of science subjects by the members of the Science Department, and the updated facilities of the Science Building, constituted the vehicle for a collaboration with the MoERA both in organizing professional days at Athens College with participation of teachers from all regions of Greece, as well as the issuing of science textbooks for Elementary schools published by the Organisation for the Publication of School Books.

Furthermore, the Athens College library, which in the 1970s contained 43,000 volumes, with a capacity for 80,000 volumes, was a modern building, a pioneer innovation for Greek schools and a model library in Greece. Again tradition and progress met in a building constructed to serve knowledge and research. Students were trained to locate sources of information for curricular and extra-curricular needs and interests of the students. The library hosted art exhibitions, lectures and seminars, thus hosting cultural events not only for the students of Athens College but also for broader Athenian society. (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 200), who was a poet himself. The library was stocked to be used in connection with all subjects.

In addition, the use of the 72-unit language laboratory in Benaki Hall was connected with the teaching of English. Two rooms with 36 booths and a teacher's console served all classes. Students were equipped with headphones and microphones in individual audio booths where they listened to a magnetic tape (requiring oral response) or

communicated reciprocally with the teacher. From the console, teachers could monitor all students and had remote-control students' recorders for starting or stopping their recording, playing back, listening or responding. Slides and films used in the booths could add variety to the lesson and rouse the students' interest. A similar language lab existed in Thessaloniki's Anatolia College. This method was considered 'a technologically innovative and advanced teaching method' (Demaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 169). However, the use of such language labs was not generalised due to its excessive cost. In Athens College it was in use until 1995, substituted by computer labs.

The first computer (LGP-30) was acquired by Athens College in 1965, an offer of its alumnus of 1954 Michael Dertouzos, Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Karamanos, 2001, p. 65). Detouzos 'was the first to maintain that computers ought to be widely used in education, at a time when MIT disposed of only ten of them'. In 1975 he broadcasted his optimistic forecast that one day there would be PCs in private homes (Economou, 2011).

The role of the Academic Departments was important in these developments. Each Academic Departments consisted of teachers teaching the same or similar subjects. The Heads of the Academic Departments functioned as members of a middle management team, responsible for guiding, supporting and supervising teachers, controlling technical equipment appropriate for teaching their subject and facilitating the communication among the members of their Department and between the Department and the other sections of the School (Baslis, 1984, p. 86). Academic Departments operated in collaboration with the Educational Council.

5.4. Curriculum of 1980-81: Three-year Lyceum or four-year Lyceum?

The Educational (also named 'Pedagogical') Council continued operation on a permanent basis. In 1980-81 it had 14 members, of which eleven were elected from among the teachers. In 1980, the schools of HAEF were equipped with new hardware for the full introduction of ICT and the use of computers in teaching. Informatics was taught as a special subject. In 1981 the Programme of Studies of the Lyceum (Senior High School) was revised (Table 4). The main changes were the refashioning of the Elective Courses Programme, and the synthesis of the sections of Sophomores and

Seniors according to the students' interests. The Programme of Studies was broadened with additional classes to familiarise students with computers using donations from friends of the School and the Agency for International Development which also offered the funds for the construction of a 830-seat theatre in Athens College (Karamanos, 2001, pp. 75-76).

Table 4 illustrates the teaching hours per week for the Senior High School ('Public' in Greece meaning 'state' school). One can see the differences between the state and the Athens College curriculum. In the course of four years in the Senior High School, compared to three years of state curriculum, Athens College offered in total 41-42 more teaching hours: eight hours of Greek Language (Ancient and Modern) and History, eight hours of English, four hours of Mathematics, five hours of Science, three hours of Physical Education, two hours of Economics, six hours of Athens College elective courses, four hours for the Student Government meetings, plus 1-2 hours of state (public) electives.

Humanities (Religion, Ancient/Modern Greek, History/Civics, English, Psychology, Logic) were taught for 19 hours per week in tenth grade in state schools. In Athens College, in the two years corresponding to tenth grade (Freshman/Sophomore), the same lessons were taught for 37 hours per week (for two years). Mathematics/Science (Mathematics, Cosmography, Physics, Chemistry, Natural Sciences, Economics) were taught for twelve hours per week in state schools, compared with 20 in Athens College for two years. Comparing the four-year Athens College High School to the three-year state High School, students in Athens College were taught 560 hours of Humanities more that in state schools, 385 hours of Mathematics/Science more than in state schools, and 105 hours more of Physical education. Those were the three subject groups given emphasis in Athens College (Greek, English, Mathematics/Physics, Physical Education). Another differentiating element was the elective programme offered at Athens College (210 hours in two years) and an extra time of 35 hours per year allotted for the meetings of the Student Community. Some subjects were taught in English.

Table 4: Teaching periods per week (State Schools- Athens College) 1980-1981

	LYCEUM	Public	A.C. Fr.	A.C. So.	Differ.	Public	A.C. Junior	Differ.	Public	A.C. Senior	Differ.	Total Differ.
	COURSES											
1	Religion	2	2	2	+2	2	1	-1	2	1	-1	0
2	Ancient Greek	7	5	4	+2	6	5	-1	4	4	0	+1
3	Modern Greek	4	4	3 1/2	+3 1/2	4	4	0	4	4	0	+3 1/2
4	History	3	4	2 1/2	+3 1/2	2	2	0	2	2	0	+3 1/2
5	Civics	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0	0
6	Psychology	–	–	–	–	2	2	0	–	–		0
7	Logic	–	–	–	–	–	–		2	2	0	0
8	English	3	5	5	+7	2	3	+1	2	2	0	+8
9	Mathematics	5	4	5	+4	4	4	0	3	3	0	+4
10	Cosmography	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0	0
11	Physics	2 1/2	3	2	+2 1/2	2	2	0	2	2	0	+2 1/2
12	Chemistry	1 1/2	–	4	+2 1/2	1	1	0	1	1	0	+2 1/2
13	Natural Sciences	1	1	–	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0
14	Physical Education	3	4	4	+5	3	3	0	3	1	-2	+3
15	Music	1	1	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
16	Manual Training	1	–	1	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
17	Economics	–	2	–	+2	–	–	–	–	–	–	+2
18	College Electives	–	2	4	+6	–	–	–	–	–	–	+6
19	Student Governm. Meet.	–	1	1	+2	–	1	+1	–	1	+1	+4
		34	**38**	**38**		**30**	**30**		**28**	**26**		
20	Public School Electives											
	(a1) Ancient Greek					2	3	+1	3	4	+1	+2
	(a2) History					2	2	0	2	3	+1	+1
	(a3) Latin					2	3	+1	2	3	+1	+2
	(b1) Mathematics					3	4	+1	4	5	+1	+2
	(b2) Physics					2	3	+1	2	3	+1	+2
	(b3) Chemistry					1	1	0	1	2	+1	+1
						12/2	**16/2**		**14/2**	**20/2**		

(Athens College Archives)

In the 1980s, conferences on crucial educational issues were organised by SELKA, the Athens College Teachers' Association (founded in 1975), and were subsidised by the Board of Directors. A series of ten conferences followed by corresponding proceedings created a forum of educational dialogue open not only to Athens College educationalists but to those from other schools too. At the same time an annual teachers' journal, *Apopseis,* hosted aspects of broader educational interest. All these created a rigorous professional learning community. A Publications Fund, subsidised by parents and run by Athens College teachers, published a series of notable teaching books, written by Athens College teachers and taught in the School (T4). Many teachers from other

schools from all over Greece asked if they could have those books (T4). All the above brought Athens College to the centre of educational discourses.

In the area of educational legislation, the voting in 1981 on Article 39 of Law 1143/ 1981 on the competencies of the Co-Director and the appointments of the members of the senior administrative team put an end to a great number of problems the school faced in its relations with the MoERA. However another interference by the MoERA in relation to the newly founded (in 1977) Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College brought new evolutions (Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College, 1980, p. 1).

Indeed, in October 1980, the Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College submitted a memorandum to the MoERA arguing that the reasons justifying the existence of the four-year Lyceum, when Athens College was founded, no longer existed: the English language was currently taught in all state schools; a large number of students, after finishing the eleventh grade, moved to other schools - state or private - because they wanted to finish secondary education in twelve years, not in thirteen as was the Programme of Studies in Athens College; the strictly selected educational personnel, the excellent facilities of the School, the devotion of the members of the Board of Direction and the administration as well as all the staff have ensured excellent results and students experience quality education in twelve years; the extra thirteenth year was rather used for the preparation of students for entrance to universities. In fact, a number of parents thought that the extra year was a waste of time for their sons/daughters and one extra year of tuition they had to pay. In the memorandum's closing paragraph the existence of a three-year Lyceum in parallel with the four year Lyceum was suggested (Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College, 1980, p. 10).

This intervention of the Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College had had no precedent and provoked a strong reaction on the part of the faculty and the School's Administration. Academic Departments studied the academic and pedagogical consequences that such a major change would bring to the students' learning and the status of the School. On 30 June 1981 the Chairman of the Athens College Educational Council submitted a report to the Co-Director presenting the Council's study and proposals for the reorganisation and better exploitation of the extra

year in the four-year Lyceum. The report, aligning with the Academic Department's reports, pointed out that such measures might possibly lower the academic level of the students. The Educational Council proposed improvement of the elective courses programme in all four classes of the Lyceum, increase of teaching hours of English and Physical Education, enhancement of extra-curricular activities and finally specialised sections of students in C and D Lyceum according to the interests of the students in relation to their university pursuits (Koukoulios, 1981, pp. 3-4).

MoERA, in the name of equity with state schools (The Athenian, 1983), decided that students, after finishing the eleventh grade, could choose between a three-year or a four-year Lyceum. The two cycles started operating in the school-year 1983-1984 with different curricula and orientations: the three-year cycle was mainly attended by students wishing to pursue university studies in Greece, while the four-year cycle was for those wishing to study abroad. This was a major change to the structure of Athens College and a crucial intervention of the Parents' and Guardians' Association in the course of events of the School. In 1985 the chairman of the Parents' and Guardians' Association, being an Athens College alumnus himself, disagreed with the establishment of the three-year Lyceum (The Athenian, 1985).

The Educational Council ceased operations in 1984. Operation of the Academic Departments however remained constant until today. The end of the decade found Athens College once more fighting against a new educational Bill of the MoERA (1989) threatening its particular character. Its enactment was again averted following the vigorous reactions of Athens College (McCann, 1989).

5.5. Conclusion

The 1950 Athens College Programme of Studies was a revival of the programme of 1930 with adjustments to the needs of a transforming Greek and international society demanding the linking of the school with the employment market. The decade of the 1950s was one of steady progress and growth of the School in numbers and prestige. In the 1960s the better organisation of the MoERA allowed the central authorities to exert control over both the state and private schools of the whole country. The degree of autonomy of Athens College was reduced; however through the years the School managed to maintain its special characteristics. The School responded to the rising

interest in the Science subjects (Wirth, 1980, p. 40), acquiring a Science Building equipped with two amphitheatres and new laboratories for teaching science through experiments.

The 1970 curriculum review in Athens College was a synthesis of tradition and change as well as of the demand on the one hand for general education and on the other the need for specialisation that socio-economic changes and the market economy demanded. Phylactopoulos himself sincerely admits (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 217) that the programme did not succeed in relieving the students' workload; it did not give a general review of the syllabus, nor did it introduce fresh teaching methods. Nevertheless it was better suited to the pupils' preparation for higher education. In the 1980s Athens College, in spite of the great changes in the educational legislation and the society around it, enjoyed stability and prosperity. The relative autonomy deriving from its Founding Law 3776/1936 gave it the flexibility to adjust its Programme of Studies and keep its main traditional characteristics. But the beginning of the end of the four-year Lyceum, the seven-year programme of the 1930s, had been initiated.

Athens College continued having many differences from other Greek schools, the most important among them being the four-year Lyceum, the strong English Programme, the teaching of some subjects in English, the Elective Courses Programme, the extracurricular activities programme, the History research projects, the systematic teaching of modern Greek language and the teaching of Ancient Greek authors from literary translations in modern Greek, the use of laboratories in teaching science, the extended sports programme and others. A series of conferences, a teachers' magazine and a Publications Fund set the pace in a vivid educational dialogue and attracted the interest of Greek educational audiences.

Research questions 1 and 3 have been addressed in this chapter. Emphasis was given to the curricula and pedagogy applied as those two areas are the 'what' and the 'how' students are taught at school. Athens College being in the vanguard of educational reform in Greece planned and applied a Programme of Studies aiming to offer holistic education providing a model for modern schooling in Greece. Alumni's perceptions about how learning was taking place in classrooms will be addressed in chapter six.

CHAPTER 6: MERITOCRACY AND EXCELLENCE

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, issues related to the educational ideal of Athens College underpinning policies and practices in the period 1940-1990 will be traced. The student body of Athens College, mainly coming from middle-class families, its characteristics and achievements at the time of graduation, alumni's University studies and their occupational destinations will be presented. Social mobility of students in terms of their occupations compared to their fathers' occupations will be analysed. The role of the Scholarship Programme of Athens College will be described as it has been explicitly said that it is the cornerstone of the philosophy of Athens College and of the Boarding House operating from 1925 to 1983, which served as home for students living in the Athens College campus in Psychico. Athens College Admission policy will also be in the focus of this chapter.

The data in this chapter mainly comprised documents from the School's archives, records of 597 alumni and from the interviews with thirteen alumni. Questions asking alumni's perceptions on the above issues were included in the interview schedule.

6.2. The Student Body

At the threshold of the period under investigation (1938-39), the student population was diverse in terms of national origin, geographical and social backgrounds: out of 422 students, 363 were of Greek origin, thirteen of English, thirty of American, one of Ethiopian, three of Albanian, three of French, three of Spanish, one of Italian, one of Polish, one of Romanian, one of Swedish and three of Turkish origin (Troullinos, 1938-39). Essentially, Athens College was an inclusive school in terms of religion, with a dominant Orthodox culture, open to the inclusion of students from other cultures as well. In 1938-39 out of the 422 students, 405 were of Christian Orthodox faith, three of Protestant, three of Catholic, one of Gregorian, and ten of Jewish faith (Troullinos, 1938-39).

The families of the students belonged to the two middle classes as described in chapter 3 in relation with the father's occupation. More specifically, 56% of the families were categorised as I (upper middle class), 41% as II (lower middle class) and only 3% as III (working class) (Table 5).

Table 5: Fathers' Occupational categories

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES								
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories						UNKNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS
			I		II		III		
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	
1950	31	29	11	38%	16	55%	2	7%	2
1960	78	76	33	43%	38	50%	5	7%	2
1970	85	78	42	54%	35	45%	1	1%	7
1980	116	92	51	55%	40	43%	1	1%	24
1992/1993	287	150	102	68%	46	31%	2	1%	137
ALL	597	425	239	56%	175	41%	11	3%	172

The number of students increased year by year. In the years that the alumni of the sample graduated, that is in the school years 1949-1950 (entrance of students in 1940), 1959-1960 (entrance in 1950), 1969-1970 (entrance in 1960), 1979-1980 (entrance in 1970), 1991-92 and 1992-1993 (entrance in 1980), the numbers of students were as follows:

Table 6: Number of Athens College students/graduates (1940-1990)

School year	Total No of students	Graduating total	Graduating boarders
1949-1950	886	31	7
1959-1960	1134	78	17
1969-1970	1325	85	16
1979-1980	2161	116	12
1991-1992[1]	2736	287	-[2]
1992-1993	2615		-
Total		597	

In 1990, the student body comprised 3,492 boys and girls split into four school units: 948 in High School, 940 in Middle School, and 1,604 in the two (Athens College and

[1] Since 1983-84 students could choose either the 3-year cycle or the 4-year cycle.
[2] The Boarders House was in operation until 1983.

Psychico College) Elementary Schools (Placement Office, 1990). There has always been a criticism of the increase in the student population. Some say that the quality of the School went down as the number of students increased (A12). The Board of Directors ascribed this increase to the wish of the School's community to give access to more children to the quality education Athens College offered.

Out of those admitted in $4^{th}/1^{st}$ grade, the graduation rate was between 31% and 81.8% (Table 7). Aside from family reasons, students mainly left Athens College for academic reasons and less often for discipline reasons with the decision of the Teachers' Faculty. Thus, the student body was not only selected at the entrance grade but pupils' right to be there was monitored continuously throughout the course of their education. Those who were not up to the School's standards were given the opportunity to improve themselves or leave.

Table 7: Students' graduating rate at Athens College, 1940-1990

Entrance - Graduation year	Entrants in 4th /1st grade	Graduation of entrants in 4th / 1st grade	
1940 (4th grade) - 1950	29	9	31.0%
1950 (4th grade) - 1960	108	63	58.3%
1960 (4th grade) - 1970	129	71	55.0%
1970 (4th grade) - 1980	144	97	67.4%
1980 (1st grade) - 1992/93	176	144	81.9%
Total	586	384	65.5%

(Source: School Records)

As students left, vacant places were filled with students through testing. As seen in table 8, in 1950 31 students graduated, of whom 9 had entered in the 4^{th} grade and 22 had entered in other grades. The students admitted in 1980 graduated in 1992 or 1993 depending on the three-year or four-year cycle High School they chose to follow. The student body was thus continuously enriched by newcomers selected by exams.

Table 8: Students' entrance and graduating rate

Entrance - Graduation year	Gradua-tion	Graduation of entrants in 4th / 1st grade		Graduation of entrants in later grade	
1940 – 1950 (4th grade)	31	9	29.0%	22	71.0%
1950 – 1960 (4th grade)	78	63	80.8%	15	19.2%
1960 – 1970 (4th grade)	85	71	83.5%	14	16.5%
1970 - 1980(4th grade)	116	97	83.6%	19	16.4%
1980 - 1992/93 (1st grade)	287	144	50.2%	143	49.8%
Total	597	384	64.3%	213	35.7%

(Source: School records)

From 1977 (MoERA, 1977) it was not allowed that a student be driven out of school for academic reasons. This was another loss of the School's autonomy. From 1979, when students were admitted to Athens College in the 1st grade by lottery, the School's only selection procedure was the admission of students in the 7th grade (Middle School) with exams for about 50 students every year. In 1980, Psychico College Elementary School opened. Its students, after finishing sixth grade, were admitted to the seventh grade of Athens College without exams.

6.3. Criteria for selecting Athens College

Interviewees' perceptions of their family's criteria for selecting Athens College were diverse: three families were informed about it by a relative or someone who knew about the quality education it offered (Alumni A4, A6, A10); six families made their decision because of the School's reputation (A5, A6, A7, A10, A12, A13), two because of its Programme of Studies with emphasis on the English language and the School's American influences (A1, A4), one because of the closeness to their home (A2). The fact that the School gave scholarships to needy students attracted the families of three students (A6, A8, A9), and the existence of the Boarding House was crucial in the decision of A3's family; two participants (A4, A13) admit that the criterion of social contacts the students would have at the school was a factor that contributed to the

family's decision. One participant's father was an alumnus and wanted his son to attend the same School as him (A11). An interviewee recalls:

> A friend of my mother's said to her: "Why don't you consider Athens College, which is such a good school with an excellent reputation compared to the condition of the state schools...", so my mother looked into it. Even now and from my experience, I consider Athens College what is best in Greece (A12).

And another said he owes his admission to the death of his father:

> You see, I lost my father when I was three – he was killed at Kalavryta (Nazi massacre). When I was ten, my mother's brother heard that the College was offering scholarships, and I was brought to Athens and sat the exams in 1950. I did well in them... my family at the time had no prospects, my mother having only a minimal pension from my dead father... (A8).

The conditions in state schools incited parents to demand a better education for their children (Boyd and Taylor, 1988, p. 3) and those who could afford to pay the fees of private schools sought them out for their sons' education. On the other hand, scholarships and the existence of the Boarding House gave children from needy families the opportunity to have an education with the coverage of all their expenses including board and lodging, clothing, books and writing materials. Thus, Athens College was attractive to families from very different social backgrounds.

6.4. The Scholarship Programme

The Athens College student body consisted mainly of children from middle-class families. Children of needy families were granted scholarships. Stephanos Delta explains the reasoning behind including in the student body children of families that could not pay the fees:

> ...It was nevertheless not fair to exclude the children of needy families with recommendations for their assiduity and good behaviour, who may develop into worthy and useful citizens, nor that the education and culture offered by the College should consist of a sort of privilege for the prosperous class... (Delta, 1932a, p. 6).

What Delta wrote illustrates his philosophy regarding granting scholarships according to socio-financial criteria: on the one hand so as to enable the School to incorporate worthy students who were deserving of the support that enabled them to access an education,

thus benefiting their country, and on the other hand that the student population should comprise children from all social classes, thus constituting a microcosm of society. An interviewee, graduate of 1957, comments:

> I would say that from the start there was a spirit of pluralism in Athens College, initially let's say of a cultural nature because the students came from diverse parts. Subsequently, due to the Boarding House there was the same at a financial level... However, the philosophy of Stephanos and Penelope Delta was a combination of the two: it was not only so as to avoid losing the brain power of lower classes, I think it was also a social philosophy, that there shouldn't be rich children only that would be in a sort of hothouse (A6).

We can see here the principles of the educational ideals of meritocracy and equality of opportunities in practice and an effort to avoid the reproduction of inequalities through the school mechanisms.

Thus, it was deemed necessary for a Scholarship Fund to be established to offer financial support to worthy students without the means to pay the fees. Scholarship assistance was instituted from the outset of the School's operation, with Stephanos and Penelope Delta (Karamanos, 2001, p. 35) donating the initial funds to support the Scholarship Programme. It was soon clear, however, that in order to maintain its purpose over time responsibly and effectively, the Scholarship Programme had to stand on a more secure financial basis. Thus the Scholarship Endowment Fund of Athens College was instituted in 1931, and survived thanks to the generosity of Stephanos and Penelope Delta (Karamanos, 2001, p. 41), who supported it for many years, as well as from annual contributions of individuals and banks. In 1936, the Scholarship Fund as an 'institution of public benefit with its own legal entity' (Notarial Deed, 1936art. 1, p. 1) received considerable sums of money deriving from a policy change of allotting a portion of increased income from student fees to the Scholarship Fund (Davis, 1992, p. 138). After the death of the Deltas, the greater part of the Programme was funded by donations or raised by special activities and events supported by volunteers (The Scholarship Programme, 1998), a tradition that continues to this day. The rest was covered by the Hellenic-American Educational Foundation.

The example set by Stephanos and Penelope Delta inspired Greeks and Americans to respond with enthusiasm to the plea for reinforcement of the Scholarship Fund. The Press wrote about the Scholarship Programme, stressing the public service Athens

College offered Greek society, and urged readers to contribute their donations (Eleftheron Vima, 1929b, p. 5; Eleftheron Vima, 1931, p. 3). Frequent announcements can be found dispersed in the Press regarding donations of minor amounts to the College's Scholarship Fund in memory of dead persons. There were also announcements made at performances, the revenues from which went to the Scholarship Fund. Often such performances were held under the auspices of the American or the British Embassy and were attended by the Royal Family of Greece. Contributions of varying substance were made to the Scholarship Fund by parents, students, alumni, and friends of the College. Members of the Board of Directors and the Board of Trustees contributed as well. Already in the years 1939 – 1940, about 25% of the student body received assistance from the Programme (The Scholarship Programme, 1998).

The Scholarship Programme is stated explicitly to be the cornerstone of the College's socio-educational philosophy and constitutes a fundamental element of its special 'physiognomy' (Karamanos, 2001, p. 35). The aim of this Programme has always been to offer pupils the opportunity to study at the College, whatever their family's financial status may be and is not connected to students' academic performance. In the period under investigation, the Scholarship Programme was a distinctive characteristic of Athens College, one that differentiated it from other private and state schools in Greece. The efforts to secure funds for the Scholarship Programme were consistent and pursued by all in Athens College and those connected with it (students, teachers, alumni, members of the Board and friends) that an expression became very common: "The Scholarship Programme is the College". The idea and the ideals of the Scholarship Programme became almost synonymous with the idea and ideals of the College (Davis, 1992, p. 135).

Bursaries were granted by the Programme on the basis of the pupils' financial and family status (documented by the data submitted by applicants) as well as on the capacity of the Scholarship Fund each year. Among the data requested from the parents were their Revenue Service statements of account, tax returns, etc. A special committee scrupulously examined each application, deciding which cases were to be granted financial aid and how much. The financial aid was given for one academic year and the relevant procedure was repeated annually.

The calamity of World War II and the ensuing unsteady inflation caused the capital of the Endowment Fund to evaporate and the programme to remain without resources. After the war, the 'drive' for the restoration of the Scholarship Programme was initiated, headed by the President Homer Davis, mainly focusing on the United States, and was addressed to American Philhellenes and Greek Americans. However, since the 1960s, resources for the maintenance and reinforcement of the Scholarship Programme have mainly derived from Greece.

After World War II, along with the Scholarship Programme, a new form of scholarship was instituted at the College: the Regional Scholarships. A bequest by Stamatios Drakopoulos, night watchman at Wellesley College, gave the impetus for establishing the Regional Scholarship Programme (Karamanos, 2001, p. 53). He was a Greek immigrant who in his will bequeathed his life-savings for children from the village of his birth in Messenia to study at Athens College (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 228). A procedure was established for the selection of the regional scholars, who would stay in the Boarding House (McManus, 1955). Thanks to this Regional Scholarships Programme, children from all over Greece (villages and remote islands) as well as from Cyprus were aided and benefited from opportunities for education at the College, and eventually professional success and social advancement.

The selection of regional scholars was done on the basis of examinations conducted in a broader geographical region. Candidates were nominated by teachers through the local educational authorities and were subjected to a three-hour written test (assessing intelligence and knowledge). Six to twelve students were selected and interviewed. Parents, teachers and inhabitants of the villages were asked for information about the candidates so as to be helped to make the best selection. The ten-year scholarship provided tuition fees, boarders' tuition fees, clothing, medical care, books, minor expenses, weekly pocket money and quarterly travel expenses. In 1960, 26 regional scholars from various areas of Greece were housed at the Boarders' House. Regional scholars' lives changed when they came to the Boarders' House. After the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus in 1974 (Clogg, 1993, p. 170), and up to1979, Athens College received as regional scholars 48 Cypriot refugee children who had been evicted along with their families from the Cypriot territories occupied by the Turks. In 1974-75 the total number of regional scholars, including the Cypriot refugees, was 75. An interviewee, regional scholar and graduate of 1974, remembers the selection process as

a challenging experience for the candidates:

> I myself was a regional scholar. There was also the facility of the Boarding House, which at the time housed numerous students (maybe 300 if I remember right). We were about 12 regional scholars in our class. There was strong competition for such a scholarship. I remember 72 boys sat exams for a single grant. There were scholarships other than the regional. Scholarships were always an innate part of the School's philosophy (A9).

Two committees were established – its members working on a voluntary basis – for the purpose of raising funds for the Scholarship Programme. The first of them was the Alumni Fund Drive, established in 1967 and consisting of representatives from all the classes that had graduated from the College (Alumni Fund Drive, 2007). The second was the Parents' Fund Drive, established in 1977, whose activities were deployed through the organisation of diverse events such as the Christmas Bazaar, fashion shows and cultural events, among others (Parents Fund Drive, 2003). A permanent bazaar selling clothes and objects with the Athens College coats of arms was also established.

When the College's Boarding House closed in 1983, the Regional Scholarships Programme was suspended for a while but was revived in 1989 and adapted to the current conditions. The Regional Scholarships Programme covered not only the school fees, board and lodging and other outlays of the students but also their and their family's living expenses in Athens.

For the period 1940-1990, out of the 310 students of the first four cohorts (when students of the fifth cohort graduated, the Boarders' House did not exist), 52 students were boarders. In the year 1980, out of the 116 graduating students only twelve were boarders. Of those 52 students, 37 were paying their fees; eight had a reduction of 5-25%; three a reduction of 26-50%; one a reduction of 51-75%; and three had a reduction of 100%. The amount of money reducted from these 15 scholars would only be enough for 6.3 students if the scholarship was 100%.

Out of the 597 students of all five cohorts, 117 (20%) had partial or full scholarship; 34 students had a reduction of 5-25%; 36 a reduction of 26-50%; 30 a reduction of 51-75% and 17 a reduction 75-100%. The amount of money reducted from all 117 scholars would be enough for 53.8 students to have full scholarships. Comparing cohorts, one can see the relationship between the money spent on scholarships and the money spent

on full scholarships: 18 graduating students on partial or full scholarships in 1950 (58% of graduating students that year) which corresponds to 6.1 students if scholarships were full; 41 graduating students on partial or full scholarships in 1960 (53% of graduating students that year) which corresponds to 22.9 students if scholarships were full; 38 graduating students on partial or full scholarships in 1970 (45% of graduating students that year) which corresponds to 18 students if scholarships were full; 6 graduating students on partial or full scholarships in 1980 (5% of graduating students that year) which corresponds to 2.1 students if scholarships were full; 14 graduating students on partial or full scholarships in 1992/93 (5% of graduating students that year) which corresponds to 4.7 students if scholarships were full. The data reflects Greece's economic situation, as from 1970 to 1990 fewer and fewer students applied for financial aid, which can be explained by Greece's improving economic situation (Leontidou, 1990, p. 114). In 1989-1990 there were 402 applicants for financial aid, of which 359 (89% of the applications) received financial aid (Karamanos, 2001, p. 112).

Table 9: The Scholarship Programme

School year	Students received aid	Total Amount (in Drachmas)
1988-89	383	38.396.865
1989-90	359	44.881.648
1990-91	359	59.024.221

(*The Scholarship Programme*, 1998)

Up to the 1970s the children of Athens College staff were registered in the Scholarship programme. Table 9 does not include the children of staff: the first child of all teachers, administrative personnel, technicians and workers was given a full scholarship which included fees, transportation and meals. In accordance with the College's traditional principles (valid for the past decades) the financial assistance granted by the Scholarship Fund constituted a 'debt of honour' owed to the School by the students who received it and who were encouraged to 'reimburse' it once they graduated, in any manner and to the degree of which they were capable.

Table 10: Students' distribution according to fathers' occupation

NON-SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS								
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories					UNKNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS
			I		II		III	
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	13	**12**	8	**67%**	4	**33%**	0	**0%**	1
1960	37	**36**	25	**69%**	11	**31%**	0	**0%**	1
1970	47	**43**	32	**74%**	11	**26%**	0	**0%**	4
1980	110	**86**	50	**58%**	35	**41%**	1	**1%**	24
1992/1993	271	**136**	98	**72%**	36	**26%**	2	**1%**	135
ALL	478	**313**	214	**68%**	99	**32%**	6	**2%**	165

SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS								
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories					UNKNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS
			I		II		III	
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	18	**17**	3	**18%**	12	**71%**	2	**12%**	1
1960	41	**40**	8	**20%**	27	**68%**	5	**13%**	1
1970	38	**35**	10	**29%**	24	**69%**	1	**3%**	3
1980	6	**6**	1	**17%**	5	**83%**	0	**0%**	0
1992/1993	16	**14**	4	**29%**	10	**71%**	0	**0%**	2
ALL	119	**112**	26	**23%**	78	**70%**	8	**7%**	7

The interviewees' opinion of the Scholarship Programme was that it was of great significance as it enabled students whose families faced financial problems to stay in School and not drop out, as well as for encouraging new students to enrol. The role of the Scholarship Programme was considered very important for ensuring a social pluralism in the student body of Athens College:

> (This was) precisely because they wanted some balance in the School. Because on getting to high school there was a balance of 30 – 70 (wealthy to poor). One could say the Haves and the Have-nots. There were some in my class, some seven or eight I think, with a 100% scholarship, children who had lost their parents in the War, from some border area, or a devastated area, Kalavryta for instance, having lost both father and mother, with a 100% scholarship in tuition and boarding fees (A7).

The Board of Directors, the Administration and the Faculty all declared at every occasion Delta's words 'that Athens College should not become a school for the prosperous class only' (Delta, 1932a, p. 6).

An interesting feature of school life was that some students from needy families chose to serve as waiters in the dining room. They helped the professional waiters serving students at lunchtime. When lunch was finished and the students went for the break, student-waiters had their lunch. As illustrated in former students' narrations, student-waiters in no way felt inferior because they waited in the School's dining room:

> We did not have any feelings of inferiority. It was simply that we had our meal when the others had finished. We felt we had been working and did not have to pay for the food. It was just a job. It didn't bother me in the least. The boys had absolutely no social problem. I did it throughout High School. Nor of course did I ever feel bad about the scholarships. I knew of course that I had a scholarship (A5).

Davis saw the students' serving at the dining room as an opportunity for them to earn their lunch in the College and the School helped a number of students find weekend work outside of the College (Davis, 1992, p. 135).

In 1988 the institution of 'Reunions' for alumni of 50 years brought alumni from all parts of the world back to School in events held at the Athens College campus. Two years later a 'Reunion' for alumni of 25 years was instituted. These 'Reunions' bound alumni together and reminded them that their contributions could keep the School up to standards with a students' body that included all social classes and nurtured the able students regardless of their origin.

6.5. Entrance examinations

Soon after WWII, the College received so many applications (about 700 every year for 120 places) that its problem was how to make a selection among the many applicants. All students applying to Athens College had to pass an admissions test organised and supervised at the end of June each year. The test excluded about one third of the candidates as being too immature to adjust to Athens College's standards. Of the remaining participants, 120 students were selected on the basis of the degree of their intellectual ability and their level of scholastic achievement (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 191). Up to fifteen more students were admitted every year at the discretion of the Administration, on the condition that they had satisfied the School's academic requirements.

The test was given to participants in the form of a 24-page booklet made up of two parts: one for intellectual ability, testing the students' verbal, lexical, computational, mathematical, special, retentive, inductive, and deductive abilities; and a second testing the level of proficiency in subjects as grammar, spelling, arithmetic, mythology and the Old Testament (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 191).

Interviewees' memories are divided on the level of difficulty of exams. About half found them difficult and the other half easy. They recollect:

> They were very difficult, I have to say... Essay, spelling, maths – I don't remember what sort, I do remember a great number of multiple choice questions... The maths, to be honest, I don't remember (A7).

> They weren't exactly tests of knowledge... One question was who was Greece's archbishop. When I came out, my parents asked me (all the parents stood outside) 'How did you get on...?' I said to my mother that I didn't do well. She asked 'why?', 'because there was one question (the only one I remember, but it gives an idea of the sort of questions) asking who was the archbishop and I put down that it was Damaskenos, but after I got out, I remembered it was Chrysanthos, Damaskenos had died shortly before (A6).

> One reason they admitted me was that I was the son of a literature teacher who had been killed at War (A8).

It is a central belief of a meritocracy that 'the assessment of a person is the assumed relation of achievement to intelligence, and of intelligence to its measurement on the Intelligence Quotient scale' (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980, p. 5). In Athens College, candidates' achievement was related to their mental ability, that is, their intelligence. The logic behind this selection procedure was that children receiving high scores in such exams, no matter what their social origin, should be given the opportunity to make the best out of themselves, cultivating their talents in a challenging academic environment. This logic was synonymous with beliefs in democracy and meritocracy, the ideology of the middle class from which candidates mainly originated: distribution of rewards in relation to individual achievement.

For twenty years this was how students were admitted in Athens College. From 1964, IQ tests were abandoned for the selection of students. From 1972, students were admitted for the 3rd grade and gradually for the 2nd grade with exams based on the knowledge the candidates had acquired at school. An interviewee of 1988, the first year when girls graduated from Athens College, remembers:

> I entered at the second grade of primary school, entrance exams were difficult, I went to a tutors' and I was under a lot of stress (A11).

The interviewee admits that she was very stressed as entrance exams were very competitive and parents provided either private lessons or a tutorial school in groups

specifically for the Athens College entrance exams.

Until 1976 students of all schools, after finishing Elementary School, had to pass entrance exams in order to proceed to Middle Schools. This changed in 1976, when according to Law 309 (MoERA, 1976, pp. Art. 26, Par. a,b), all students at Greek schools moved from Elementary School to the Middle School without examinations. In 1979, when the first grade was added to the primary school of Athens College, the selection procedure by exams ceased and was substituted by a lottery. This was a great change, as the student body of the Elementary School was no longer selected. If there were vacuum places, students could be admitted in 4rth and 5th grades after competitive exams. According to Law 309/1976, about 150 students each year who finished the Elementary School of Athens College had to be admitted to Athens College Middle School without examinations. However, as Athens College Middle School could accommodate 200 students in seventh grade, about 50 external students each year were admitted by exams in Greek, English and Mathematics out of three times the number of candidates. This means that 25 per cent of the Middle School population was selected. By keeping the selection procedure for entrance in the seventh grade the School kept its meritocratic character. This process, in combination with the School's meritocratic pedagogy evaluating students strictly according to their achievement (which made some students transfer to other schools), ensured that the student body was of a robust academic potential. As private schools in Greece are subjected to Greek educational legislation, every time legislation limited the autonomy of Athens College, the School found ways to apply its policy and maintain its character.

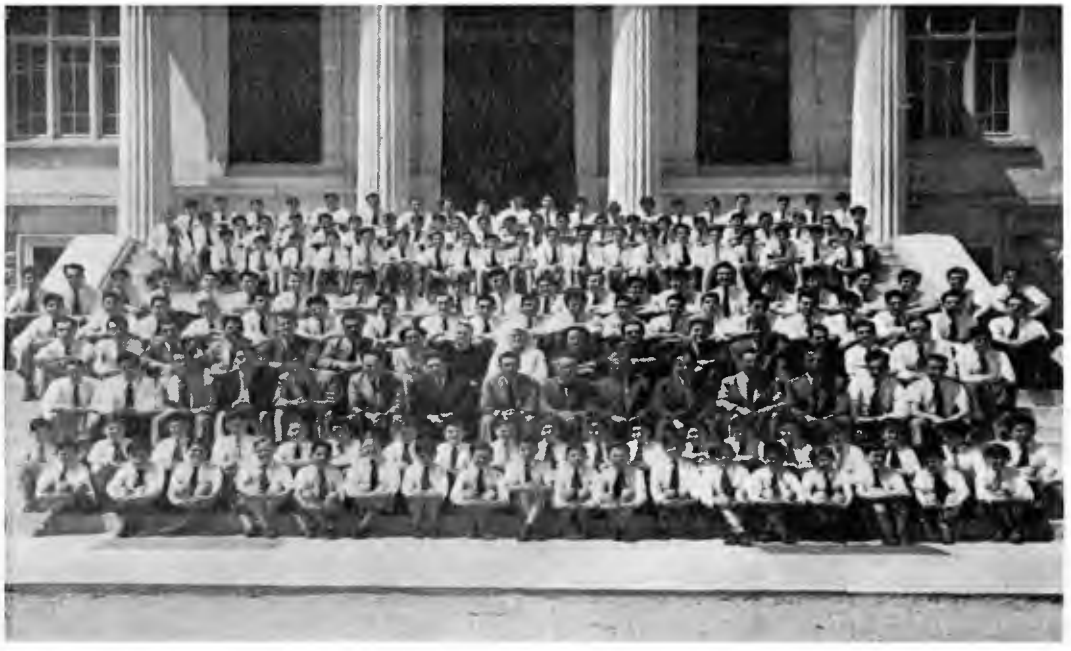
6.6. The Boarding House

A Boarding House was in operation from the founding of the school to house students whose families lived either in Greece, or abroad. After World War II, when regional scholarships were instituted, scholars also lived in the Boarding House. Thus, the student body was a mixture of different cultures and social origins (Petritsis, 1993; Troullinos, 1938-39).

The history of the Boarding House is closely linked to the history of Athens College, as seven out of its first 35 students were boarders. Actually, the first boarder stayed for some days in a hotel close to School, *the White House*, due to lack of beds. The

Boarding House, located in the Athens College campus at Psychico, was forced to cease operation during the years of the War and Occupation. It started functioning again in 1946 (Figure 4).

Figure 4: The 1949-1950 House



(Thesaurus 1950, p. 63)

In the early sixties it was functioning at full capacity with 230 boys. Of those boys one third were overseas students, one third day-students whose families lived in Athens and one third regional scholars with a full scholarship. It was in operation until 1983, when it was closed due to the small number of boarders. George Phylactopoulos, Director of the Boarding Department for many years, informs us of the role of the Boarders' House:

> Throughout the years the Boarding House has acted as a Hellenising center for boys from the Greek communities overseas. From India and Madagascar, from Egypt and Tanzania, Paris, London and New York, and Wyoming they came to join 150 others from Athens and the provinces of Greece. The existence of a school to which Greeks living abroad may confidently send their sons makes the College of particular service to the Nation...(Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 162)

The Boarding House served as a family to boys coming from very different socio-economic backgrounds (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Studying in the dormitory

(Thesaurus 1950, p. 66)

The coexistence of students coming from families of 'considerable wealth and extreme poverty...the blackmith's son from Konitsa and the ship owner's son from Mayfair', (Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 162) moulded them into human beings who respected themselves and others. The different socio-economic backgrounds of the boys in the house gave the teachers the opportunity to teach them that 'education is not only intellectual but mainly social and moral' (Pavlopoulou, 2005, p. 27). An interviewee comments:

> About a third of the boarders were regional scholars from every part of Greece... Another third were the children of Greeks living abroad, who at the time were numerous, particularly in Africa: Egypt, Tanganyika, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Nigeria ... Greeks who had a career there and sent their children to Greece to have a Greek education. There were ship owners in Britain, mainly London, and the USA and their children from Pakistan ... from China; and the other third were from families living in Athens. In those days it was usual to send one's children to boarding school, for them to have the discipline, or because the parents could be travelling (A6).

And another boarder interviewee, who refers to the boarders' magazine, which started being published on 1 April 1948:

> We had a method initiated by Mr. Phylactopoulos of monitors, boarders supervising at study periods, not allowing running in the corridors, seeing that beds were made and all that ... I was chief monitor and later I also started a magazine: a monthly called 'The House'(A4).

Of the 310 students of the first four cohorts of the sample (in the time the fifth cohort graduated there was no Boarding House), 52 were boarders, which constitutes 17% of the sample. This percentage reaches 23% of the graduating class in 1950, 22% of 1960, 19% of 1970 and 10% of 1980. In 1982-83, the last year of the Boarding House, there were only 33 boarders (Table 11). Of the 52 boarders in the sample, 34 (65%) were

paying their tuition and boarding fees. Four (8%) had a reduction in tuition fees only and 14 (27%) had a reduction in both tuition and boarding fees (Table 12).

Table 11: Number of boarders in the sample

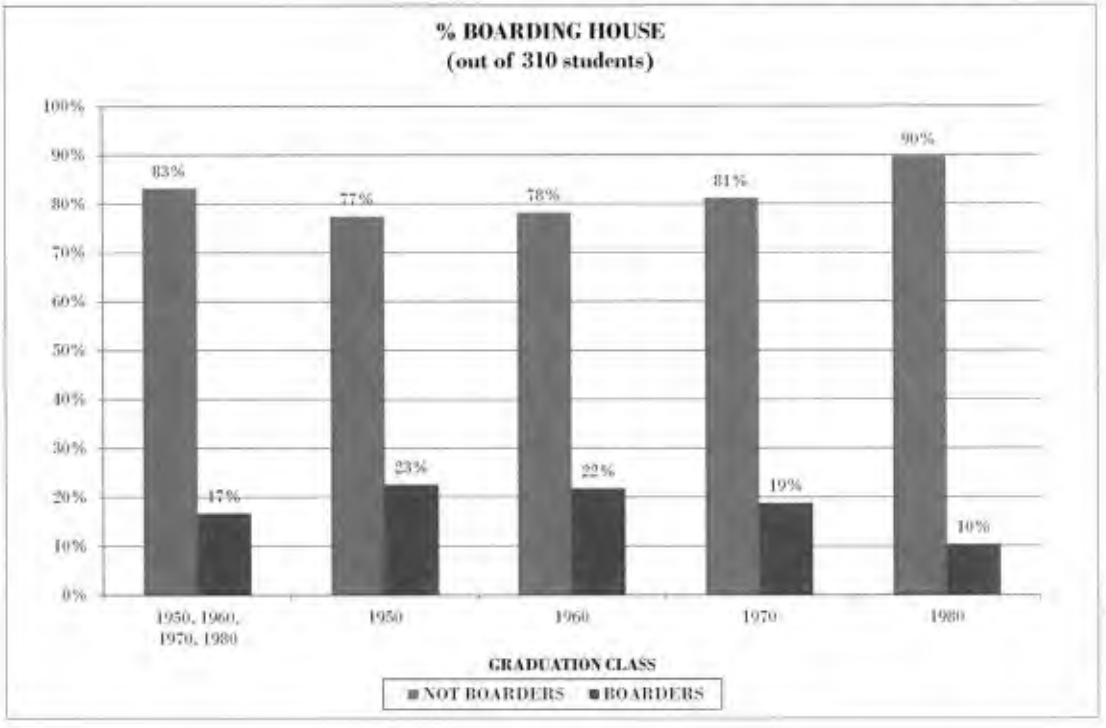
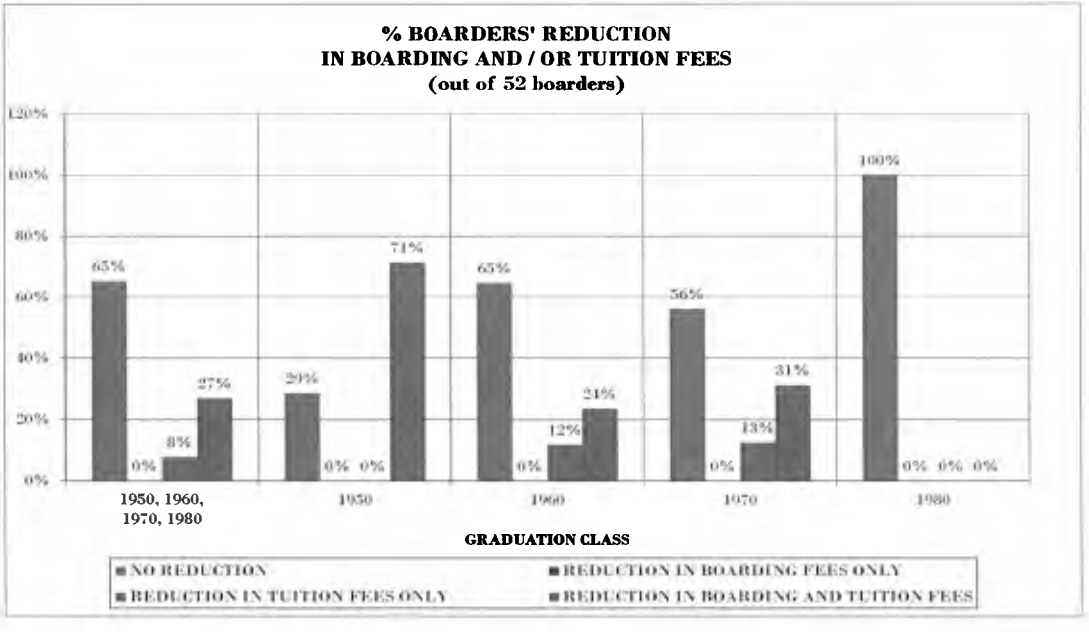


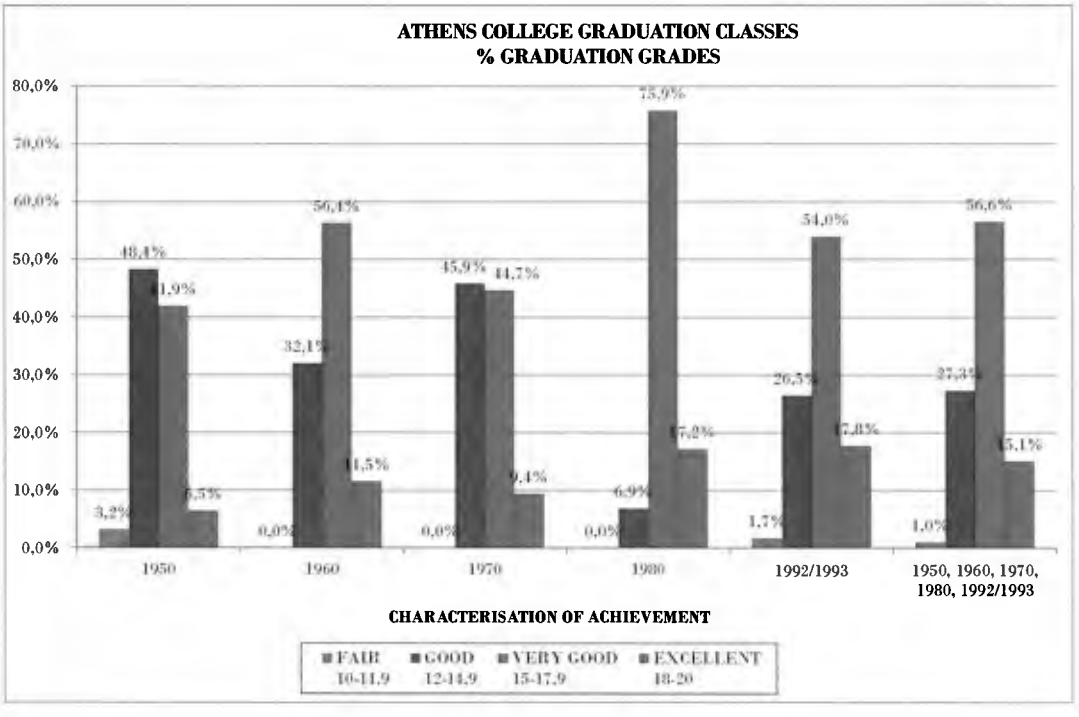
Table 12: Boarders' reduction in tuition / boarding fees



6.7. Students' Achievement - University studies

In Greece, students' achievement is assessed on a 0 to 20 scale, with 10 being the lowest passing mark. All marks are given equal weight in determining grade point average (GPA) in class. The GPA of the Athens College graduating students of the five cohorts of the sample (1940-1990) at their final internal exams can be characterised as: 'fair' for an achievement of 10-11.9; 'good' for an achievement of 12-14.9; 'very good' for an achievement of 15-17.9; and excellent for an achievement of 18-20 (Table 13). In 1950, 48.4% (41.9%+ 6.5%) of the students in the class were assessed as 'very good' and 'excellent'; in 1960, 67.9% achieved this standard; in 1970, the figure was 54.1%; in 1980, 93.1% of students were deemed 'very good' and 'excellent'; and finally in 1992/93, 71.8% were assessed to be at this high level.

Table 13: Distribution of Athens College graduating students on a 0-20 scale Grade Point Average (GPA)



One can suppose that assessment in the years 1950, 1960, 1970 was more strict or the students were not as able as they were in 1980 and 1992/93. Given that in the 80s the school certificate counted in the General Exams (for entrance to Greek universities) we

tend to believe that assessment in 1980 was rather inflated. The 'excellent' group is found to be slightly larger throughout the years.

However it is important to look at the statistics of the Hellenic General Statistical Service (http://goo.gl/cwB4x), comparing student achievement between state and public schools. The achievement of students from Athens College is taken from the School's archives and consists of the following data: in 1980, 37.6% of public school students, 47.7% of students from private schools, and 93.1% of Athens College students were assessed as 'very good' and 'excellent' (Athens College's percentage is included in the private schools' percentage). In 1992/93, 45.2% of state school students, 68.5% of private school students, and 71.8% of Athens College students were assessed as 'very good' and 'excellent'.

What is even more interesting and tends to support the meritocratic ideals of Athens College is that in all five cohorts, students' GPA is not related to students' social origin. In all five cohorts the average GPA of students whose fathers fit into the occupational category I is 16.1, from the occupational category II is 15.8, and from the occupational category III is 16.3. In fact, the average GPA of students born from group III fathers is 0.2 points higher than the GPA of students from group I fathers and 0.5 points higher than students from group II fathers (Table 14). Teachers apparently were not influenced by class, wealth, fame, power or other characteristics of the families of their students.

Table 14: Graduation grades compared with fathers' occupations

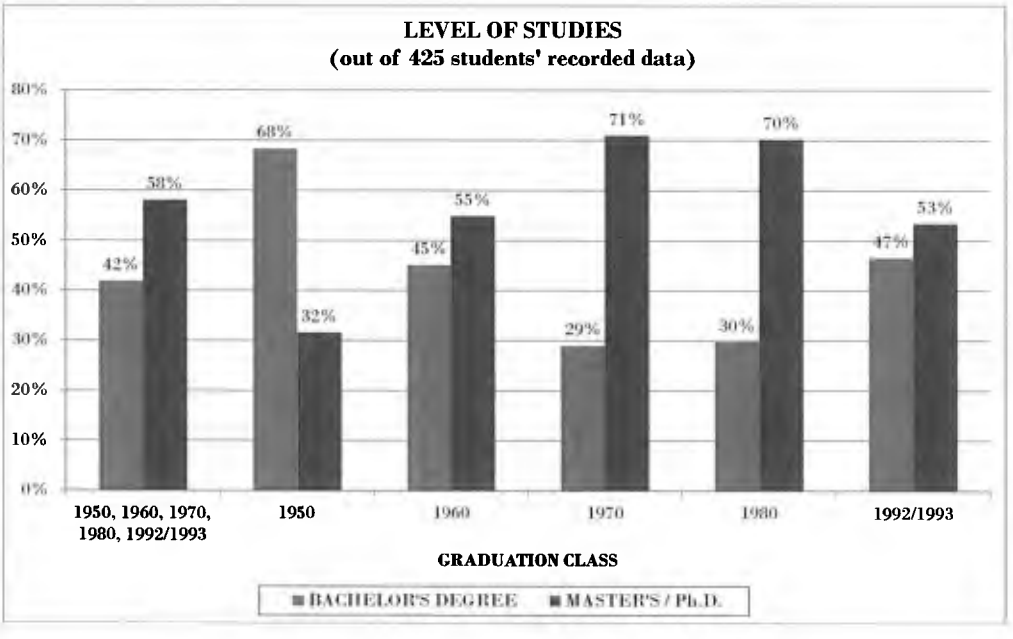
GRADUATION GRADES vs FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS										
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	*AVERAGE GRADUATION GRADE (A.G.G.)*	KNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories						UNKNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS
				I		II		III		
				STUDENTS	(A.G.G.)	STUDENTS	(A.G.G.)	STUDENTS	(A.G.G.)	
1950	31	*15,2*	29	11	15,6	16	15,0	2	14,3	2
1960	78	*15,8*	76	33	16,0	38	15,7	5	16,1	2
1970	85	*15,4*	78	42	15,4	35	15,4	1	16,8	7
1980	116	*16,6*	92	51	16,9	40	16,4	1	16,9	24
1992/1993	287	*16,1*	150	102	16,1	46	16,1	2	18,3	137
ALL	597	*16,0*	425	239	*16,1*	175	*15,8*	11	*16,3*	172

Of the 597 students of the five cohorts (sample), we only have data concerning the university studies of 425 of them. The data comes from four editions of *Who is Who (1990, 1995, 2002, 2011)*, the Athens College Alumni Associations' (SAKA)

publication, which contains information about the registered graduates according to their statements. Graduates are not recorded in *Who is Who* unless they personally reply to SAKA, sending in their data for the purpose. Only 425 of the alumni who are members of the five graduating classes of the sample are recorded in the *Who is Who.* Consequently this sub-sample of 425 will be used for this part of the research.

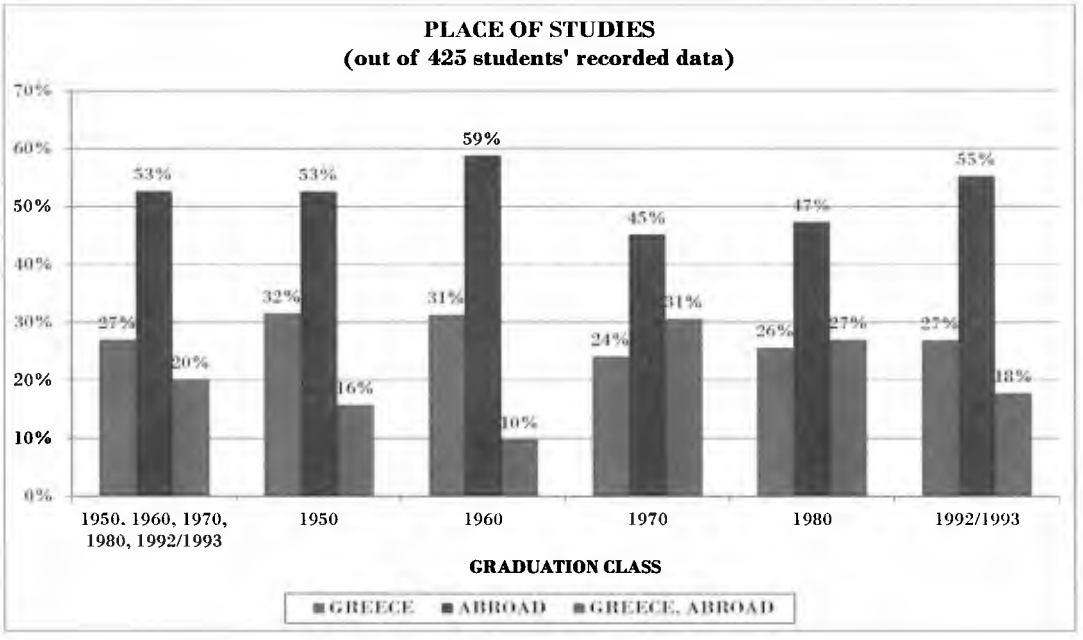
This situation is a limitation for the research, but the sample of 425 alumni out of 597, almost four fifths of the original sample, can be trustworthy enough to provide credible results. It should also be considered that the 425 alumni who responded to the SAKA invitation and sent in their data for the specific publication might have special characteristics that could possibly interfere with the validity of the research. Given the situation, and combining the answers of those 425 alumni with their school records, the following results regarding the alumni's further studies have been obtained: 178 (42%) acquired an undergraduate degree (B.A., B.Sc. or the equivalent Greek *Ptychion*); 247 (58%) pursued graduate studies and acquired an MA or a PhD (Table 15).

Table 15: Level of studies of Athens College Alumni



115 alumni (27% of the sampled 425) studied in Greece and 224 (53%) elsewhere. 86 (20%) of them acquired their undergraduate degree in Greece and then proceeded to move abroad for their graduate studies (Table 16).

Table 16: Place of studies of Athens College Alumni



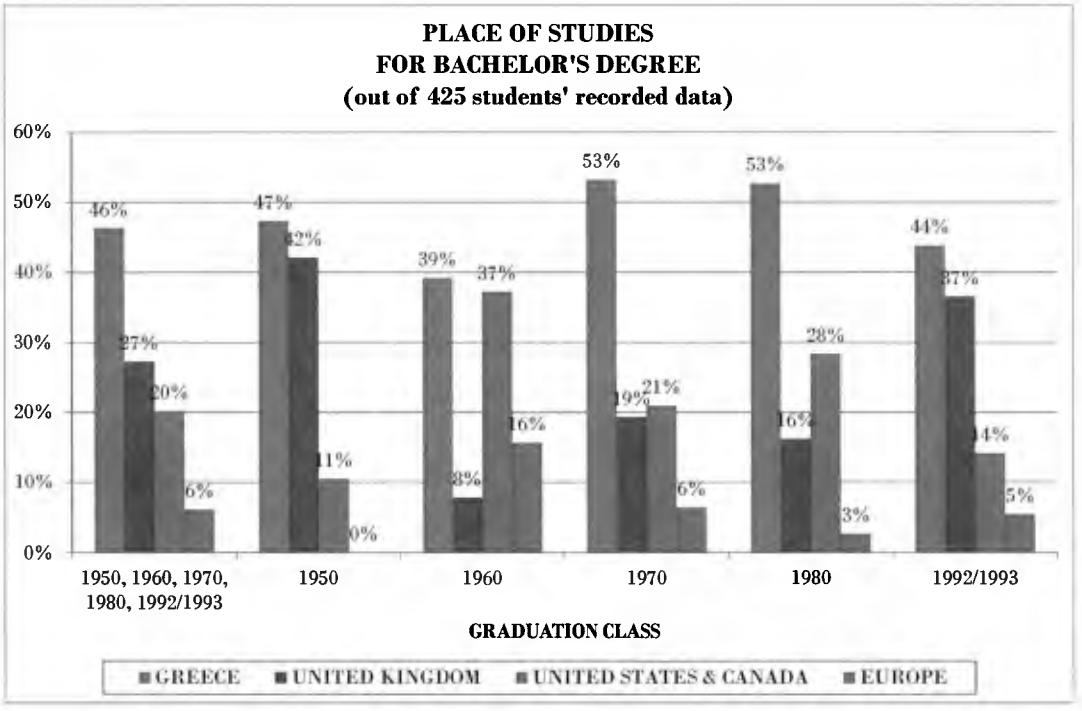
An interviewee (alumnus of 1945) remembers that after graduation many of his classmates entered the Metsoveio Polytechnic University of Athens, a highly competitive tertiary level institution, without any other preparation besides their education at Athens College.

> They studied in Greece and then went on to the United States. In those days there wasn't anywhere else to go. England was crushed, Germany even worse destroyed, so was France. There was nowhere else for us graduates to go than America. The first year I studied at the Greek Polytechnic School and then Davis found a university in the States to which I went (A2).

It is strange that the alumnus's perception of European countries after the War was that they were destroyed. Nevertheless, alumni's distribution for University studies prove different things: 46% of the alumni acquired a Ptychion in Greece, 27% the equivalent BA/BSc in Great Britain, 20% in USA/Canada, and 6% elsewhere in Europe (Table 17).

The percentage of alumni studying in America grows until 1960 (37%) and reduces afterwards towards 1992/1993 (14%). On the contrary studies in Great Britain after a fall in 1960 (8%) start rising to reach 37% of the alumni. This can be explained, first, by

Table 17: Place of studies (BA degree)

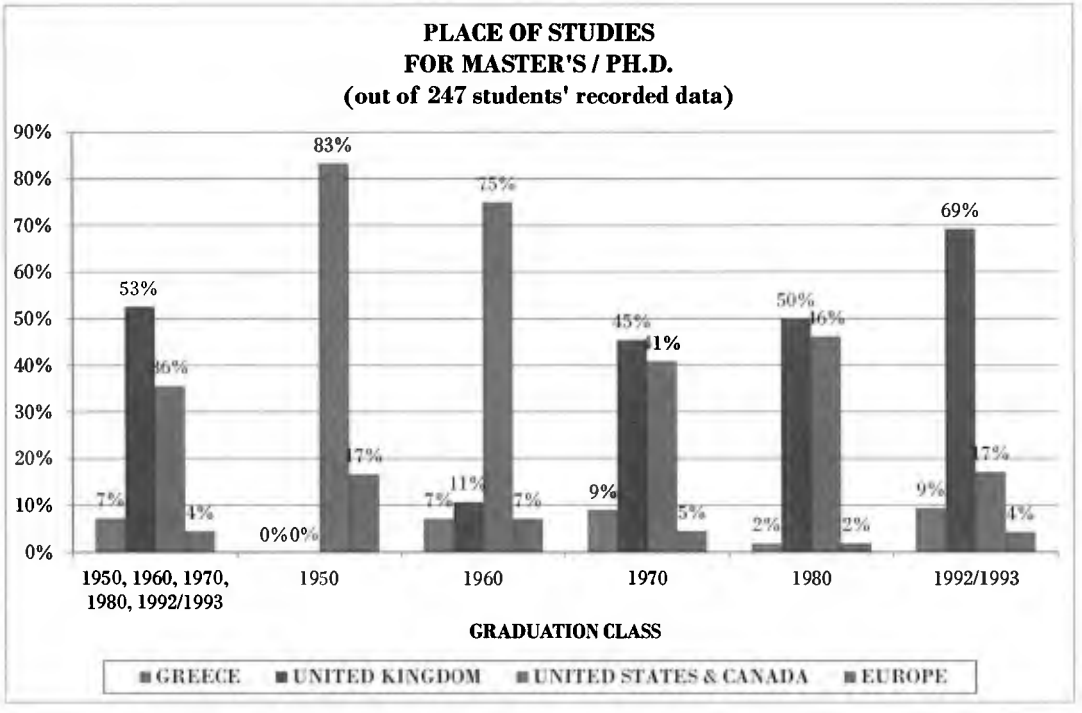


the decrease of scholarships granted by American Universities, and secondly by the participation of Greece in the European Financial Community/Union which gave the right to Greek citizens to study in European countries without paying fees. The distance difference also played a minor role.

Koliopoulos and Veremis (2007) mention that Athens College 'was founded on the model of the British "public" school' and go on to say that the School has produced eminent politicians and 'a generation of prominent businessmen but has never become a school for "rich boys". Many young people of limited means found their way to success through Athens College and to the best universities in the United States and Britain' (Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2007, p. 214). In fact, in the 1940s and 1950s, Davis himself sourced American Universities that gave scholarships to graduating students of Athens College. Traditionally, the American President at Athens College, in his frequent trips to the USA, was active in raising funds for the needs of the College as well as securing scholarships for graduating students to study in American Universities.

Alumni who pursued graduate studies turned to American (53%) and European (40%)

Table 18: Place of studies (MA/Ph.D. degree)



universities, as graduate studies were not extensively organised in Greece. The percentage of alumni pursuing graduate studies in America in 1950 was 83%, reduced to 17% in 1992/1993, while in Great Britain in 1950 it was 17%, increased to 69% in 1992/1993 for the same reasons mentioned above (Table 18).

6.8. Students' social mobility

In the period under investigation, Athens College was mainly middle-class. This requires looking at the class distribution of Athens College students. A three-class scale based on the occupation of the students' fathers was employed. These classes are the self-employed middle class, employed middle class and the skilled-unskilled working class. The methodology of David Labaree was used for the occupational categorisation (Labaree, 1988, p. 39).

Labaree employs a four-class scale (skilled working class, unskilled working class). In the Athens College case, the working class group was small and the data lacked specific information as to whether the person in question was a skilled or unskilled worker. In the three-class scale used here, the self-employed middle class consists of proprietors, professionals and high administrative positions holders; the employed middle class

consists of any kind of employees of the public or the private sector. Persons with unlisted occupations were excluded from this phase of the analysis (out of the 597 fathers in question, 172 occupations were missing). The three occupational groups were coded as follows:

Self-employed middle class	(I)		
Employed middle class	(II)		
Working class	(III)		
Self-employed middle class	(I)	239	56%
Employed middle class	(II)	175	41%
Working class	(III)	11	3%
Sub-total		425	100%
Missing		172	
Total		597	

Table 19: Occupational distribution of Athens College fathers, 1940-1990

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES									
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories						*UNKNOWN FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS*
			I		II		III		
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	
1950	31	**29**	11	**38%**	16	**55%**	2	**7%**	*2*
1960	78	**76**	33	**43%**	38	**50%**	5	**7%**	*2*
1970	85	**78**	42	**54%**	35	**45%**	1	**1%**	*7*
1980	116	**92**	51	**55%**	40	**43%**	1	**1%**	*24*
1992/1993	287	**150**	102	**68%**	46	**31%**	2	**1%**	*137*
ALL	597	**425**	239	**56%**	175	**41%**	11	**3%**	*172*

Table 19 shows the distribution of fathers (as heads of the families) in professional groups according to their declaration of occupation when registering their children. Only the fathers' occupation appears in the students' book in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s as not many women worked outside the house. Even if they did, the occupation of the father was estimated as supporting the household financially. It was not possible to obtain either the family's income or the educational level of the parents. Neither was it possible to know if the self-employed were employing others (bourgeois), or not (petty bourgeois). Nevertheless, the three broad occupational categories provide information about the father's position within the social relations in the workplace: that is, if he was employer, professional, administrator, or employee. From the occupational titles and personal knowledge of individuals (two parents I knew belonging in the

working class category were registered as employees), there are suspicions that some skilled-unskilled workers declared themselves as being employees, thus increasing occupational category II and reducing III. In table 19, out of 425 fathers with known occupations, 239 (56%) were classified as I, 175 (41%) in category II, and 11 (3%) in category III.

Table 20: Occupational distribution of Athens College alumni 1940-1990

ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS									
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Alumni's Occupational Categories						*UNKNOWN ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS*
			I		II		III		
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	
1950	31	**24**	15	**63%**	9	**38%**	0	**0%**	7
1960	78	**72**	60	**83%**	12	**17%**	0	**0%**	6
1970	85	**82**	68	**83%**	14	**17%**	0	**0%**	3
1980	116	**100**	81	**81%**	19	**19%**	0	**0%**	16
1992/1993	287	**231**	175	**76%**	56	**24%**	0	**0%**	56
ALL	597	**509**	399	**78%**	110	**22%**	0	**0%**	88

In table 20, out of the 509 alumni with known occupations, 399 (78%) were classified in category I and 110 (22%) in category II. None was classified in category III. In table 21, 373 father-alumni pairs, where the occupation of both fathers and alumni is known, allow us to follow the distribution of alumni's occupations in relation to the fathers' occupations: from fathers categorised as I, 186 (50%) alumni have been categorised as I, 29 (8%) as II, none as III; from fathers categorised as II, 107 (29%) alumni have been categorised as I, 42 (11%) as II, none as III; from 9 fathers categorised as III, 7 (2%) alumni have been categorised as I, 2 (1%) as II, none as III (Table 21).

Table 21: Fathers' compared with alumni's occupational distribution

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS vs ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS																		
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' & ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories															
			I		I		I		II		II		II		III		III		III	
			Alumni's Occupational Categories															
			I		II		III		I		II		III		I		II		III	
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	31	**23**	7	**30%**	2	**9%**	0	**0%**	6	**26%**	7	**30%**	0	**0%**	1	**4%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**
1960	78	**70**	29	**41%**	2	**3%**	0	**0%**	26	**37%**	8	**11%**	0	**0%**	4	**6%**	1	**1%**	0	**0%**
1970	85	**76**	36	**47%**	5	**7%**	0	**0%**	27	**36%**	7	**9%**	0	**0%**	1	**1%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**
1980	116	**78**	41	**53%**	4	**5%**	0	**0%**	22	**28%**	10	**13%**	0	**0%**	1	**1%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**
1992/1993	287	**126**	73	**58%**	16	**13%**	0	**0%**	26	**21%**	10	**8%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	1	**1%**	0	**0%**
ALL	597	**373**	186	**50%**	29	**8%**	0	**0%**	107	**29%**	42	**11%**	0	**0%**	7	**2%**	2	**1%**	0	**0%**

In tables 22 and 23, further analysis of alumni divided into non-scholarship holders and scholarship holders presents the following findings: for alumni non-scholarship holders: from fathers categorised as I, 164 (60%) alumni have been categorised as I, 26(10%) as II, none as III; from fathers categorised as II, 57(21%) alumni have been categorised as I, 24 (9%) as II, none as III; from fathers categorised as III, 1 (0%) alumnus has been categorised as I, 1 (0%) as II, none as III (Table 22).

Alumni scholarship holders (Table 23): from fathers categorised as I, 22 (22%) alumni have been categorised as I, 3 (3%) as II, none as III; from fathers categorised as II, 50 (50%) alumni have been categorised as I, 18 (18%) as II, none as III; from fathers categorised as III, 6 (6%) alumni have been categorised as I, 1 (1%) has been categorised as II, none as III.

Table 22: Fathers' compared with alumni's (non-scholarship holders') occupational distribution

NON-SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS																				
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' & ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories																	
			I		I		I		II		II		II		III		III		III	
			Alumni's Occupational Categories																	
			I		II		III		I		II		III		I		II		III	
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	13	11	5	45%	2	18%	0	0%	0	0%	4	36%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
1960	37	32	22	69%	1	3%	0	0%	7	22%	2	6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
1970	47	42	27	64%	4	10%	0	0%	10	24%	1	2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
1980	110	74	40	54%	4	5%	0	0%	21	28%	8	11%	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%
1992/1993	271	114	70	61%	15	13%	0	0%	19	17%	9	8%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%
ALL	478	273	164	60%	26	10%	0	0%	57	21%	24	9%	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%	0	0%

Table 23: Fathers' compared with alumni's (scholarship holders') occupational distribution

SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS																				
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' & ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories																	
			I		I		I		II		II		II		III		III		III	
			Alumni's Occupational Categories																	
			I		II		III		I		II		III		I		II		III	
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	18	12	2	17%	0	0%	0	0%	6	50%	3	25%	0	0%	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%
1960	41	38	7	18%	1	3%	0	0%	19	50%	6	16%	0	0%	4	11%	1	3%	0	0%
1970	38	34	9	26%	1	3%	0	0%	17	50%	6	18%	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
1980	6	4	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	25%	2	50%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
1992/1993	16	12	3	25%	1	8%	0	0%	7	58%	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
ALL	119	100	22	22%	3	3%	0	0%	50	50%	18	18%	0	0%	6	6%	1	1%	0	0%

To obtain the upward occupational mobility of alumni, tables 24, 25, and 26 must be examined: out of 373 fathers-alumni pairs, 107 (29%) alumni with fathers classified as II have themselves been classified as I; 7 (2%) alumni with fathers classified as III are now personally classified as I; and 2 (1%) alumni whose fathers were classified as III have been classified as II. This constitutes an upward mobility of 116 alumni (31%) (Table 24).

Table 24: **Alumni's upward occupational mobility compared with fathers' occupational category**

ALUMNI'S UPWARD OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY vs FATHERS' OCCUPATION										
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' & ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories						UPWARD OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	
			II		III		III			
			Alumni's Occupational Categories							
			I		I		II			
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	31	23	6	26%	1	4%	0	0%	7	30%
1960	78	70	26	37%	4	6%	1	1%	31	44%
1970	85	76	27	36%	1	1%	0	0%	28	37%
1980	116	78	22	28%	1	1%	0	0%	23	29%
1992/1993	287	126	26	21%	0	0%	1	1%	27	21%
ALL	597	373	107	29%	7	2%	2	1%	*116*	31%

Further analysis of alumni divided into alumni non-scholarship holders and scholarship holders presents the following findings: out of 273 parent-alumni pairs, 57 (21%) alumni (non-scholarship holders) with fathers classified as II, have themselves been classified as I; 1 alumnus with father classified as III is now personally classified as I; and 1 alumnus whose father was classified as III has been classified as II. This constitutes an upward mobility of 59 (22%) non-scholarship holder alumni in occupational/social group (Table 25).

In table 26, out of 100 parent-alumni pairs, 50 alumni (scholarship holders) with fathers classified as II, have themselves been classified as I; 6 alumni with fathers classified as III are now personally classified as I; and 1 alumnus whose father was classified as III has been classified as II. This constitutes an upward mobility of 57 (57%).

Table 25: **Alumni's upward occupational mobility compared with fathers' occupational category (non-scholarship holders)**

NON-SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS										
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' & ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories						UPWARD OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	
			II		III		III			
			Alumni's Occupational Categories							
			I		I		II			
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	13	**11**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**
1960	37	**32**	7	**22%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	7	**22%**
1970	47	**42**	10	**24%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	10	**24%**
1980	110	**74**	21	**28%**	1	**1%**	0	**0%**	22	**30%**
1992/1993	271	**114**	19	**17%**	0	**0%**	1	**1%**	20	**18%**
ALL	478	**273**	57	**21%**	1	**0%**	1	**0%**	59	**22%**

Table 26: Alumni's upward occupational mobility compared with fathers' occupational category (scholarship holders)

SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS										
GRADUATION CLASS	STUDENTS	KNOWN FATHERS' & ALUMNI'S OCCUPATIONS	Fathers' Occupational Categories						UPWARD OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	
			II		III		III			
			Alumni's Occupational Categories							
			I		I		II			
			STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%	STUDENTS	%
1950	18	**12**	6	**50%**	1	**8%**	0	**0%**	7	**58%**
1960	41	**38**	19	**50%**	4	**11%**	1	**3%**	24	**63%**
1970	38	**34**	17	**50%**	1	**3%**	0	**0%**	18	**53%**
1980	6	**4**	1	**25%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	1	**25%**
1992/1993	16	**12**	7	**58%**	0	**0%**	0	**0%**	7	**58%**
ALL	119	**100**	50	**50%**	6	**6%**	1	**1%**	*57*	**57%**

Summarising, out of 373 parent-alumni pairs, 116 alumni (31%) of the alumni population advanced in occupational/social group. This is divided into 59 (22%) non-scholarship holder alumni and 57 (57%) scholarship holders alumni who advanced in occupational/social group. This constitutes an upward mobility of one third of the students of Athens College.

6.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, the student body of Athens College in the period 1940-1990 was described as having different geographical origins, mainly of middle class origin, multi-faith with a dominant Christian orthodox culture; the philosophy and evolution of the

Scholarship Programme, Athens College's admissions policy and life in the Boarding House were presented; Students' achievements at the time of graduation, alumni's University studies and their occupational destinations were examined in detail. Taking into consideration the data accuracy limitations, an upward social mobility of one third of the students in terms of their occupations compared to their fathers' occupations was traced.

One cannot say with certainty that students' social mobility is attributable only to the School. There are many factors contributing in a person's advancement or lack thereof. What is safe to say is that the students of Athens College who were granted scholarships were given the opportunity to get quality education and progress in life.

Some aspects of schooling at Athens College have been studied in depth in this chapter (the student body, the Scholarship programme, the Boarding House) thus answering research question 1. Alumni recalled their experiences at Athens College in academic and social terms (research question 2). Their remembrances were combined with data from the School's records. Oral testimonies have been put together with written text and data from the School's archives (students' records) to show the alumni's achievements in numbers and in words. Students' origins and destinations were studied (research question 2). The second research question led this research to a mixed methods approach (Teddie and Tashakkori, 2009, p. 8). In the following chapter community life in Athens College will be illustrated through the lens of alumni who lived there as students and strove to acquire quality education of the whole person as the School promised to offer.

CHAPTER 7: COMMUNITY LIFE

7.1. Introduction

Academic and social learning, sharing of experiences in community life at Athens College during the period 1940-1990 will be presented in this chapter, seen through the eyes of Athens College alumni in an effort to write history 'from the bottom up' (Spencer, 2006, p. 439). Alumni's memories on how their School, as it has evolved and developed, affected their personal growth and life emerge from interviews with thirteen alumni who experienced the School as students at different times over those years. The interview schedule included a set of questions and prompts asking for alumni's perceptions of the status and main features of Athens College, as well as school life, the curriculum and pedagogy, institutions established and values cultivated. Interviewees were also asked what were the most important things Athens College offered them, what was the impact it had on their life and their overall estimation of the School's contribution to Greek education and society.

7.2. Distinguishing characteristics

Ten interviewees mentioned that Athens College is a School with distinctive characteristics. Among those they mention the infrastructure and facilities, which supported teaching and made learning more effective: playing- fields, a library, science laboratories, well equipped and maintained classrooms, wood around buildings and Benaki Hall itself, the Boarding House and the theatre (A1, A3, A4, A5, A9, A12, A13). Of particular note were the sports facilities and athletic programmes (A1, A3, A5, A6, A7, A9, A11, A12); eight mentioned the teaching and use of the English language (A2, A4, A6, A9, A10, A11,), not only as a lesson itself taught at a very high level, but as a language of instruction for other subjects such as algebra, biology, psychology etc. (A1, A6, A12); six mentioned elective courses that cultivated the students' interests (A4, A5, A6) in areas such as Art, Music, or Free Activities that started from elementary school (A9, A10, A12).

The alumni think that all work was of a high standard and the teachers of high quality,

using innovative teaching methods such as study projects, work in the library and engaging activities (A5, A9, A12, A13). There was a serious academic learning climate without loss of teaching hours. The extra year of studies is considered a unique feature distinguishing Athens College from other schools in Greece, and relieving students of workload pressure (A6, A12).

Among the School's distinctive characteristics, citizenship training and democratic education were placed highly (A1, A3, A5, A7, A9, A11). Democratic procedures and dialogue for decision making were present in everyday life. Interviewees remember having class councils, the Student Community Council and the General Assembly. Students' activities included actions of solidarity, for example fund raising to build schools after the War (A3). Alumni noted that there was freedom of speech and an open and liberal culture (A3, A10, A7, A9) in the School.

A participant (graduate of 1960) comments:

> This is what for me also constituted community life: a President was elected, there was a Students' Council, decisions were made by each section – it was very instructive. I think this taught us how to continue in society thereafter. It was in those days a distinctive element of the School (A7).

Extracurricular activities and clubs for the cultivation of students' interests were supplementary to the curriculum and played an important role in student life. Theatre performances, student publications and artistic expression were activities that students enjoyed (A1, A3, A4, A5, A6, A9, A11). Alumni acknowledged that there was an extrovert mentality; the contacts with schools abroad gave students a sense of being citizens of the world. Foreign teachers enhanced the cosmopolitan culture of the School. Interviewees recall that the School's international orientation helped students consider studying abroad, and the School supported them and ensured scholarships with American Universities. (A1, A4, A10, A11, A9):

> Speaking English was a great help for us, as was also the chance to study abroad. There was a sense of 'the world' which didn't exist in other schools…All these contributed to the School's reputation and were its strong points (A11).

Interviewees think that the combination of leadership and excellence, with a social conscience of public service and contribution to the common good was a motivation for

the students and encouraged them to be competitive as well as sensitive, team players and also responsible persons (A6, A9). All of those interviewed said that the above factors provided an education for the students as whole persons and made them versatile citizens. Students were encouraged to excel in not just one field and be willing to strive to exert themselves in their endeavours. An alumnus of 1974 summarised:

> There were innovations, in teaching practices and extracurricular activities. Among the former, there were the English lessons, the Free Activities, the art classes ... among the latter, the clubs (40 of them at some point), the Theatre, the fund-raising for school buildings and so forth... these made it a unique school, combining notions of leadership and elitism together with those of social contribution and public service... It was excellence achieved chiefly through the high standards of the students and their teachers (A9).

Once again we come across the concepts of education for leadership and excellence. As Ree argues for grammar schools in England (Ree, 1956, p. 39), interviewees claimed that students at Athens College did not have the sense that they attended a school that prepared them to be political or social leaders - though there are many Athens College alumni in the political field - but to distinguish themselves in the professions, in arts, in business and to be the best they can in every undertaking:

> Excellence is not to spawn first-rate students. Excellence means to excel as a personality: in your conduct, in your social activity. It is excellence in a collective effort or result, which says that the *'Andras trefon'* is nurturing people in the ancient Greek sense... 'A leading class' somebody said is produced. This could of course be misinterpreted to mean an 'elite' is produced. But if, as a school, you can take in hand an ordinary mortal, a child of the poor and of him be made either a Member of Parliament or a good businessman or a good actor or a person whose opinion exerts the right influence in his neighbourhood, that is success and success is not to promote a Venizelos or Karamanlis[3] (A6).

To the alumni, leadership is given a meaning in the sense of distinguishing themselves in their field, taking initiatives, making breakthroughs. They conceive it more as a cult of excellence that impelled one to progress (A10). Interviewees mentioned many names of Athens College graduates who distinguished themselves through achievements not attributable to families' wealth or social position but that relied on hard work and merit (A6).

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[3] These are two eminent Greek political families.

7.3. Citizenship training - The Student Community

Every section comprised a unit with a chairman elected by its members. Students learned to follow the rules for a democratic dialogue and decision making according to *The Manual of Parliamentary Procedure (Phylactopoulos and Demetracopoulos, 1934).* The 'social life' period, when the students of a section met, was a social activity, which bonded the youth group together. It was incorporated in the daily timetable and gave the students the opportunity to set common goals and work towards them. The students of the Upper School constituted the 'Athens College Student Community', the Student Council of which was elected by the whole student body. Interviewees say that without doubt at School they experienced the process of democracy:

> The Student Communities are a historical institution and when they were initiated in the School it was the first time for Greece. There were General Assemblies, the Student Council, a newspaper, a magazine and other institutions such as the Panigyri. The procedures of democracy were always cultivated at Athens College. Thanks to the students' fund drive, the Student Community was enabled to build and equip a number of schools in provincial Greece. I was editor-in-chief of *The Athenian* and President of the Student Community at my time (A9).

Panigyri is a three-day festival organised in spring by the Student Community of Senior High School (*The Athens College News*, 1987) since 1969. The democratic process was initially experienced through the free election of each section's chairman without any sort of interference, and equally the absolutely free function of the Student Council. A teacher was assigned as counsellor of the Student Council but was not present at all sessions. Alumni from all decades admit that they had a true sense of democracy at School (A3, A6, A8, A7, A9, A12):

> I consider that the Student Council as we had set it up was a great help. That is to say it was a miniature House of Parliament ... I myself may not have been involved in public affairs, but that is how it is usually, because those who are more popular are elected (A12).

In 1949 the Athens College Student Community decided to participate in the broader effort of Athens College's community for the rehabilitation of their country that was just emerging from a civil war. With the help of the Direction, the students took the initiative to undertake the expenses of a school building in Cambia, a mountain village devastated by the War. The Student Council collected money through the Christmas

Fund Drive and from several self-denial lunches and was able to finish the building in March 1950 (Petritsis, 2009; Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 130).

An interviewee who had been prominent in this undertaking recalls:

> One student who was good at drawing made a picture of the school we were going to build, which at the time would cost two hundred thousand drachmas – a considerable sum… The picture was so big we had it outside Choremi Hall... Well, the artist cut it into 200 strips. Every time 1000 drachmas were raised, one more strip was added and the building in the drawing was lifted higher. This is what sparked the enthusiasm. Then, we were constantly collecting all sorts of things, clothes, books, etc. to send to the school and besides we connected a College student to one at that school, who corresponded – that was one of the best things... of course, we supported them entirely. They used to say "our village's salvation has come" (A3).

This activity of the Student Community continued for the next twenty years (Petritsis, 2009). During this period of time the Athens College Student Community built, equipped and supported 23 schools in different regions of Greece with further schools being repaired. In addition to these, the Athens College Student Community conducted a significant benevolent project for the relief of persons in need of assistance. For all these activities, which focused purely on the efforts of the College's students to contribute to society as a whole, Athens College Student Community was awarded a prize from the Academy of Athens in 1962 for its activity 'of public and national benefit' (Karamanos, 2001, p. 60).

Such activities of the Student Community continued throughout the period under investigation (The Athenian, 1993). As living conditions in Greece improved, the social sensibilities of the College's students found means of expression on a lesser scale than in the two decades between 1950-1970, as by this point the MoERA dealt with the building needs of the country's schools to a major extent. Nevertheless, every year College students proffered aid to remote schools in Greece, providing them with the evident necessities and educational infrastructure material such as visual media, books and writing materials.

Although philanthropy and social sensitivity were a principal objective undertaken through collective activity, students' intellectual, artistic or athletic interests and talents could also be cultivated and enhanced (Gagaki, 1994) in clubs. Interviewees remember

attending 'lesche', as clubs were called initially, according to their interests. Students could select among clubs like Drama, Environmental, Historical, Archaeological, Literature, International Relations, Art, Meccano, Science, Gardening and others. Members of the clubs met with the teacher-councellor during the breaks of fixed days or at the end of a specific school day. Students' publications also attracted many students to participate in the editorial boards of: *The Athenian* (from 1929), the *Thesaurus* year book (from 1930), the boarders' *The House* (from April 1948), and the student newspaper *The Athens College News* ('Kollegiaka Nea', from January 1966). All publications continue to be published today. The interviewees talked about their achievements in clubs with pride.

Boarders had their own organisation (Koliopoulos, 1954) within the broader Student Community and they remember about their own newspaper *The House* and the extra-curricular activities:

> What I appreciate about the College is that I took part in those extra-curricular activities and enjoyed them very much, like digging in the garden – we planted pine trees, some of those I planted myself, those to the right in front, where the library is today (A4).

Boarders and day-students participated together in the Student Community's activities. Sometimes the work of students was discussed and praised outside College, for example the plays produced by the Drama club (Karamanos, 2003, pp. 47-48) which drew on the traditions of Athens College's early performances taught to the students by Karolos Coon, an English teacher, who after leaving Athens College in 1936 became a theatre director of international reputation; or such as Arts and Photography exhibitions taking place in the School Library or the Theatre (Athens College Photography Club, 1982); or the initiative of the Archeological Club who, after finding ancient 'ostraka'(pieces of ancient Greek shards) (Rozakis, 1973, pp. 47-48) in the Saronikos Gulf and prehistoric shards in the Athens College campus in Psychico (Katiphoris, 1989), handed them in to the School . This action was brought to the attention of the Ministry of Culture, which eventually gave the School permission to keep the archeological findings (Ministry of Culture and Science, 1974), praising the Archaeological Club's members and Epaminondas Vranopoulos, teacher-counsellor of the club, for their help in the preservation of monuments in Ancient Anthedon, thus acting as responsible and active citizens (Ministry of Culture and Science, 1980).

7.4. Moral education

Stephanos Delta very clearly expressed his vision for Athens College: 'to produce for society men of patriotism as well as humanism, honest characters, robust youths sound of mind and body, to cope with the struggle for life as it presents...' (Delta, 2004, p. 4). Together with citizenship training, moral education of students was a very important element of the 'whole person' education that the School imbibed. Moral education is closely connected with the values underpinning policies and practices which reflect the School ethos.

Interviewees mentioned that throughout everyday life the School tried to instil in them such values as excellence (A3, A5, A9, A10), respect for others (A5, A4, A12, A13), patriotism (A5, A4), the sense of democracy (A3, A5, A7, A10), honesty (A10, A4, A8), politeness (A4, A13, A12), justice (A7, A9), internationalism (A10), broad and deep knowledge (A2, A10, A13), versatility (A11, A13), meritocracy (A3, A11), friendship (A11), social conscience (A9), a spirit of noble emulation and striving (A8, A11), and freedom (A3). In their own words:

> The concept of excellence predominated... and the notion of internationalism; because we were then in contact with other educational institutions such as in the United States ....we had images and representations of them, which I find significant. But the most important, that also has to do with excellence (the Greek *aristeia*) was the value of a broad scope of knowledge, not just what a pupil acquires from books. Education in the broader sense (A10).

Values were evident in Athens College's everyday life, but also in the whole ethos of the School, which you could feel just by walking around the buildings and the campus. The coat of arms with the four elements – owl, double axe, cross, renascent phoenix - symbolizing the continuity of the history of Greeks from the Creto-Mycenean period through Classical Antiquity and the Byzantine millennium to modern times, embodies the School's aim to provide the students with intellectual, physical, and spiritual development as well as their patriotic conscience (Figure 6).

Figure 6: The Athens College coat of arms.

THE ATHENS COLLEGE ARMS

(Phylactopoulos, 1976, p. 21)

Besides high academic standards confirmed by international criteria, prizes and awards cultivated a spirit of excellence and noble emulation among students. 'Valedictorian' and 'Salutatorian' were the major prizes awarded to the first and second Senior of each year, who combined four elements: excellence, moral character, multifarious activity, and contribution to the community.

> ...Mainly an all-rounded personality, to be good at everything, this came first; second was noble competitiveness, to go for it, not to fear anything – this was very valuable, for competition in real life is not healthy, it is savage; third, meritocracy, which was strongly promoted in the school; and fourth friendship – my best friends are my classmates, the school encouraged friendship, not to tell lies, not to betray (A11).

The Homer Davis Award was given to the Senior who had proved actively that he had internalised the spirit of social service and responsibility cultivated in Athens College. The Good Sportsmanship Prize was awarded to the graduates with outstanding athletic achievements, a spirit of teamwork and fair play throughout their student career. Other awards were given for excellence in specific subjects. The names of members of the graduating class prizes and awards holders were inscribed in gold letters on marble plaques.

Moreover, the Howland Speaking Contest Prize was awarded to a Senior student for the best speech on an assigned topic in Greek, and the Delta Prize Speaking Contest Prize for the best oration in English. All students of the graduating class participated in those contests. The winning orations were delivered on Commencement Day, the final ceremony for the graduating class. A similar contest was held for the Sophomores: the 25th March competition which consisted of an oration on a topic related to the Greek Independence Day, to be delivered in the course of the national celebration of Independence Day. Freshmen (tenth-graders) were prepared for these major contests by participating in a similar speech contest on a topic related to the life and work of the Three Byzantine Hierarchs, known as the 'Fathers of Orthodox Education and Literacy' (the Athenian, 1983). By participating in rhetorical contests the students acquired public speaking skills and learned how to express their ideas orally with clarity, accuracy, brevity and cohesion, in order to persuade their audience in the spirit of noble emulation and fair play.

Everyday life was regulated precisely (A9). Teachers gave talks to students in the theatre (Theodorou, 1985, p. 22) on issues of an academic, cultural or entertaining nature as well as invited guest lecturers and personalities to speak to the students on the areas of their specialty. An older alumnus remembers:

> The students' daily schedule began at 8:00 a.m. and finished at 4:00 p.m. Meals were organised by the school in the dining room, with teachers present, with meals provided by the school or brought from home. A typical day at the College began with morning Assembly... (A3, Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009) (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Gathering and morning assembly

(*Thesaurus 1950*, p. 59).

A boarder (graduate of 1974) recalls that everything they did (getting up in the morning, breakfast, classes, free time, homework, supper, bedtime) was timed to the minute. 'We dressed for dinner, for instance (suit and tie), that was at 8:12 in the evening' (A9). A participant (graduate 1985) felt the pressure more:

> The day was quite stressful. Classes were until 4:00 pm, because we also had lunch, and we often had activities, like a second foreign language, so that had on me at least the effect of considerable pressure, and of competition too (A10).

Discipline functioned in a preventive way. Interviewees mentioned theft, cheating in exams, indecent correspondence, rowdiness in class, disrespect and smoking as the most frequent misdeeds. In each case the parents were informed. However, punishments existed. The most severe punishments were expulsion (from one to five days or 5 months in earlier years); definitive expulsion at the end of the year by Teachers' Faculty's decision and the deprivation of breaktime... Older interviewees think that the discipline was strict but fair:

> Discipline was extremely strict. If you misbehaved you got '*stigmata*', and if you had a certain amount of them you were expelled. You could be expelled anyway, even without '*stigmata*'... you were sent to the assistant director, he had a cane and struck you on the ... backside... or the hands. Although on general lines the system was fair, it was very strict indeed (A6).

Another alumnus (1943 graduate) recalls another punishment system: on the second floor along the corridor they would walk like convicts, the one behind the other. And in the middle, Mr. Kirt, 'his legs one over the other, sitting on a chair ... not moving at all. He would have a book or something to read and we would line up one behind the other and we would walk around and around, along the whole corridor, from one side to the other'. The other kind of punishment was the deprivation of the break. The ferule was also used (A1 cited in Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou, 2009).

For the boarders discipline was even more strict (T9). An Athens College boarder recalls:

> ... we got *'stigmata'*, little yellow, green or red bits of paper and in extreme cases there was the cane too (a bamboo) ... I don't remember expulsions from the School... In the classroom I can't say that discipline was an issue. It was self-evident. Perhaps gradually...maybe one or two left every year,

either for reasons of ability or for reasons of discipline (A8).

In those days (1960s and 1970s), education was characterised by very strict discipline and a greater degree of autocracy compared to today:

> Expulsion and being sent to the office...copying, truancy, we often skipped the first classes – we'd go to the Havana opposite ... and smoking. The 'puff club' ... mostly that sort of thing...classic stuff. If things were more serious the Administration would talk to the parent (A10).

An alumna, graduate of 1988 also found the disciplinary policy of Athens College strict but fair: 'I was severely punished, I got a three-day expulsion, which was fair. I skipped school and went with Matilda to Kifissia for a coffee and then we rushed to get back in time, we hitched a ride and came face to face with the Deputy Director...' (A11). She recalls being chairman of the section and being able to have discussions with the teacher-counsellor about boys in the section who misbehaved.

7.5. Strengths and shortcomings

Four participants believe that the School's strongest point was the quality of its teaching (A1, A5, A7, A8, A10). Teacher interviewees agree in this too (T2, T5, T6, T8, T9). Very high academic standards and a broad scope of education (A7, A10, A13) combined with extracurricular activities such as elective courses and clubs (A7, A8, A11) that cultivated students' interests, as well as Science Labs (A10), were found to be important. Sports are also very high in alumni's estimation (A7, A11, A12) and proficiency in two languages, English and native Greek (A2, A11), are considered a strong asset as was the School's international orientation (A10, A11). Two interviewees referred with emphasis to the Student Community and citizenship training (A7, A11) and the contribution to the social community, as well as to a spirit of volunteerism (A10) that was systematically cultivated. Two alumni mentioned that students' social networking (A3, A13) and opportunities for upward social mobility were important. Another two consider that the existence of pupils on bursaries brought a balance to the elitist social environment and that the existence of the Scholarship Programme (A7, A3) was what made Athens College unique. The organisation of the School (A2, A8) and its excellent facilities were also mentioned (A12).

Two alumni identified a shortcoming in the fact that the School expanded a great deal in

the 1970s, to its detriment (A7, A12); however, two others disagreed (A5, A11). One of them mentioned that the admission of girls lowered the School's standards (A7). Another mentioned that one or two of his teachers behaved inappropriately and that there was a rumour that the children of famous or rich parents had fewer problems, of which he himself had no evidence (A13). The same alumnus was bothered by the fact that some students were not interested in exploiting the advantages offered by the School to the full and he believed that in his days (graduate of 1991) the School should have been more strict with those who did not adhere to the rules (A13).

The attendance of children of wealthy families made some students feel inferior but this does not seem to be the rule (A3, A11). Athens College alumni think they were considered arrogant (A5) by some students of other Athenian schools, and they were in fact mocked as 'spoiled brats'. Most interviewees do not think that arrogance characterised the Athens College student body, while one said that they felt privileged and proud to be Athens College students. He attributed the mockery to envy (A3).

Michael Dertouzos in his 'Athens College will' presented by Nikos Demou in *Ermis* (Demou, 2001, p.32-36) makes an imaginary projection of Athens College's route until 2025 and he explains its success in the 'pursuit of three overarching goals – enhancing [its] unique education based on Hellenic American Ideals, pursuing educational excellence without compromise, and building a community spirit within the Athens College family'. This is also his position on how Athens College should continue in order to achieve and maintain its primacy.

7.6. Teachers

The teacher-student relations were very good, but a distance was kept. Interviewees say that some teachers were more distant than others:

> There were teachers whom we respected and it was difficult to have a close relationship with them out of the classroom and there were some who were younger and with a generally more comradely approach to the student community. Some who went on to become University Professors or to the Polytechneio were harder to relate to, even in everyday matters (A5).

Students felt free to ask anything in the classroom, but some teachers were available in breaks as well:

> When class was over we would all go outside. Two or three stayed behind at the blackboard, with the Maths teacher. Then we would learn something more and he loved to be able to show it to us (A2).

In the Boarding House, relationships could be more intimate, as among members of a family:

> With some, house-masters especially, we had very good relations. However distance was distance. Others were strict (A4).

The relationship between students and teachers was always on a level such that the teacher held a higher position than the student (A1). Closeness with students is a matter of the character of the teacher, nevertheless, in breaks at Athens College you could see teachers playing football or participating in other sports together with students. Clubs and extracurricular activities gave teachers the opportunity to communicate with students at a less structurally formal level. In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s discipline at School was more strict. Later, the new pedagogy brought in new ideas about treating children with more understanding and less strictly, but there was always respect for the teachers. Former students remember their teachers with respect and say that the teachers cared about them not only as students but as people.

> There were teachers who kept a distance, there were teachers who had a close relationship with students, those were human teachers. We had some top-class teachers who went on to universities, who were great scholars and we had other who were middling but were good teachers, who cared about the pupil, about the child, helping the weaker ones, encouraging the timid ones, comprehending the problem, understanding the circumstances – the sort of thing that's more important than someone better at explaining an equation – and there were a lot of those (A6).

While narrating their personal experiences, former students describe their relationships with their teachers as friendly and supportive. Teachers were available to help and give them encouragement. There was some ragging at times, depending on the teacher, but there was a serious environment (A8).

In the 1970s and 1980s, although the distance between generations had lessened, the characteristic in the relations between students and teachers in Athens College was still that of respect:

> There was mutual respect. Relations differed according to the quality of

> each teacher and each student, certainly to the chemistry between them. In any case, beyond whatever friendliness there was a clear and strictly dividing line which was respected by everyone (A9).

In the 1980s, one could say that signs of contesting the authority of a teacher began to be apparent in the pursuit of high marks, because in those days the High School certificate counted in the Pan-Hellenic exams for entrance to Greek universities. However, teacher-student relations were in general good (A10).

7.7. Alumni: The most important thing Athens College offered them

According to interviewees' perceptions, the most important thing that Athens College offered them was the quality of education resulting from the Programme of Studies and the quality of its teachers:

> The feeling was that the school was working well and that the teachers it had were inspirational. It was a time of 'legends', you could even say overestimated 'legends'. And this had an impact. What the School gave me was versatility (A5).

Versatility comes in many interviewees' answers (A5, A10, A11, A12, A13). They think it was accomplished through the formal and informal curriculum:

> I didn't consider it had given me much, even though the school had moulded the person you were. What I can say for sure is that the College opens horizons for you... You are given the opportunity to do lots of things you wouldn't have elsewhere. I mean, that I learned to play baseball and rugby, that I did ceramics, photography, theatre, all of that is very important (A12).

The good education they received and the good knowledge of English gave them the possibility to study in Greece or elsewhere immediately after finishing School (A2), to distinguish themselves and get a broader outlook of the world (A8, A13):

> The education, the culture. I was admitted to the Polytechneio without having had to go to a tutor's, when most had had two or three years of tutoring. That's when the value of Athens College showed, at entrance to the Polytechneio. And then afterwards in the States. I -and I think others too- when we were in a university environment realised that as to knowledge we were more advanced than American High School graduates (A2).

Others mentioned the holistic education and the wide range of opportunities they took:

> When I was a schoolboy, in my social circle issues were discussed that had nothing to do with the formal part of schooling, and I had an opinion on them...To want to make a difference. To do something different, something better. Not only to be assiduous, which is important anyway, but in the sense of open horizons. I think that indirectly the College gave me something that is the most important and most powerful, to make the best of whatever talent you have (A10).

> An all-rounded personality, not to be afraid to enter into competition, not to be afraid of anything. That if you work hard and are organised you can do anything. Not only single-mindedness, being good at one thing only (A11).

Another factor that they consider very important is the solidarity cultivated among the students:

> I think the most important is the fraternal feeling, the solidarity we co-graduates have. It was due to all those social activities, sports brought us together, closely bonding one student to another, and that our School was first class, the only one of its kind – there wasn't anything to compare it to (A7).

Effort and hard work are considered factors toward success, although trying, not necessarily succeeding, is important (A11). 'It is having to do your utmost and evolve as a human being' (A13).

7.8. Impact on students' lives

Interviewees have no difficulty in stressing the impact Athens College had on their lives. All mentioned that this was accomplished through the School's high academic level and the broad education they received, as well as inculcation of values such as honesty and polite behaviour. An elderly alumnus (graduate of 1943) acknowledged that:

> When we left the College we had been turned into good persons by the School. I have the feeling that the School tried to offer us the best it could. Each teacher with a different way, but the common goal nevertheless was to lead us into society as good persons. Educated, with a kind of self- control, a dignity (A1).

Other alumni (A2, A3, A10) gave emphasis to the paths opened to the students by the possibilities it gave them to study abroad. In later years, Davis himself used to track down and find scholarships for graduating students allowing them to study in the USA.

It seems that he had contacts with specific universities and ensured placement with scholarships for students (A2). One alumnus says:

> I can say it in a few words: it made my whole life. It opened horizons, it gave me unique opportunities and resulted in Athens College having a decisive impact on the course of my life. Driving from the American mentality, what education means, how to be of help to the student, Student Councils, let's say democracy in action, all of that as well as freedom of speech and not only blind obedience. It also gave me the chance to progress and study in the States. You see what I mean by 'it made my life' (A3).

Education of the whole person rather than specialisation, versatility and social conscience cultivated at the School is noted as the element that influenced their entire character's constitution:

> This remains with me as the main issue that the School wished to promote, that anyone wanting to go in e.g. for sports was greatly assisted, as were those with an artistic bent, ... at the time the principal issue was assistance to less fortunate students, also outside the School. We had the 'frugal meals', and although everyone complained about the food, on that day when it was just bean-soup nobody said a word, and in general the obligation to help someone who did not have the means to pay school fees was an ideal central to the School. (A7).

The life of scholarship holders changed in many ways, especially those of the regional scholarship holders. Their lives changed when they left their families and villages where they would probably not even have had so much as books or intellectual life, or even have existed in subsistence conditions. Their change in lifestyle was due to the opportunities offered to them to be instructed in so many different areas and to their acquaintances with other students, which should not be underestimated. Most of them adjusted themselves well in the new environment, although it is recorded that 45.8% of the enrolled Cypriot refugees children left before graduation, although they had taken entrance exams successfully. Baslis argues that linguistic differences made this adjustment very difficult for them (Baslis, 1988, pp. 140-141). Regional scholars recall:

> So my brother and I came to the College. It was truly our salvation, because I was a lost case in my home town, Pyrgos, as were all the children of that age and in those days (A4).

> I have a very positive view of the School because of how it helped me, in essence it changed my life and I have to say my memories of School are very very precious (A8).

The solidarity amongst graduates is considered to have had a professional impact on the interviewees' life (A7, A6, A13, A12):

> Of course I don't know if it would have been the same had I gone to another school, there is something that connects you, for instance a classmate of mine wrote a book, I bought it straight away, I read it, I wanted to send him a card although I disliked him and we weren't friends at all. When the College is mentioned I immediately have friendly feelings. There is a connection solely because you were at Athens College (A12).

What emerges from what the interviewees say has something to do with the notion of education for leadership seen under a different light, not governing others, but being leading in whatever you undertake:

> To try and get the best out of yourself, to be distinguished in your field and excel in everything you are doing. To make the effort to escape mediocrity in an upward direction, but not just in order to stand out superficially, to excel in the field of your choice and be able to offer something constructive, creative and special to yourself and to others. This is more or less how I would describe the Athens College spirit (A9).

Athens College spirit is a notion difficult to define, but here is how some interviewees felt about it:

> To my mind the College spirit is two things: one is to try to evolve as a schoolboy and as a human being, constantly, and the other is the mutual support we have amongst ourselves. (A13).

> Trying, not necessarily succeeding, but trying (A11).

It is most important upon leaving school to remember that school life is not only a very important part of life and of decisive significance, not just because of receiving a formal education but for the interests acquired and the friendships made. Furthermore, the education one receives may have a lasting effect on the course of life; that is to say, that school experiences were something special, not simply ten years at school. It seems that participants in this study have treasured reminiscences from their school experience.

7.9. Impact on Greek education and society

Athens College's students come mainly from middle class families. University education is an aspiration of all parents for their children. Looking at the very high

percentage of students following university studies in Greece and abroad it may be said that Athens College satisfied its clientele, offering and delivering what it promised: a good education and access to further studies. Interviewees believed that it also fulfilled the hopes of the founders' expectations (A1), that the School would spawn able cadres in all areas of professional activities for Greece and elsewhere:

> For sure, many prominent persons in all fields were at Athens College, the fact figures conspicuously on their CVs and many schools have the College as their model. It is a point of reference in educationist circles. Even when denigrating the education system they say 'although there is of course Athens College' (A11).

> To raise the level of Greek education and help in forming persons who would be equally at ease abroad as in Greece, to a great extent. I am very positive on this because I saw it. I saw the status of our alumni abroad (A5).

Many alumni of Athens College have been politicians, among them four prime ministers (A7). But according to interviewees this is not the meaning of education for leadership that the School promoted:

> 'Education for leadership' does not mean that the School will bring out 100 graduates and that 100 will be leaders. What it means is that the School gives the wherewithal, the infrastructure, the examples, the possibility to distinguish yourself in whatever you do, to be innovative, ahead of others. A 'leader' is not one who has his people behind him. To be the example for others. I consider even the initiative of the Athens College Student Community to build so many schools for so many years in Greece, as 'leadership' in the sense of social contribution (A6).

But if interviewees agree that Athens College had an impact on Greek society, as is the case, they disagree as to whether it had an impact on Greek education. Some interviewees think that Athens College has had a positive impact on society, with the numbers of educated men and women who graduated and worked or are working in eminent positions in areas of business, universities, the arts etc. Moreover, after teaching some years at Athens College many teachers became university professors (T1, T3)

> We had a maths teacher, Mr. Rokkos, he was considered a rare case, he later became a university professor, we had Theodorou, he also became university professor later, they were exceptionally knowledgeable (A6).

Some teachers, after retiring from Athens College, took places in other schools and brought innovations there too (T3, T4). And many books, Athens College publications, were used by teachers of other schools. Even some books used by state schools were written by Athens College teachers (T4).

Others say that it did not affect education in Greece:

> There is no doubt at all that the College had an impact on Greece's education, and not only in education of course. But to dwell on the first, it may be said that many subjects and facets that today constitute the wealth of all schools have their source in Athens College: theatrical education, democratic institutions, the multifaceted activities of the student communities, school laboratories, school libraries and many more... (A9).

> I think the College helped Greece, with text books too and with teachers. There may have been a snobbish reaction, the 'spoiled brats' and that sort of thing, but basically, society acknowledged that Athens College contributed, something that made its people a bit better, either in the sense of a better education or even as better persons (A8).

Others claim that Greek education could not be affected anyway:

> Clearly, it certainly influenced Greek society. Besides, such numbers of politicians, scholars and scientists, artists, came from Athens College. However it did not influence Greek education, unfortunately. It has nothing to do with the College. It has to do with Greek education (A10).

And others think that the contrary took place, that instead of adopting best practices from Athens College in order to improve the other schools, the Ministry of Education was trying to constrain the College (A13).

Interviewees consider the concept of excellence with a broader meaning of contribution to the social whole, of being willing to learn continuously and always improve oneself, of the moulding of personality and ethos through many interests and social service. That is, the School tries to lead the way in all areas, whether it be innovation in learning or social contribution in order to solve the problems of the nation, producing active citizens and citizens who know how to behave properly, laying claim to their rights following democratic procedures or being consistent to their obligations and contributing to the social whole:

> We are here to contribute, never mind if we never make a fortune... I can think of some alumni...such people love the College... if you consider them, clearly the College has contributed to society (A13).

7.10. Conclusion

Comparisons may be drawn between Athens College and the American High School in terms of the way it was founded and developed, which can be attributed to the American influences on the College. Taking the case of the Central High School of Philadelphia, an early example of the American High School and trying to draw similarities and differences between it and Athens College, one can see that Athens College is a private institution while Central High has always been a state one. However, both institutions since their founding have embodied interests that are both public and private (Labaree, 1988, p. 1). They were both addressing middle class families with meritocracy and excellence as their educational ideal. Yet holistic education has also been a major ideal for Athens College.

High academic standards, moral education and citizenship training were basic pursuits of both institutions. The organisation of Athens College Student Community gave the students the opportunity to train themselves in citizenship as they participated in democratic decision making and setting common goals. The student community's activities of social service together with clubs and extra-curricular activities were supplementary to the education of the whole person and moulding of moral character; that is, a comprehensive education toward the cultivation of the spirit of the students, the development in them of multiple interests, creativity and critical thinking.

The major part of this chapter has answered the second research question. It has presented the experiences of students at Athens College and the impact they thought the School had on their further studies and careers. It has also shown the perceptions of alumni as to the impact Athens College had on Greek education and society (research question 3).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Athens College was founded in 1925. Two Greek benefactors, Emmanuel Benakis and his son-in-law Stephanos Delta, were the protagonists in the creation of the School.

Stephanos and Penelope Delta were among the liberal intellectuals of the first half of the twentieth century who believed that the progress of the country could only be achieved through education of its youth (Baslis, 2005, p. 113). The Deltas maintained that such education had to be progressive and liberal, providing the children with solid knowledge, open horizons and love of their country and fellow human beings. This was to be an education that would form the worthy and progressive leaders needed by the nation as well as cultivated citizens to staff the civil service and the private sector so that the country would develop in industry and the economy. In fact the Deltas vigorously supported the 'Educational Association', a body consisting of intellectuals who supported the movement favouring the *'demotic'* language and novel ideas in education as one can see from the correspondence of Penelope Delta with M. Triantafyllidis (Lefkoparidis, 1997. pp. 310-313).

The first fifteen years were formative. A new curriculum, the 'Seven-Year Programme', had been expounded. A Boarding House had been established from the foundation of Athens College, housing boys from families living abroad, from the Greek provinces and from Athens. A Scholarship Programme, also founded by Stephanos and Penelope Delta, had been giving the opportunity to many children from needy families to enrol in and attend Athens College.

This study has examined the ways in which Athens College pursued the education of the whole person as Delta described it (Delta, 1932b, p. 8). It explored how this public mission related to broad educational and social ideals. It also assessed how Athens College was able to conform to the ideals of leadership, meritocracy, equality of opportunity and excellence it established for itself, eclectically taking from each one those elements that could be embodied in its own philosophy: 'educating the whole person'.

The period under investigation extends from 1940, when the Second World War put an end to the creative phase of Athens College's development, until 1990, when after five decades the School had established its special characteristics and had consolidated a reputation for offering its students quality education with international standards. The School's third phase from 1990 up to the present is open to other researchers, as are other aspects of schooling that the restrictions of the word length of this study did not make it possible to address. One such topic is teachers and teaching in Athens College.

In the period 1940-1990, Athens College's growth and development were affected by historical, political, socio-economic and cultural factors. During the Second World War, it remained closed, as were all other Greek schools. As Benaki Hall was requisitioned from November 1940 to November 1945, the School was housed in the buildings 'Kentrikon' in the center of Athens, and 'Parartema', in Psychico. Without the excellent facilities and the foreign personnel, and with a reduced schedule, Athens College functioned while having to abandon many elements of its curriculum.

WWII, the Occupation and the civil war that followed left Greece and the Greek educational system in disarray. Athens College immediately began the work of physical restructuring and academic rehabilitation. Funds were sought to address the accrued needs of the Scholarship Programme. The Regional Scholarship Programme was established for students coming from Greek provinces. Apart from the reconstruction of Benaki Hall, a number of new buildings funded by donations supplemented the School's infrastructure to address the increasing numbers of students and the demands of the innovative curriculum.

In the 1960s Greece was characterised by a substantial upgrading of the standard of living (Thomadakis, 2011, p. 163), financial development and currency stability; the 'Greek miracle', as it was called (Thomadakis, 2011, p. 167). Entrance to Athens College was 'a highly desirable goal' (Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2007, p. 214) for many Greek families. The 1970s was the decade of changes: due to legislative adjustments, the admission procedure by entrance exams for the fourth grade was gradually substituted with entrance by lottery in the first grade; the '*Andras trefon*' Athens College, for 52 years a boys' institution, became co-educational; the enactment of Law 682/1977 by MoERA placed private schools under the control of the state, thus limiting their autonomy, though Athens College could still follow its programme

according to its Founding Law 3776/1929; the Bodossakeio (named after the donor Bodossakis Athanassiadis) was built at Kantza to house the primary school.

Important changes also took place in the 1980s that affected the structure and the size of Athens College. State interventions prohibiting increase of fees in the public schools, in combination with inflation, and operational costs in general, resulted in a severe deficit for the School. On the other hand Athens College's reputation increased the demand from parents. Athens College increased the number of students and a second school, Psychico College was founded by the HAEF. With the initiative of the Parents' and Guardians' Association of Students of Athens College and the intervention of the MoERA, since 1983-1984 students could choose to attend either the three-year cycle of studies in the last two grades of senior High school or the four-year Lyceum, mainly for the students intending to study abroad. Athens College started in 1925 with 15 students; in 1990 it had 2,819 students.

Three times in the course of the 50 years (1940-1990), the Educational Council re-fashioned Athens College's Programme of Studies, exploiting the Founding Law 3776/1929, according to which Athens College was at liberty to add teaching subjects after application of the state curriculum: the 1950 Athens College programme provided adjustments to address the needs of the evolving transformation of Greek society which demanded the linking of the school with the employment market; the 1970 curriculum was a synthesis of tradition and change, as well as of the demand on the one hand for general education and on the other the need for science-oriented subjects and specialisation that socio-economic changes demanded. The 1981 curriculum emphasised the need for the faculty to study the problems created in Athens College due to the educational measures taken by the state, such as entrance exams for the Lyceum, Panhellenic exams, changes in the state curricula, the enrolment of students in Elementary School by lottery, the augmentation of the number of students in Athens College, and the consequent rapid increase of the number of novice teachers. The Elective Courses Programme was improved, teaching hours of English and Physical Education were increased, extra-curricular activities were enhanced and specialisation sections of students in the two last grades of the Lyceum, according to the interests of the students in relation to their university pursuits, were created. The voting in 1981 of Article 39 of Law 1143/ 1981 on the competencies of the Co-Director and the

appointments of the members of the senior administrative team improved the School's relations with the MoERA.

During the 50 years in the history of Athens College covered by this study, the School underwent many changes due to historical, political, and socio-economic shifts. However the character of the School remained the same: high academic standards and pursuit of excellence, extracurricular activities, sports, cultivation of the arts, citizenship training and moulding of character attracted parents and the Scholarship Programme enabled children of different socio-economic backgrounds to enrol and attend. Traditions cultivated and institutions established in the early years of the School proved to be very stable and constituted strong continuities.

The experience of students at Athens College in academic and social terms, and the impact Athens College had on students' further studies and careers was also explored. In social terms, the student body belonged mainly to middle class families. An average 20% of the students received financial aid from the Scholarship Programme, depending on the financial need of the family. Academic achievement was not a factor for receiving such financial aid. Scholarship grants of this kind were granted to a student even immediately after entering Athens College. 17% of the students were boarders. In 1983, due to the small numbers of boarders because of the repatriation of many families living in African, Asian or other countries after colonies became independent, the Boarding House ceased operation. Entrance exams were obligatory for all students to be admitted in fourth grade until 1979, when admission to the first grade was effected by lottery due to changes in educational legislation. Admission of a small number of students with exams continued in seventh grade.

In academic terms, the experience of students was traced through their academic achievements and alumni's memories. School records give us a 65% rate of graduation of entrants in fourth grade (first grade after 1979), but do not reveal the reasons for which entrants left Athens College before graduation. However, alumni remember that some of their classmates left School because of its stringent academic demands and others were admitted after competitive exams. After Law 682/1977 was passed it was not possible for the School to refuse re-enrolment of a student for low academic achievement and ever fewer families agreed to the 'counsel' of the School's administration for their child to leave Athens College. The philosophy of Law 682/1977

for private education and the subsequent Law 1566/1985 for general education was that all students should be given the chance to finish High School. The fact is that Athens College, an independent school, could not be as selective as it wished based on merit.

According to their Grade Point Average in the final grade, Athens College graduates are classified as 'excellent' (15.1%), 'very good' (56.6%), 'good' (27.3%), or 'fair' (1%). The father's occupation had no significant impact on students' achievement as students coming from the upper middle class had a GPA of 16.1 at graduation, those coming from the lower middle class 15.8 and those from working class families 16.3. Those coming from working class families (receiving financial aid) were the most motivated of the three groups.

425 alumni of the sample of the 597 Athens College graduates have recorded in the Alumni Association's publication *Who is Who* that they pursued University Studies. Out of these, 42% received a BA/BSc/Greek Ptychion and 58% received an MA/PhD. 27% studied only in Greece, 53% studied abroad and 20% received a first degree in Greece and then continued abroad. For the BA/BSc/Ptychion, 46% studied in Greece, 27% in the United Kingdom, 20% in the United States, and 6% in other European countries. For the MA/PhD, 4% studied in Greece, 31% in the United Kingdom, 21% in the United States, and 3% in other European countries.

In spite of the limited data on fathers' and alumni's occupations and the difficulty of identifying social class precisely, students' origins and destinations were explored through comparing the occupational category of the fathers to the occupational category of the alumni from the sample. An upward social mobility of 116 alumni (31%) of the 373 parents-alumni pairs was ascertained. From the above we may conclude that 'education does matter' (Simon, 1985) and that up to a point a school can change a student's life.

Alumni interviewees maintain that Athens College had a great impact on their lives. According to their perceptions, the most important thing that Athens College offered them was the quality of education given through the innovative pedagogical methods. All remember the School's high academic level and the broad education they received, as well as inculcation of values such as respect, honesty, democracy, justice, and polite behaviour. Other alumni place emphasis on the paths opened to them by the possibilities

it gave them to study abroad. The versatility and social conscience cultivated at the School is noted as the element that influenced their entire character and the solidarity amongst graduates cultivated through community life is considered to have had an impact on the interviewees' personal and professional life.

Scholars, especially the regional scholarship holders, acknowledge that their life changed in many ways. The lives of the latter changed when they left their village where they would probably not even have had so much as books nor intellectual life, or might even have had to exist under subsistence conditions. The change was due to the opportunities offered to them to get quality education and socialise with students from diverse environments.

During these 50 years, Athens College, a Greek school with international orientation, provided a model for modern schooling in Greece in many ways. The combination of Greek traditions and values with American progressive education and culture is one of those ways. Homer Davis, in his account of Athens College, says that 'Athens College had unity of purpose in its efforts to combine the best of Greek and American education' (Davis, 1992, p. xiii). This combination is reflected in the dual administration of the School by an American Director/President and a Greek Co-Director.

In the years 1940-1990 Athens College differed greatly from other schools in Greece. Situated outside the city centre, it had the advantage of a campus with plenty of space and excellent facilities. It had a Boarding House (until 1983) housing students of different geographical or socio-economic origins, which enabled the students to grow up in a cultural pluralism and gave the school a cosmopolitan character. The five-day week was a big difference from other schools, which adopted it in 1981-82. A curriculum was applied balancing the humanities with science, a considerable library and laboratories supporting experiential learning and enquiry approach initiated students to the discovery of new knowledge. The systematic teaching of Modern Greek and the teaching of Ancient Greek authors from literary translations in modern Greek were innovations introduced in Athens College in 1950 and in the state schools fifteen years later with the educational reform of 1964 (Law 4379/1964).

English language was a strong element of the curriculum, not only as a subject for the teaching of the English language, but with English being the language of instruction for other subjects. This element made the school almost bilingual, enabling students to continue their studies abroad. The administration of the School, having close relationships with American universities, found scholarships for students and the international orientation of the School opened their horizons for studies abroad either at undergraduate or graduate level.

Physical Education had a central role in the curriculum and sports were a special characteristic of school life in breaks, afternoon activities and on weekends. Free Activities (enhancing manual work by the students), music, visual and plastic arts, and drama and were part of the curriculum but were also cultivated in the extracurricular activities and the clubs, which together with elective courses supplemented the curriculum and connected knowledge with real life situations. The School promoted critical thinking versus rote-learning and it adopted hands-on experience and education connected with real life versus theoretical knowledge.

The Student Community organisation and the Student Councils' procedures trained the students in democratic citizenship, in decision making and solving their problems through collective procedures. Social service and solidarity was a way of life in the School and outside it. For this sort of action the Athens College Student Community was awarded a Prize by the Academy of Athens in 1962. Regulations of Student Communities organisation was introduced in state schools in the 1980s.

The Scholarship Programme, unique of its kind and in the extent of granting financial aid to students of needy families is living proof of the School's belief in social justice and contribution to the society. The continuing bond of its alumni with their School and amongst themselves is a further element which, at least in Greece, is not much encountered in schools.

All these characteristics distinguish Athens College among Greek Schools. Greek Education was gradually organised following the socio-economic development of the country, also influenced by the development of the Education Sciences and educational reforms in other countries. However Athens College has always been a leading educational institution, adopting a new education for leadership (McCulloch, 1991, p.

4), in the vanguard of educational reform in Greece, and a vivid model of quality education of the whole person ('*andras trefon*') to prove that some schools *can make a difference in students' lives and - up to a point - can change society.*

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A4, 16 April 2011, alumnus 1950

A5, 19 July 2011, alumnus 1954

A6, 30 April 2011alumnus 1957

A7, 29 March 2011, alumnus 1960

A8, 13 October 2011, alumnus 1960

A9, 20 November 2010, alumnus 1974

A10, 12 February 2011, alumnus 1985

A11, 24 October 2011, alumnus 1988

A12, 21 July 2011, alumnu s1990

A13, 29 September 2010, alumnus 1991

Teachers

T1, 10 October 2010, (Athens College: 1947 – 1961)

T2, 5 December 2010, (Athens College: 1971 – 2003)

T3, 20 January 2011, (Athens College: 1973 – 2003)

T4, 8 April 2011, (Athens College: 1969 – 2004)

T5, 20 April 2011, (Athens College: 1974 – 2005)

T6, 4 June 2011, (Athens College: 1981 – 2009)

T7, 22 May 2011, (Athens College: 1972 – 1998)

T8, 6 September 2011, (Athens College: 1959 – 1984)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Schedule students' interview

1. On what criteria did your family base its choice of the particular school?

2. Please describe a typical day. What were your feelings as a student of AC?

3. Do you remember any special teaching methods, at the College? Any particular lesson taught in a special way?

4. How were the pupils motivated to learn? How did the School help pupils (weak /top of the class)? Were the marks given very strict? Was there a system of reward/distinction for the pupils?

5. How would you describe the teacher-pupil relations? School-parents?

6. What was the College's disciplinary policy? Which were the chief misdeeds of the pupils and how were they dealt with? What was the usual punishment?

7. What were the values that the School tried to instil in the students(in order of importance), and how was it done?

8. Which elements in your opinion made the School different? What distinguished it from other schools in Athens? Which were the School's strong points? Were there weaknesses?

9. As a student did you know the existence of the Scholarships Programme?

10. Would you say that the College formed "good citizens"? In what ways?

11. What was the most important thing Athens College offered you?

12. How would you define the 'College spirit'?

13. Do you believe the College influenced educational matters in Greece? If yes, any examples?

APPENDIX 2: Schedule teachers' interview

1. On what criteria did you choose to apply to AC?

2. Did the curricula / teaching methods differ from those of other schools?

3. How were the pupils motivated to learn at AC? How did the School help weak /top of the class pupils to further develop? Was the students' evaluation strict/normal/easily acquired?

4. How would you describe the teacher-pupil relations? Teachers-parents?

5. Which were the chief misdeeds of the pupils and how were they dealt with? What were usual punishments?

6. Which were the values that the School tried to instil in students. How was this done?

7. Which elements in your opinion made the School different? Which were the School's strong points? And shortcomings?

8. What do you remember about the Scholarship Programme?

9. The texts say that Athens College cultivated in its students social sensitivity and care for others. Do you agree? Do you have any examples?

10. How did AC cultivate democratic culture?

11. What was the status of a teacher of AC compared to that of other schools? (private/state?)

12. What is your perception of the opportunities AC offered to its educational personnel to become better teachers?

13. Do you believe the College influenced educational matters in Greece?

APPENDIX 3: Consent form

Institute of Education
University of London

Leading education and social research
Institute of Education
University of London

Consent form

Educating the whole person? The case of Athens College, 1940-1990

A research project

May 2010 - August 2012

I have read the information leaflet about the research. ☐ (please tick)

I agree to be interviewed ☐ (please tick)

Name _____

Signed _____ date _____

Researcher's name _____

Signed _____ date _____

APPENDIX 4: Informative leaflet

Institute of Education, University of London

Educating the whole person?
The case of Athens College, 1940-1990

A research project

May 2010- August 2012

My name is Polyanthi Tsigkou

I am pursuing an EdD programme

This leaflet tells you about my research.

I hope the leaflet will be useful, and I would be pleased to answer any questions you have.

Why is this research being done?

Interest for history of education and especially history of Athens College.

Acquisition of an EdD degree.

Who will be in the project? What will happen during the research?

Athens College alumni and retired Athens College teachers will be interviewed. (One session of about 45 minutes each).

What questions will be asked?

About:

- The growth and development of Athens College through the years 1940-1990
- Teaching and learning at Athens College
- Students' origins and destinations
- Former students recollections/reflections on how AC impacted their lives

What will happen to you if you take part?

If you agree, I will tape record the sessions and type them up later. I am not looking for right or wrong answers, only for what everyone really thinks.

Could there be problems for you if you take part?

I hope you will enjoy talking to me. If you want to stop talking, we will stop. If you have any problems with the project, please tell me.

Will doing the research help you?

I hope you will enjoy helping me. The research will mainly collect ideas to help me reconstruct the past, the history of Athens College during the period 1940-1990.

Who will know that you have been in the research?

Anonymity is to be kept. Professors who will grade my research project will read my thesis without knowing the names of the interviewees. I will keep tapes and notes in a safe place, and will change all the names in my reports so that no one knows who said what.

Do you have to take part?

You decide if you want to take part and, even if you say 'yes', you can drop out at any time or say that you don't want to answer some questions.

You can tell me that you will take part by signing the consent form.

Will you know about the research results?

I will send you a short report when finished

The project has been reviewed by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee of the Institute of Education, University.

Please will you help with my research?

Thank you for reading this leaflet.

Polyanthi Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou
Institute of Education, University of London

APPENDIX 5: Contact Summary Form

Illustration With Coded Themes (excerpt)

CONTACT SUMMARY

SITE _____

Type of contact: Mtg. _____ _____ _____

Who, what group place date

Coder _____

Phone _____ _____ _____

With whom, by whom place date Date

coded _____

Inf. Int _____ _____ _____

With whom, by whom place

date

1. Pick out the most salient points in the contact. Number in order on this sheet and note page number on which point appears. Number point in text of write-up. Attach theme or aspect to each point in CAPITALS. Invent themes where no existing ones apply and asterisk those. Comment may also be included in double parentheses.

PAGE	SALIENT POINTS	THEMES/ASPECTS

Miles, M.B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage Publications, p.54.

APPENDIX 6: Interview Transcript Extracts

Sample 1 : Male Businessman, Alumnus 1943

INTERVIEWER: Which elements in your opinion made the School different?

INTERVIEWEE: Combined to the broadening of the College's program, which also made a difference as on the one hand the Ministry's needs were fulfilled by the school, but on the other the different lessons, the teaching of the lessons were in English. I only know algebra in English, I don't know the terms, if you ask me for algebra terms I can remember the English terms not the Greek ones. The same goes for biology. Those lessons were being taught in English, by English teachers.

INTERVIEWER: Did you feel pressured by the lessons?

INTERVIEWEE: Absolutely not and I would even say that as far as "social life" was concerned, as this hour was called…Which is one more particularity of the College. ….At that time we had elections, a class council, a class treasury. I served as a cashier for quite some time, we were given one drachmae per week from each kid, those were the numbers, don't imagine any great amounts. But that was a social activity which bound children together. Then there was the theatre. Tell me, which school obtained a theatre after the war? Which one? Perhaps the American Girls' College in Glyfada, near the airport. I have not been at the Arsakion School, so I would not know…All these things represented a challenge for the children, it was something that made us proud for our school, and it raised our moral like the young children we were among our groups, the groups of girls, as we had no girls there. This was a great advantage for us, as girls are much smarter at that age than boys. Biologically I think this is so….We also had the honour list of each month, which was very important, because there was a rivalry.

INTERVIEWER: It did not contain the same names every month?

INTERVIEWEE: No, it didn't. But when there is a classroom, a whole class that has its own honour list which contained twenty students, you knew that four or five would compete for the first place. Not all twenty students expected to reach the honour list. But it continued to constitute a motivation of excellence for the students.

INTERVIEWER: It was a motivation for excellence, but were the standards too specific? What were the standards?

INTERVIEWEE: It was based on grades only…I will tell you what did happen though. Something they also did to me and with success. I had a teacher at elementary school, his name was ……. This man perhaps foresaw that I could become a better student than the one I was in the classroom. And I have the impression that one month

he placed me first, when objectively I shouldn't be first, but after that do you think I wanted to leave the first place?.... But to me, it has been deeply engraved into my mind. Of course I was taking glory in the fact that I came first, but when I went home I was wondering how come I was first.

Interview Transcript Extracts

Sample 2: Male Teacher (period in Athens College: 1972-1998)

INTERVIEWER:Question 1

INTERVIEWEE: I originally came to AC as part of the Fulbright program. At the conclusion of my second year as a Fulbright teacher I was hired by Dr. Pearson as a regular member of the faculty. In the fall of 1975 I became the faculty advisor for the forensics program and remained in that position until 1997, two years before my retirement.

INTERVIEWER: Question 2:

INTERVIEWEE: The only teaching experience I had before coming to AC was with the Birmingham, Alabama city school system. I taught there for two years prior to coming to AC. There was a great deal more freedom within the AC classroom than was the case in Birmingham. I am convinced that this freedom resulted in better learning experiences for the students.

INTERVIEWER: Question 3 & 4

INTERVIEWEE: Within the English department students were segregated by ability, with special classes for "native speakers" and regular classes for those whose knowledge of the language was limited to what they learned in AC English classes. In addition, class size was kept small so that individual students were given greater attention than was the case in their Greek subjects.

INTERVIEWER: Question 5

INTERVIEWEE: The problem of discipline was relatively minor at AC. The largest number of offenses were in the area of cheating and unruly classroom behavior. The usual punishment was anywhere from one to five days of suspension. On rare occasions a student was asked to leave the college. In most cases a parent/teacher conference usually resolved whatever problems may have arisen. I clearly remember a faculty meeting called for the express purpose of dealing with a single student whose worst offense seemed to me to have been nothing worse than having done something that apparently ticked off the co-director. (This was several years before you joined the faculty.) This meeting lasted over eight hours and was the biggest waste of time I had ever witnessed. It resulted in the student (whose mother was a faculty member) being withdrawn from the school. The entire episode was ridiculous in the extreme--an embarrassment to most of the faculty.

APPENDIX 7: Document summary form

Illustration

DOCUMENT FORM Site:

_____

Document:

_____

Date received or picked up:

_____

Name or description of document:

Event or contact, if any, with which document is associated:

Date:

_____

Significance or importance of document:

Brief summary of contents:

IF DOCUMENT IS CENTRAL OR CRUCIAL TO A PARTICULAR CONTANT

Miles, M.B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage Publications, p. 55.

APPENDIX 8: Athens College Programmes of Studies

8.1: The Programme of 1933

Analytical program of Athens College 1933 WEEKLY TIMETABLE	LOWER SCHOOL					CLASSICAL SCHOOL					PRACTICAL/ SCIENCE SCHOOL					COMMERCIAL SCHOOL				
	Primary			Middle																
SUBJECTS	**4**	**5**	**6**	**A**	**B**	**Γ**	**Δ**	**E**	**Στ**	**Ζ**	**Γ**	**Δ**	**E**	**Στ**	**Ζ**	**Γ**	**Δ**	**E**	**Στ**	**Ζ**
GREEK	7	7	7	8	8	11	9	7	7	7	6	7	6	4	4	5	4	4	4	4
ENGLISH	5	5	5	7	7	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	3	3	5	4	4	4	4
FRENCH								3	3	3			3	3	3			4	4	4
RELIGION	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1				1				
MATHEMATICS	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	5	5	4	4	6	3	3	3	2	2
COSMOGRAPHY															2					
SCIENCE	1	1	1	2	2															
ZOOLOGY						3					3					2				
BOTANY							3					3								
EXPERIMENTAL PHYSICS								4					5					4		
CHEMISTRY									3					5					2	
COMMERCIAL STUDIES I																				4
GEOLOGY & MINERALOGY															2					
PHYSICS PROBLEMS															1					
HISTORY, GENERAL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1													
ANCIENT								4					3			3				
MEDIEVAL									4					3						
MODERN										4					3		3			
CIVICS										1					1					
HISTORY OF COMMERCE																		2		
GOEGRAPHY	2	2	2				4				3	3				3	3			
PHILOSOPHY									2	2				2	1					
HYGIENE										1										
MUSIC	1	1	1	1	1															
SKETCHING	1	1	1	1	1						2	2	1	2	2					
CALLIGRAPHY	1	1	1	1	1											1	1	1	1	
SHORTHAND																			3	
TYPING																	2			
COMMERCIAL STUDIES II																2	4	4	3	2
POLITICAL ECONOMY																				3
COMMERCIAL LAW																			3	
TOTAL	**23**	**23**	**23**	**25**	**25**	**25**	**25**	**26**	**26**	**26**	**25**	**25**	**26**	**26**	**28**	**25**	**24**	**26**	**26**	**23**
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
PHYSICS LABORATORY						1	1	2	2		1	1	2	2		1		2		1
LATIN							2	2	2	2										
APPLIED OFFICE PRACTICE																				3

8.2: The Programme of 1949-50

8.2a LOWER CYCLE (Subjects devided according to curriculum areas)

Subjects	Year	LOWER CYCLE 1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
	Class	4	5	6	Prep. III	III	IV
I. THE HUMANITIES							
Religion		1	1	1	1	1	1
Rel. Teachings		(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)
Ancient Greek		—	—	—	—	8	8
Latin		—	—	—	—	—	—
Modern Greek		6	6	6	5	5	5
Mod. Greek Study		—	(2)	(2)	—	—	—
English		5E	5E	5E	10E	5E	5E
English Study		(2E)	—	—	—	—	—
Psychology		—	—	—	—	—	—
Logic		—	—	—	—	—	—
Introd. to Philosophy		—	—	—	—	—	—
Orientation & Ment. Hygiene		—	—	—	—	—	—
Music		(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	—	—
II. MATHEMATICS & SCIENCE							
Arithmetic/Pract. Geometry		3	3	3	3	3E– 0	—
Algebra		—	—	—	—	0-3E	3E
Plane Geometry		—	—	—	—	—	—
Solid Geometry		—	—	—	—	—	—
Advanced Geometry		—	—	—	—	—	—
Trigonometry		—	—	—	—	—	—
Adv. Mathem. & Astronomy		—	—	—	—	—	—
Practical Mathematics		—	—	—	—	—	—
Element Science & Hygiene		0-5	—	5-0	—	—	—
Botany		—	—	—	—	3-0	—
Zoology		—	—	—	—	0-3	—
Chemistry		—	—	—	—	—	—
Physiology & Biology		—	—	—	—	—	—
Physics		—	—	—	—	—	—
Problems of Mechanics		—	—	—	—	—	—
Science Laboratory		—	—	—	—	—	—
III. SOCIAL STUDIES							
Geography		5-0	5-0	—	3	—	—
Human Geography		—	—	—	—	—	3E
Geography Laboratory		—	—	—	(1)	—	—
Survey of Greek History		—	0-5	0-5	—	—	—
Ancient History		—	—	—	—	—	—
Medieval History		—	—	—	—	—	—
Modern History		—	—	—	—	—	—
History Laboratory		—	—	—	—	—	—

Subjects	Year	LOWER CYCLE					
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
	Class	4	5	6	Prep. III	III	IV
IV. TECHNICAL & VOCATIONAL							
Freehand Drawing		(1)	(1)	—	—	—	—
Drawing		—	—	(1)	—	—	—
Mechanical Drawing		—	—	—	—	—	(2)
Writing		(1)	(1)	(1)	—	—	—
Caliligraphy		—	—	—	—	(2)	—
Free Activities		(2)	(2)	(2)	—	—	—
Manual Training		—	—	—	(2)	—	—
V. PHYSICAL EDUCATION							
Gymnastics		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Athletics		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
VI. ELECTIVE COURSES							
Elective A		—	—	—	—	—	—
Elective B		—	—	—	—	—	—
VII. STUDY & MISCELLANEOUS							
Supervised Study		(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)
Library		—	—	—	—	—	—
Social Unit Life		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Assembly		—	—	—	—	—	—
LESSONS REQUIRING STUDYING		5	5	5	5	6	6
PERIODS REQUIRING STUDYING		20	20	20	22	25	25
PERIODS TAUGHT IN ENGLISH		7	5	5	10	8	11
GRAND TOTAL		**37.5**	**37.5**	**37.5**	**37.5**	**37.5**	**37.5**

E	Subjects taught in English
G/E	Subjects taught in Greek and English
0-2	Two periods during 2nd semester
2-0	Two periods during 1st semester
( )	Not requiring studying

8.2b UPPER CYCLE (Subjects divided according to curriculum areas)

		UPPER CYCLE								TOTALS for 10 years	
		CLASSICAL				SCIENCE					
Subjects	Year / Class	7th FR.	8th SPH.	9th JR.	10th SR.	7th FR.	8th SPH.	9th JR.	10th SR.	CL.	SC.
I.	**THE HUMANITIES**										
Religion		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	10
Rel. Teachings		(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	(½)	5	5
Ancient Greek		5	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	36	28
Latin		2	2	2*	2*	—	—	—	—	8	—
Modern Greek		3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	45	43
Mod. Greek Study		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
English		3E	3E	3E	3E	3E	3E	3E	3E	47	47
English Study		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Psychology		—	—	3E	—	—	—	3E	—	3	3
Logic		—	—	—	2-0	—	—	—	1	1	1
Introd. to Philosophy		—	—	—	0-2	—	—	—	—	1	—
Orientation & Ment. Hygiene		—	—	—	(1E)	—	—	—	(1E)	1	1
Music		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
II.	**MATHEMATICS & SCIENCE**										
Arithmetic/Pract. Geometry		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13 1/2	13 1/2
Algebra		—	—	—	—	0-2	1-5	—	—	4 1/2	8 1/2
Plane Geometry		2	2-0	—	—	5-3	—	—	—	3	4
Solid Geometry		—	0-2	—	—	—	—	5-0	—	1	2 1/2
Advanced Geometry		—	—	—	—	—	4-0	—	—	—	2
Trigonometry		—	—	—	—	—	—	0-5	—	—	2 1/2
Adv. Mathem. & Astronomy		—	—	—	—	—	—	3E	7	—	7
Practical Mathematics		—	—	1E	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Element Science & Hygiene		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Botany		—	—	—	—	3-0	—	—	—	1 1/2	1 1/2
Zoology		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 1/2	1 1/2
Chemistry		3	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	3	4
Physiology & Biology		—	2E	—	—	—	2E	—	—	2	2
Physics		—	—	3E	—	—	—	4E	—	3	4
Problems of Mechanics		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Science Laboratory		(1)	(1E)	(1E)	—	(2)	(1E)	(2E)	—	3	5
III.	**SOCIAL STUDIES**										
Geography		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	8
Human Geography		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
Geography Laboratory		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Survey of Greek History		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Ancient History		3	4E-0	—	—	3G/E	—	—	—	5	3
Medieval History		—	0-4E	2	—	—	3/E	—	—	4	3
Modern History		—	—	—	5G/E	—	—	—	3G/E	5	3
History Laboratory		(2)	(2E)	(2)	(2G/E)	1	(2G/E)	—	(2G/E)	8	5

	Subjects / Year Class	UPPER CYCLE								TOTALS for 10 years	
		CLASSICAL				SCIENCE					
		7th FR.	8th SPH.	9th JR.	10th SR.	7th FR.	8th SPH.	9th JR.	10th SR.	CL.	SC.
IV.	Freehand Drawing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
	Drawing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
	Mechanical Drawing	—	—	—	—	—	(2)	(2)	—	2	6
	Writing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
	Caliligraphy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
	Free Activities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
	Manual Training	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
V.	PHYSICAL EDUCATION										
	Gymnastics	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	20	20
	Athletics	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	20	20
VI.	ELECTIVE COURSES										
	Elective A	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8
	Elective B	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8
VII.	STUDY & MISCELLANEOUS										
	Supervised Study	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	30
	Library	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	—	12	12
	Social Unit Life	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
	Assembly	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	—	4	4
	LESSONS REQUIRING STUDYING	8+	8+	8+	8+	8+	7+	7+	8	5-10	5-10
	PERIODS REQUIRING STUDYING	26	26	26	26	26	24	25	6	236	230
	PERIODS TAUGHT IN ENGLISH	3+	12+	10+	9+	4+	8+	10+	7+	80+	75+
	GRAND TOTAL	37.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	375	375

E Subjects taught in English
G/E Subjects taught in Greek and English
0-2 Two periods during 2nd semester
2-0 Two periods during 1st semester
( ) Not requiring studying
.+ Plus elective
***** In place of Latin, students may elect either Trigonometry-Astronomy-Biology II or History of Civiisation

(Phylactopoulos, 1950, PP. 34-37)

8.3: The Programme of 1970-71

8.3a Elementary School 1970-71

Courses	4	5	6		A.C.	State
Religion	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2		7 1/2	8
Greek	8	8	8		24	28
English	6	6	5		17	0
Mathematics	3	4	5		12	14
Science-Geography	5/0	5/5,0	–	{	16	25
Science-Hygiene	–	–	0,5/5			
History	0/5	0/0,5	5,0/0			
Civic Education	–	–	1			
Supervised Study	4	3	2		9	0
Writing-Drawing- Music-Free Activities	3	3	3	{	15	17
Social Life	1	1	1		3	0
Gymnastics	4	4	4	{	18	6
Athletics	2	2	2			
TOTAL	**40 1/2**	**40 1/2**	**40 1/2**		**121 1/2**	**98**

PERIODS TAUGHT IN ENGLISH	**6**	**6**	**6**		**17**	**0**
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	**5**	**5**	**6**		**5-6**	**6**

8.3b Gymnasium, Classical Direction 1970-71

	Courses	Α΄	Β	Γ΄	Δ΄	Ε΄	ς΄	Ζ΄		A.C.	State
I.	Religion	2	2	2	2	1	2	1		12	18
	Ancient Greek	6	6	6	6	7	6	7		44+	45
	Modern Greek	4	4	4	3	3	3	4		25+	24
	Latin	–	–	–	–	3	2	3		8	9
	Psychology	–	–	–	–	–	2E	–			
	Logic	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	{	4	4
	Philosophy	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/2			
	Music	1	1	–	–	(3)	–	–		2+	6
II.	Mathematics	5	5	5	5	3	3	3			
	Cosmography	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	{	30	29
	Technical	2	2	–	2	–	–	–		6	6
III.	Botany & Labotary	0/5	–	–	–	–	–	–			
	Zoology & Labotary	–	5/0	–	–	–	–	–			
	Hygien	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–	{	23+	27
	Biology & Labotary	–	–	–	3E	–	–	–			
	Chemistry & Labotary	–	–	2/0	–	3E	–	–			
	Physics & Labotary	–	–	0/4	2	–	3	3			
IV.	English	6E	6E	5E	5E	5E	3E	3E		33+	15
V.	History A Circle	2	2	2	–	–	–	–			
	History to 395	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	{	24+	19 1/2
	History 395-1815	–	–	–	–	5/5E	–	–			
	History 1815-1970	–	–	–	–	–	3E	5			
	Geography	5/0	0/5E	5E/0	–	–	–	–		7 1/2	8
	Economics	–	–	0/5E	–	–	–	–		2 1/2	0
VI.	Elective A	–	–	–	–	3 (E)	3 (E)	–	{	12	0
	Elective B	–	–	–	–	–	3 (E)	3 (E)			
VII.	Gymnastics	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	{	32	18
	Athletics	2	2	4	2	2	2	–			
VIII.	Supervised Study	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
	Library	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	{	22	0
	Assembly	1	1	1	2	2	2	2			
	TOTAL	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**		**287**	**229**
	PERIODS TAUCHT IN ENGLISH	**6**	**8 1/2**	**10 1/2**	**8**	**10**	**8+**	**3+**		**54+**	**15**
	Number of subjects	**7**	**7**	**9/8**	**8**	**9**	**11**	**10**		**7-11**	**8-11**

8.3c Gymnasium, Science Direction 1970-71

Departments: A (Greek Citizens) and B (Foreign S)

	Courses	Α΄	Β	Γ΄	Δ΄	Ε΄	ς΄	Ζ΄		A.C.	State
I.	Religion	2	2	2	2	1	2	1		12	18
	Ancient Greek	6	6	6	6	5	5	4		38	38
	Modern Greek	4	4	4	3	3	3	3		24	24
	Latin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		0	0
	Psychology	–	–	–	–	–	2E	–	{	4	4
	Logic/Philosophy	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/2			
	Music	1	1	–	–	(3)	–	–		2+	6
II.	Mathematics	5	5	5	5	6	6	8	{	41	36
	Cosmography	–	–	–	–	–	–	1			
	Technical	2	2	–	2	(3)	–	–		6+	8
III.	Botany & Laboratory	0/5	–	–	–	–	–	–	{	39+	33
	Zoology & Laboratory	–	5/0	–	–	–	–	–			
	Hygiene	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–			
	Biology & Laboratory	–	–	–	3E	–	–	–			
	Chemistry & Labotary	–	–	2/0	–	6E	2	3			
	Physics & Laboratoty	–	–	0/4	2	–	7 (E)	7 (E)			
IV.	English	6E	6E	5E	5E	5E	3E	3E		33	15
V.	History A Circle	2	2	2	–	–	–	–	{	24+	19 1/2
	History to 395	–	–	–	5	–	–	–			
	History 395-1815	–	–	–	–	5/5E	–	–			
	History 1815-1970	–	–	–	–	–	3E	3			
	Geography	5/0	0/5E	5E/0	–	–	–	–		7 1/2	8
	Economics	–	–	0/5E	–	–	–	–		2 1/2	0
VI.	Elective A	–	–	–	–	3 (E)	–	–	{	3	0
	Elective B	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
VII.	Gymnastics	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	{	32	18
	Athletics	2	2	4	2	2	2	–			
VIII.	Supervised Study	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
	Library	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	{	21	0
	Assembly	1	1	1	2	2	2	2			
	TOTAL	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**		**287**	**228**
	PERIODS TAUGHT IN ENGLISH	**6**	**8 1/2**	**10**	**8**	**13+**	**8 (15)**	**3 (10)**		**57 (71)+**	**15**
	Number of subjects	**7**	**7**	**9/8**	**8**	**8**	**9**	**9**		**7-9**	**8-10**

8.3d Gymnasium, Science Direction 1970-71

Department C: Mixed

	Courses	Α'	Β	Γ'	Δ'	Ε'	ς'	Ζ'		A.C.	State
I.	Religion	2	2	2	2	1	1	1		11	18
	Ancient Greek	6	6	6	6	5	5	4		38	38
	Modern Greek	4	4	4	3	3	3	3		24	24
	Latin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		0	0
	Psychology	–	–	–	–	–	2E	–			
	Logic	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	{	4	4
	Philosophy	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/2			
	Mucic	1	1	–	–	(3)	–	–		2+	6
II.	Mathematics	5	5	5	5	6	5	5		37	36
	Cosmography	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	{		
	Technical	2	2	–	2	–	–	(3)		6+	8
III.	Botany & Laboratory	0/5	–	–	–	–	–	–			
	Zoology & Laboratory	–	5/0	–	–	–	–	–			
	Hygiene	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–	{	32+	33
	Biology & Laboratory	–	–	–	3E	–	–	–			
	Chemistry & Laboratoty	–	–	2/0	–	6E	–	–			
	Physics & Laboratory	–	–	0/4	–	–	5	7			
IV.	English	6E	6E	5E	5E	5E	3E	3E		33+	15
V.	History A Circle	2	2	2	–	–	–	–			
	History to 395	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	{	22	19 1/2
	History 395-1815	–	–	–	–	5/5E	–	–			
	History 1815-1970	–	–	–	–	–	3E	3			
	Geography	5/0	0/5E	5E/0	–	–	–	–		7 1/2	8
	Economics	–	–	0/5E	–	–	–	–		2 1/2	0
VI.	Elective A	–	–	–	–	3 (E)	3 (E)	3 (E)	{	15	0
	Elective B	–	–	–	–	–	3 (E)	3 (E)			
VII.	Gymnastics	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	{	32	18
	Athletics	2	2	4	2	2	2	–			
VIII.	Supervised Study	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
	Library	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	{	21	0
	Assembly	1	1	1	2	2	2	2			
	TOTAL	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**	**41**		**287**	**228**
	PERIODS TAUGHT IN ENGLISH	**6**	**8 1/2**	**10**	**8**	**13+**	**8 +**	**3 +**		**57**	**15**
	Number of subjects	**7**	**7**	**9/8**	**8**	**8**	**10**	**10**		**7-10**	**8-10**

(Athens College Archives)