



Translating Socio-Cultural Anthropology into Education

Educational Anthropology and Anthropology of education in SE European countries: Greece, Bulgaria and Albania¹

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General Introduction

Education System

I. Greece

The education system in Greece is under the central responsibility and supervision of the state administration, and more specifically, the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs (MERRA). It consists of three levels: primary, secondary (divided in lower and upper-secondary), and tertiary (higher) education.

1. Overview of the Greek education system

According to the Greek constitution, the Greek state is bound to provide all Greek citizens with access to free education at all levels of the state education system. The Greek education system² consists of three levels: primary, secondary (divided in lower and upper-secondary), and higher (tertiary) education.

a) *Primary Education*³

Primary education includes the pre-primary (kindergarten/‘*παιδικός σταθμός*’/*paidikos stathmos*) and the primary schools (‘*δημοτικό*’/*dimotiko*). Pre-primary education is compulsory⁴ and

¹ **DISCLAIMER:** *The European Commission support for the production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents which reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.*

² For a summary of the Greek education system, see, https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/greece_en

³ A non-compulsory early childhood education is provided to children from the age of 2 months to 4-years-old by municipal public institutions (Infant Centers, Infant/Child Centers and Child Centers) or private, pre-school education and care centers. They operate at premises of education and safe accommodation.

⁴ The enrollment of 5-year-old children to kindergartens has been compulsory. A new law (4521/2018) has introduced the compulsory attendance of 4-year-old children to kindergartens from the 2018-2019 school year.

starts at the age of 4 and lasts 2 years. Primary education lasts 6 years and is compulsory for all 6-year to 12-year-old children⁵.

b) Secondary Education

Secondary education includes 2 cycles of study, the lower and the upper level. Lower secondary school (*‘γυμνάσιο’/gymnasium*) provides general education. The attendance is compulsory⁶ and lasts 3 years (ages 12-15). It is the requiring level and a prerequisite for attending the upper secondary level schools.

The upper secondary level lasts 3 years starts at the age of 15. It consists of two kinds of optional schools, one of general education (*‘γενικό λύκειο’/general lyceum*) and another for technical vocational training (*‘επαγγελματικό λύκειο’/professional lyceum*)⁷. Both programmes last for 3 years.

There are also several private tutorial schools that provide foreign language tuition, supplementary lessons for weak students as well as exam preparation courses for the competitive national examinations.

c) Higher Education

Higher (tertiary) education is provided by Universities, Polytechnic Universities and Academies (for military service and the clergy of the Christian Orthodox and Islamic religion). Studies are divided in 3 cycles: undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral. Undergraduate courses typically last four years (5 in polytechnics and some technical/art schools, and 6 in medical schools), MA programmes last from 1 to 2 years and PhD programmes from 3 to 6 years.

d) The Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs and the Greek education system

The Greek education system is administered by the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs (MERRA)⁸. National laws, presidential decrees and ministerial acts are passed by the central government and the Greek parliament. The Ministry is the central state agency responsible for the implementation, regulation and supervision of the national educational policy⁹.

The MERRA exercises control over state schools (through directorates of primary and secondary education¹⁰), by prescribing the curriculum, appointing staff and controlling funding. Private schools also fall under the mandate of the Ministry, which exercises supervisory control over them. State-run schools and universities do not charge tuition fees, and textbooks are provided free for all students.

⁵ 6-year-old pupils enroll at grade 1 and are expected to attend all 6 grades of the primary school. Each grade equates to one school year.

⁶ Overall, compulsory education in the Greek educational system starts at the age of 4 (enrollment in kindergarten) and extends to the age of 15 (completion of the 3-year lower secondary education).

⁷ Two more categories of evening general or evening vocational schools operate at the upper secondary level education. The minimum age for enrolment is the age of 16.

⁸ For more information, see, <https://www.minedu.gov.gr/>

⁹ MERRA has designed a national policy and a development plan for the provision of Lifelong Learning activities which are supervised by the General Secretariat for Lifelong Learning and Youth (see, <http://www.gsae.edu.gr/en/>) and implemented by various public and private institutions (Vocational Training Institutes, Lifelong Learning Centers, Vocational Training Schools, and Colleges).

¹⁰ At a regional level, the Regional Education Directorates oversee the implementation of the national educational policy. At local level, the Directorates of Primary and Secondary Education supervise all schools in the area of their jurisdiction.

Tertiary education institutions are ostensibly autonomous, but the Ministry is responsible for their funding and the distribution of students to undergraduate courses. In addition, there are several private universities and colleges that operate alongside the state education and offer degree programmes that are overseen by American, British and other European universities. At the moment, the degrees awarded by the state-run universities are the only ones validated by the Greek state for obtaining a professional position in the public sector and the state services.

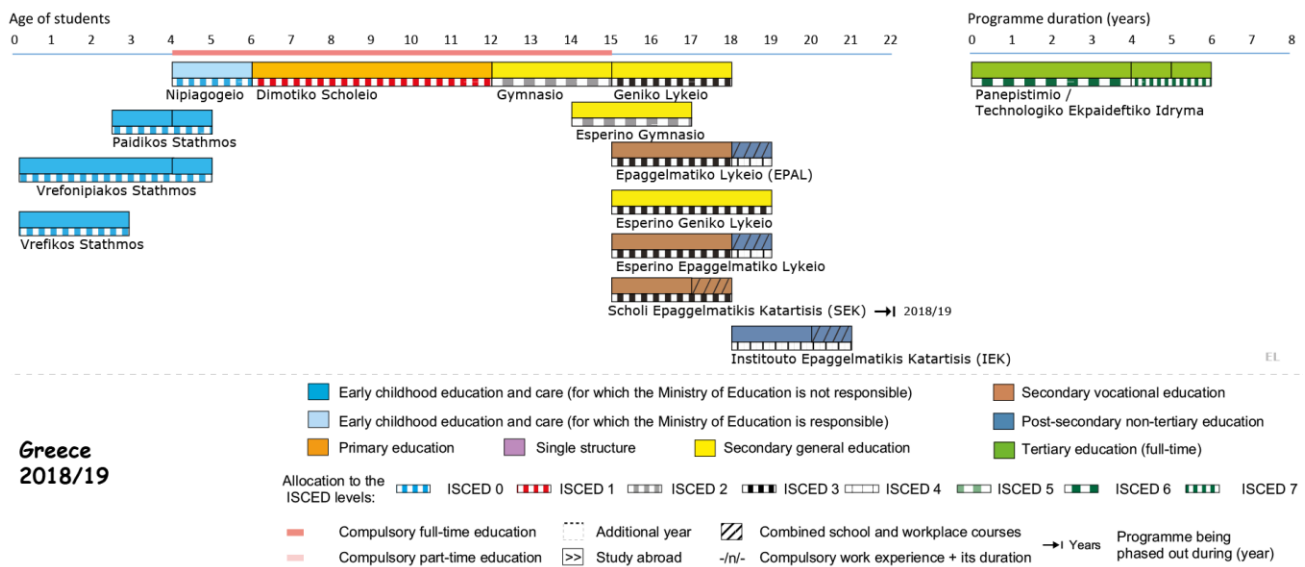


Figure 1: Structure of the Greek National Education System

2. Teacher Education

Teachers¹¹ of Primary and Secondary Schools are graduates of Higher Education Institutions (University Departments), holding at least a first cycle degree.

As regards the pre-primary and primary schools, nine (9) Pedagogical Departments of Pre-primary Education and Primary Education¹² operate at the state universities and provide the respective degrees¹³. The education provided to prospective pre-primary and primary Education teachers consists of a concurrent attendance module, which is attendance comprising pedagogical training in addition to theoretical education (concurrent model). The module comprises among other

¹¹ It is important to draw a terminological and conceptual distinction between the terms used in the Greek language to designate and differentiate the Primary from the Secondary Education teachers. "Δάσκαλος" [Daskalos (male form)] translated as "Teacher" is the term that refers to the Primary education teaching staff. "Καθηγητής" [Kathigitis (male form)] translated as professor is the term that refers to the Secondary Education teaching staff. These terms have crucial implications at a social, cultural and symbolic level within the contemporary Greek society. In broad terms, being a "Kathigitis" is deemed a more reputed and highly-esteemed professional status than being "Daskalos".

¹² Primary Teacher Education in Greece entered the university sector in the early 1980s (Law 1268/1982). Education Departments (EDs) were institutionalized gradually in central and regional universities of the country and functioned alongside the 'old' Pedagogic Academies and Nursery Teachers' Schools until 1991. The 2-year Pedagogical Academies in Greece stopped operating in 1989 (Trilianos 1998:163). This kind of reform had two main purposes: a) the institutional upgrading of teacher education; and b) the better quality of its content through the broadening of its academic base (Neave 1992). For more on the various stages and periods of these reforms up to the present times, for an early assessment see, Trilianos (1998); see, also Flouris (2010).

¹³ The majority of students enter the University programmes at the age of 18 after taking the national higher education entrance exam. Master's and doctoral programmes are also offered, aiming at the further specialization of teachers and other professionals in various areas of educational research, administration and practice.

courses, teaching-oriented courses, teaching in the classroom, as well as various didactical methods and tools¹⁴.

Both lower and upper secondary Education teachers attend the so-called Teacher Education Faculties. They are university departments whose graduates are assigned to Secondary Education schools (some specialisations may be assigned to Primary Education as well).

They include particular university departments (for example, School of Mathematics, Philosophical School for Language, Literature and History, School of Physics, Chemistry, Biology), related to specific scientific fields (Mathematics, Language, Literature and History, Physics, Chemistry, Biology etc.) relevant to the subjects included in Secondary Education curricula. The same applies to teachers of Foreign Languages, Music, Arts and Physical Education, who receive initial training in University departments (School of Foreign Languages, Music, Fine Arts, Physical Education) providing education related to the subjects they teach.

Parallel to their studies at the corresponding university departments, students receive pedagogical training (concurrent model). This enables students to teach in schools immediately after graduation without requiring additional pedagogical training. Pedagogical Departments (and very few Teacher Education Faculties) offer students sufficient time of practical training in addition to the theoretical education. Practical training comprises teaching in real class conditions or participation in relevant laboratory exercises.

However, graduates of the Departments of Electrical Engineering Educators and Electronic Engineering Educators, Mechanical Engineering Educators and Civil Engineering Educators are considered as non - Teacher Education Faculties graduates. They may claim a permanent appointment or to be hired as substitute teachers, on condition that they acquire a Certificate of Pedagogical and Teaching Proficiency. In this case, the initial training of prospective teachers, graduates of non - Teacher Education Faculties follow the principle of sequential studies (consecutive model), since the required pedagogical training follows the training in each subject.

Initial Education for Pre-primary, Primary and Secondary school teachers who attend Teacher Education Faculties lasts four years. Initial education is extended by a year for Music teachers, graduates from Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) Music Studies Departments and Arts teachers, mainly painting, who hold a degree of the School of Fine Arts (ASFA). An extra year also applies to graduates of ASPETE programmes, the attendance of which includes half a semester for the completion of a thesis and an apprenticeship in their specialisation field.

However, initial education for prospective educators who are graduates of University Departments that do not fall into the category of Teacher Education Faculties may be extended for more than six years, since a Pedagogical and Teaching Proficiency Certificate is required for permanent appointment or placement as substitutes in school education, according to the above mentioned (Law 3848/2010).

II. Bulgaria

¹⁴ For an idea on the pedagogical training and the theoretical education in the Departments of Education in Greece, see the Book of Papers (2014) of the 2nd and the Conference Proceedings (2017) of the 3rd International Conference “Education Across Borders”.

Bulgaria’s education system was reorganized in the mid-1990s. During the socialist regime, Bulgarian education was influenced by the Soviet Union’s system. State controlled the ideology, the curricula, and every organisational or administrative aspect of educational system. Even the number of students in all higher education institutions and programmes were determined centrally every year and unified curricula were laid down in detail by government. After the political change, the Bulgarian education system was completely reconstructed.

Since 1993 the Bulgarian government launched a series of reforms. Most of them concerned the institutional aspects of the education system as well as its pedagogical components (Psifidou, 2010: 100, 107). The government sought to depoliticise the system and ideological subjects, and course’s content was abolished; study programs, curricula, and syllabi were reconceptualized (Popov, 2001: 27). Ministry of Education and Science is responsible for the education system. Since 2012, compulsory education is up until the age of 16 and includes two years of preschool education (usually starting at age 5). Basic education can be obtained at state, municipal and private schools.

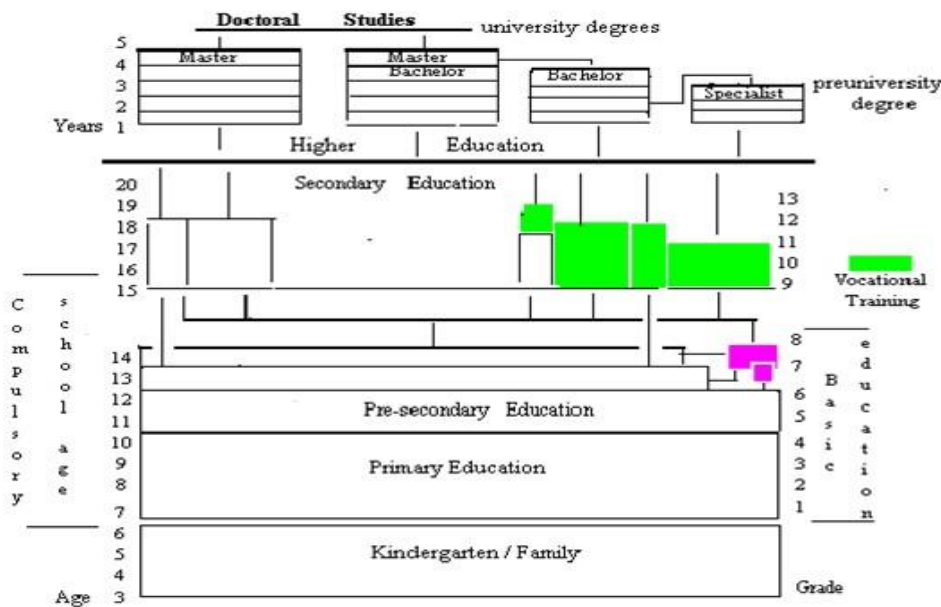


Figure 2: Structure of the Bulgarian National Education System

While most of the schools are municipal, their general framework and financing come from the central government. Since 2008, Bulgarian schools receive their own budget (the “delegated budget”) calculated based on the number of pupils enrolled in the respective school. This alteration in budget management decentralized the responsibility for the budget from local authorities directly to school management.

While schools still depend on the government to receive funding, they at least have control over these resources once they receive them. The autonomy of schools is still problematic. While they have their own budget, schools need to follow strict rules of how and what they teach. Also, the employer-employee relation follows the “real-socialist” legacy which means stiff collective bargaining in the system (Ganev 2017).

1. Overview of the Bulgarian education system

Pre-school education (for children from 0-3 years old) is managed by local authorities and is not part of the State's responsibilities. Kindergartens are institutions within the pre-school and school education system for raising, education, and socialisation of children from the age of 3 up to the age of 6/7. In 2010, the age for compulsory attendance of the preparatory group was extended for children between 5 and 7. Kindergarten attendance used to be optional from the age of 3 to the age of 5. With the passing of the new law on pre-school and school education, pre-school education is going to be compulsory starting at age 4.

School education is compulsory from age 6/7 (according to parents' judgement and child's physical and mental development) to age 16. Within the structure of Bulgarian education, primary and lower secondary education are integrated into a single structure. **Basic education** in Bulgaria (1st to 8th grade) consists of primary (1st to 4th grade) and lower secondary (5th to 8th grade) schooling.

This level sets the foundations for studying the basics of different sciences. At the end, a certificate of basic education is given after the successful completion of year eight. Some Schools offer lower secondary vocational education and training, as well as specialized education (for example, in Mathematics) too. A child can pass from basic school to secondary without having to give an examination, but only using the basic school certificate.

Secondary education is single-staged (upper secondary/high school education), lasting 4 or 5 years (9th to 12th grade). It is certified with a diploma of completed secondary education, which is final and entitles the holder to continue his education on a higher level or vocational training. If students decide not to take the state matriculation examinations, they are issued a certificate of completed upper secondary education, which, however, does not entitle them to university enrollment. Secondary vocational education is provided in vocational training schools and/or technical schools covering grades 8/9 to 12).

There are also vocational training schools offering three-year training programs and vocational training schools offering two-year training programs after completed secondary education. The completion of secondary vocational education is certified with a certificate for the successful finishing of secondary education and a certificate for a professional qualification, which grants the right to practice a profession (Kostova, 2008: 162-164).

Vocational colleges provide post-secondary non-tertiary education. These are institutions belonging to the system of secondary education and do not lead to a degree of higher education, but only to a degree of professional qualification. Vocational colleges are state, municipal and private. Their duration is up to two years, and students who have completed secondary education can enrol.

Graduates receive a certificate for a fourth-level professional qualification, whereas continuation to higher educational levels is possible based on students' secondary diplomas. According to Kostova, those who do not pass university entrance exams usually go to such colleges.

Higher education is provided by higher schools, self-contained colleges (non-university higher education institutions) and universities. Following the Higher Education Act, they are all self-governing and autonomous institutions. Currently, the tertiary education system includes 51 higher schools which are state-owned and private, including universities, specialised higher schools and self-contained colleges.

There are 37 public (25 universities, 11 specialised higher schools and 1 self-contained college) and 14 private institutions (5 universities, 2 specialised higher schools and 7 self-contained

colleges). Universities provide training in a wide range of subjects in professional areas within at least three of the four major branches of science - humanities, natural sciences, social sciences and technical sciences and offer bachelor's, master's and doctor's degrees in the respective major branches of science. A specialized higher school conducts scientific research or artistic activities and offers courses of training in one of the major areas of science, arts, physical culture, and military science.

These higher schools may also offer training for acquisition of the educational and qualification degree of "master" and the educational and academic and academic degree of "doctor".

A self-contained college shall provide training for acquisition of the educational and qualification degree "professional bachelor in [subject]." A college may be also established within the structure of a university or of a specialized higher school accredited for the professional areas or majors of regulated professions for which instruction are be offered. The college provides training at the educational and qualification degree "professional bachelor in [subject]."

In mid-1999, the system of higher education entered a new phase, characterised by the abolition of free education and the introduction of tuition at all public universities, increased competition in admissions, and efforts to bring standards into line with the European context (Popov, 2001: 27).

Admission to higher education institutions is based on passing the entrance examinations. The type and number of entrance exams are determined by the higher education institutions.

In compliance with the Bologna process, a model with under- and post-graduate levels has been introduced since 2004. The undergraduate level comprises the *Specialist in (eg Mathematics, Physics, Literature etc)*, as well as the *Bachelor's degree*, while the postgraduate level gives the possibility to students to choose between *Master's degree* and *Doctoral programs*.

2. Teacher Education

A total of 13 universities have faculties of education. There are also 12 teacher colleges which belong to universities' structures. College graduates usually continue their studies in programmes at universities' faculties or departments of education for obtaining Master's degrees. Primary school teachers must have a primary education bachelor's degree and a teaching certificate. Primary school teachers are trained at university faculties of pedagogy.

Teachers of Presecondary and Secondary Education should have a bachelor's degree with a specialisation on the subject they will teach and also pedagogical knowledge (it is obligatory to have attended courses on pedagogy and psychology), and practical school experience. The minimum number of compulsory subjects and its time allocation consists in four elements: 60 academic hours of pedagogy (theory of education and didactics); 45 academic hours of psychology (adult psychology and pedagogical psychology); 15 academic hours of audio-visual and information technologies in education; and 60 academic hours of didactics/methodology of teaching the chosen subject. Students are also expected to do about 120 hours of teaching practice in schools (Psifidou, 2010: 113).

Usually, universities offer combined double undergraduate programs (e.g. physics and mathematics, chemistry and physics, chemistry and informatics, biology and chemistry, biology and geography). Most courses are taught full time and on-site, but some are taught using a combination of on-site learning and e-learning. Double degree programs end with a state examination in both subjects.

Teachers for special schools are trained in a defectology programme or receive supplementary qualification according to the category of pupils with special educational needs that they are going to work with (speech therapists, pedagogues for hearing impaired students, etc.) (Psifidou, 2010: 114).

Master's degree programs generally are designed for actively employed teachers, but they also are available to those who are not actively teaching. There are five levels of postgraduate professional qualification for actively employed teachers in Bulgaria, the first level being the highest and the fifth the lowest. These qualifications are not mandated and can be completed at any time at the teacher's discretion. The requirements for completing each level are nationally regulated. The Departments for In-Service Teacher Training, which are affiliated with three of Bulgaria's universities¹⁵, confer the necessary qualification.

Only in 2008 did the Ministry of Education and Science conduct a 3-year-long project called "Improvement of High School Teachers' Qualification", which was financed by OP "Human Resource Development" of the European Social Fund. Its purpose was to increase high school teachers' qualification. During this project 1000 teachers from all over the country participated in courses to increase their qualification in key areas such as: foreign language skills, skills of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) implementation in the educational process, acquisition of specific professional knowledge and competences about modern education systems. In addition, mechanisms for supervision, evaluation, prognosis and planning of trainings were implemented to increase high school teachers' qualification and to improve the quality of education services.

The last two decades there is a rise in teachers training programmes. Most of them are organized by national (Amalipe) or international NGO's (Roma Education Fund), Universities (Velico Tarnovo, South-West University "Neofit Rilski") and state institutions and are funded by European or national funds. Their goal is to improve teachers' teaching skills, to develop new and innovative approaches to the training of school teachers and to raise awareness, sensibility towards "vulnerable groups" (minorities, students with deficiencies, etc). According to Psifidou, teachers' training is an area that demands increased political attention and action as it is essential for teachers to get a more compound set of knowledge, skills and competences to cope with an enlarged range of challenges and demands (Psifidou, 2010: 118)

III. Albania

Since 1989 and the end of the socialist regime in Albania, the education system has undergone various alterations designed to modernise the curriculum, expand system capacities and access to compulsory education, and align national policy objectives with European and international frameworks. Currently, the Ministry of Education, Sports and Youth (MESY) of the Republic of Albania is responsible for the entire Albanian education system. The Ministry frames the educational policies and administers the education system. It consists of three levels: basic (consists of primary and lower secondary), upper secondary and tertiary (higher) education.

¹⁵ <http://timssandpirls.bc.edu/timss2015/encyclopedia/countries/bulgaria/teachers-teacher-education-and-professional-development/> (last accessed 22/3/2019)

1. Overview of the Albanian education system

Preschool education includes nurseries for children aged 0-3 and kindergartens for children aged 3-6. This type of education is not compulsory, but according to national statistics, the enrolment rate in preschools is pretty high (about 80%). Basic education in Albania is compulsory and lasts for 9 years (it starts at the age of 6 and ends at the age of 15 years old). It is divided into primary (6- 10 years old) and lower secondary education (10 – 15 years old) (Albania Educational Policy Review, 2017).

When completing compulsory basic education, students are eligible to enrol to the upper secondary school; it is not mandatory to attend and comprises either academically oriented gymnasiums that last for 3 years or vocational education and training (VET) programs that take between 2 to 5 years. Since the academic year of 2009-2010, VET follows three different levels of schooling.

The two-year programs, comprising the first level, aim at providing students with elementary skills of semi-skilled workers and a basic vocational training certificate. The one-year programs intend to educate and train technicians with a diploma of professional training. VET programs at the third level have one extra year that prepares them for higher education. At the end of secondary education, students have to take a specific exam (State Matura exam) to gain access to higher education institutions.

For those who drop out at school and at some point want to continue their education, there are evening schools. Those who are over the legal age level (16 years) can register as part-time students in these evening schools.

Higher education in Albania is composed of universities and other higher education institutions. In 2014, there were 15 public and 44 private higher education institutions operating in Albania (Mora, Ferreira, Vidal and Vieira, 2015). The main public universities and most of the private ones are in Tirana, but there are universities scattered across the country. Higher education institutions provide undergraduate (four-year bachelor degree programs) and also postgraduate programs (one-to-two years of master's degree studies and three years of doctoral studies).

Higher education institutions offer two-year programs of non-university professional studies consisting of at least 120 ECTS and with a duration of minimum 2 years. When the students complete their studies, they receive a professional diploma, and the credits can be transferred into other first cycle university programs (Higher Education in Albania, 2010).

Public universities and other institutions are autonomous regarding management of staff, students and development of curricula. However, the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) along with the Government, are accountable for the establishment of universities and other higher education institutions.

They are responsible for the institutions's budget, their programs and their development. There is also a Public Agency for Accreditation of Higher Education (PAAHE) that is in charge of quality assurance and accreditation. It evaluates the existing study programs offered by both public and private universities in Albania.

2. Teacher Education

In the last two decades, especially after the Bologna Reform in 2003, the Albanian education system has experienced significant changes. In June 2009, the Albanian Parliament passed Law no. 10171 requiring teachers to apply for a license to practice after one initial year as a candidate-teacher.

Public and private higher education institutions provide teacher education. Study programs preparing teachers for pre-school and primary education are structured in two cycles: Bachelor study program which educates teachers for pre-school education; Professional Master study program which prepares teachers for primary education. Study programs preparing teachers for lower and upper secondary education are offered as Master study programs of the second cycle with 120 credits.

Curricula of teacher education faculties and departments have also undergone a reform; now they are focused on pedagogical and methodological aspects, key skills, ICT, English language, research and teaching practices in schools. Universities are responsible for teacher education curricula. Due to the current lack of national standards on teacher education, there are significant pedagogical differences between curricula offered by various universities.

There are, however, some basic common components of teacher education curricula, such as pedagogical (professional) preparation, specialised subject preparation, school practice and the final exam or thesis. Pedagogical courses usually account for 35% of the total number of ECTS credits and are better incorporated in curricula for secondary school teachers. The rest are ‘academic’ courses, generally focusing on one major subject.

When obtaining the diploma that allows them to teach in basic and secondary education, teachers start their professional training by a compulsory year of practice in kindergartens or grade schools. According to the new legislation proposed by the Ministry of Education and Sport in 2012, teacher-candidates must take a state national examination, which is administered by the National Agency of Examinations and Qualifications, to obtain their official teaching license. Analysing the results of these exams, researchers noticed that junior teachers perform less well than senior teachers perhaps due to the lack of initial training and are recommended to get support by experienced teachers (Abdurrahmani, 2013; Rapti and Janaqi, 2016).

After they successfully pass the exam, teachers attend pre-university educational institutions (Gjedia, Gardinier, 2018). When they receive their initial training, they are separated by ranks of professional competence as highly “qualified teacher” after 5 years of experience, “specialized teacher” after at least 10 years of practice and “master teacher” after 20 years of experience. Since 2012 the Ministry offers a mentoring scheme for ongoing teachers to provide guidance during the first year of their teaching practice and support for the state examination.

Education for teachers of vocational and technical lessons is similar to the education that we described above for teachers of other levels. They also need to take the state exam to be eligible to teach. Furthermore, teachers of vocational education need to have a second level decree equal to a Professional Master.

Teachers of practical professional subjects, on the other hand, must possess a higher education institution diploma from a subject related to the curricula of the institution on which he/she wishes to be employed and work experience in the relevant profile of no less than 3 years.¹⁶

¹⁶ https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/initial-education-teachers-and-trainers-working-adult-education-and-training_mt (last accessed 13/3/2019)

According to the Law No. 80/2015, universities are responsible for the selection criteria of their personnel and the selection procedures as well as of the salaries they give to their employees.

Sociocultural anthropology and the anthropology of education

I. Greece

1. Anthropology of education

Social anthropology is a recently established and developed discipline in the Greek academia¹⁷. Its introduction has been part of the “modernisation” process of the Greek society, and started taking place after the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974. Modernisation, in this context, should be perceived as a process used to overcome everything associated with the Greek state’s Oriental or Balkan past.

Although anthropology was first introduced in the mid-1980s, it was the 1990s that constituted a period of prosperity and growth in terms of new departments, student number and research. Anthropology has gradually gained status in the classroom and has also received recognition outside the classroom¹⁸.

Ethnography as a research approach has been increasingly popular and important as a conceptual and methodological tool and part of a broad-based scientific training both in Greece and elsewhere. Moreover, it is incorporated in interdisciplinary undergraduate and postgraduate study programs. Universities have become the main institutions for the transmission of anthropological knowledge and training in ethnographic research methods.

It is noteworthy to mention, though, that Pedagogic departments make use of ethnography as a method of study of the school and classroom environment as well as the cultural, social and economic aspects of the current educational context in Greece. Although there are 1-2 anthropology positions in Pedagogic departments, anthropology is not included as a subject in teacher education and training in Greece.

The Greek state introduced in 1996 an intercultural education policy in response to the unprecedented number of immigrants who arrived in the country. The notion of interculturalism was implemented in schools. Primary and secondary schools provided schooling to children of immigrant families. Special curricula were implemented that included courses on the language and culture of the country of origin of the pupils. Various studies have documented the gaps between government policy and school practices and showed that Greece had still a long way to go, to fully implement intercultural education within all public schools, and not only in the so-called intercultural schools (Palaiologou and Faas)¹⁹.

¹⁷ For the introduction and establishment of anthropology into the Greek academia, see, Agelopoulos (2013), Angelidou (2017), Gefou-Madianou (1993, 2000), Papataxiarchis (2003, 2013), Panopoulos (2004), Tsibiridou (2003).

¹⁸ Sociocultural anthropology is not part of the regular school curricula in Greece. Greek students are taught sociology as part of a general group of courses at the last grade of the secondary education.

¹⁹ The paramount changes that took place after the fall of communist regimes in SE Europe led to major political discussions about the notion of cultural diversity and led to developments and reforms in the education policies and the teacher training practices. The Roma population in Greece and the educational, cultural and social status of the this community in the country became the focus of the implementation of inclusive education as well as effective teacher training programmes (Kiprianos, Daskalaki, Stamelos 2013, Nikolaou 2009).

The necessity to deal with education needs that focus on culturally different students was intensified by the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees (since 2015, still ongoing) in Greece. The state assigned University departments of preschool and primary education with the task of preparing intercultural educational programmes specifically tailored to the needs of migrant and “repatriated” pupils, Roma and refugee children.

Despite the contemporary sociopolitical context in Greece, there is hardly any discussion or indication about the development of the anthropology of education, particularly about the prevailing sociopolitical conjuncture. There is hardly any specialised educational anthropologist neither any noteworthy relevant research activity nor any educational programmes implemented with an explicitly anthropological perspective. There are, currently, courses of anthropology of education offered in undergraduate curricula of the existing anthropology departments as well as in area studies departments.

Within the above-described developments and the existing educational context, it is the pedagogical departments and other state-administered educational institutions (Institute of Educational Policy) that are seen by the state as the leading academic institutions of dealing with the current educational needs.

II. Bulgaria

1. Anthropology of education

There was no Faculty or Department of Socio- Cultural Anthropology in Bulgaria before or during the socialist period. Mincho Draganov claimed that social anthropology as a field of science in Bulgaria was present for over a century, as a vast amount of studies on social and cultural phenomena have been conducted. However those studies were not being denominated as anthropological studies. “*There have been no attempts to systematize the diverse studies in this field as a relative whole*” (Draganov, 1992: 53). Until World War II the label of *ethnography* was used interchangeably with *folklore studies*. Those studies, were rather historical, underpinned by the belief to uncover the oldest and “purer” state of folk culture and the folk spirit. In the aftermath of World War II, another section of ethnography was developed following the Soviet ethnography with a deliberately historical approach.

This ethnography was associated with artefacts which were clear reflections of the past; in other words, the material objects that were collected were regarded as a direct proof of the era of origins, working in a similar way to “historical records (Valtchinova, 2004: 4). Studies were conducted nation-wide at the village level, the village has remained the primary unit of ethnographic research despite the tremendous impact of modernisation and the rural exodus that depopulated the countryside in the second half of the twentieth century. This kind of ethnography was developed within the framework of the Institute of Ethnography at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The first chair of Ethnography was instituted in 1972 in the Department of History at the University of Sofia. One of the most remarkable changes in the 1990’s was the shift from the past as an object of study to contemporary realities. However, in many Universities (Sofia University, Plovdiv University and Veliko Tarnovo University), Ethnology and Anthropology are taught at the Faculty of History or Philosophy. Students of Ethnology at Veliko Tarnovo University receive training for becoming teachers of History and Civilization.

As Margarita Karamihova admits, this means that they study all the historical courses that enter the secondary school curriculum and also they study Ethnology subjects. The Ethnology Curriculum contains disciplines that are related to minority culture. Every year they work on various projects related to ethnic and religious diversity. Students are of different ethnic and religious backgrounds (Bulgarians, Roma, Turks, Muslim Bulgarians) and are encouraged to explore and present their “culture”. Future teachers are thus prepared to work in a multicultural environment.

Anthropology as a university department, exists in New Bulgarian University and was established in 1992. The Department offers a Bachelor’s Degree Program in Anthropology, a Minor Degree Program in Anthropology and the Master’s Program in Cultural and Social Anthropology and Cultural Tourism. The latter two are offered in regular and distance learning programs. The department also offers a PhD program in Anthropology. In Sofia University, Cultural Anthropology belongs to the Faculty of Philosophy. It is the first program in Cultural anthropology in Bulgaria preparing specialists in the fields of social and cultural research, experts in the cultural industries, the media, as well as the non-governmental sector. It offers a BA and an MA in Cultural Anthropology and a PhD program in History and Theory of Culture.

After serious debates about the concept of historical education at school, which included ethnologists, the subject is now called “History and Civilization”. This means that there are subjects related to everyday life, festivals and traditional (pre-industrial) culture, which enables ethnologists to contribute with their expertise. According to Elya Tzaneva, until today the only school that provided a serious view in teaching Bulgarian Ethnology was the Lyceum “St Konstantin-Cyril Philosopher” located in Sofia that had been teaching these subjects for over 30 years. Ethnology first started as a subject only taught in the first semester of 12th grade. Later on, after many syllabus and organizational transformations, it became a year-round subject taught in 8th grade. The staff that were appointed to teach this course were Ethnologists from Sofia University and from the Ethnological Institute.

2. Intercultural education

Almost instantly after the political change in 1989, social scientists played a leading part in the discussion about changing the curriculum content in secondary schools. The focus was on Muslims, a group that have been subjected to long term assimilation processes. Thus, academics insisted on importing texts into the courses to explore the "other", the Muslim. The first texts were about traditional customs and coexistence of people from different ethnic and religious groups. For example: М. Карамихова. *Човекът и човешкият свят. Четива за сватбата, Гергьовден, циганска приказка за св. Василий*. История на България за 5 клас. Част първа. С., 1992. 28-31. [М. Karamihova, *Man and the human world. Texts about the traditional wedding, St. George's day, a Gypsy tale about St. Basil. History of Bulgaria for the 5th grade* and for the 9-12 grades the book about interethnic relationships: М. Карамихова. *Истории от миналото към бъдещето Устна история, предания и обичаи на етнически малцинства в България. Учебно помагало*. Изд: Фондация “Балкански колежи”. С., 2003. [М. Karamihova, *Stories are coming from the past directed to the future. Oral history, traditions and customs of ethnic minorities in Bulgaria*].

Furthermore, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridsky" has conducted a scientific and educational project for the implementation of the activity “Providing conditions for increasing the

qualification of teachers and pedagogical specialists”: ‘Teacher training for the development of knowledge, skills and competencies for working in intercultural environment’ under project "Qualification of pedagogical specialists" of the Operational Program "Development of human resources". The activity aimed to form personal and professional competencies in teachers' knowledge of technology to work in an intercultural educational environment in a project about standards in intercultural education as well as to overcome existing ethnic stereotypes and prejudices (Koleva, Tepavicharov, Kotseva, Yordanova, 2019).

Likewise, South-West University “Neofit Rilski” and the Faculty of Pedagogy, in particular, has introduced two semesters of Intercultural Education. The purpose is to create a new type of teacher, who would acquire pedagogically and also of intercultural competencies. Students are expected to get knowledge about the ethnocultural specifics and the cultural identity of the students and to develop sensibilities towards the "other" and skills for analysis and adaptation of different programs in the work in the inter-cultural environment.

Also, in 2016 there was the transnational program “Working together for Roma inclusive education” between Greece, Romania and Bulgaria. The project aimed at exchanging experience and best practices of tools and methods in order to increase school attendance and tackle (Early School Leaving) and discrimination of Roma pupils. To decrease ESL and creating equal opportunities several measures were taken such as; the adoption of new tools and methods, the revision of the existing ones, the pilot testing of methods from one country to the others, the identification of factors allowing their replicability across national borders and socio-economic differences and increase of capacity of the relevant actors. The project was implemented by a Partnership consisting of 6 organizations and in particular: a) Bolt International Consulting (GR), a private company with extensive experience in the management of large transnational projects and the implementation of social inclusion projects targeting Roma; b) two schools, Bacho Kiro school (BG) and the 2nd high school of Aghia Varvara (GR), with high percentage of Roma pupils and large experience in the implementation of activities which promote the inclusion of Roma children in education; c) Ialomita County School Inspectorate, which supervises 95 schools with high percentages of Roma pupils and implements various interventions for promoting Roma inclusion in the educational system; and d) two NGOs, the “European Association for a Better Life (AEVB)” (RO) and the “Amalipe Center for Interethnic Dialogue and Tolerance” (BG), with significant experience in the implementation of social inclusion projects targeting Roma, and particularly in the area of education.²⁰

Even though the access to and attendance of Roma children in primary education was high during and after the socialist regime, the education outcome of Roma remains below that of the majority. Since 1990 the Ministry of Education has imported Romani language education, and Roma students have the right to study their mother tongue four times a week in schools. Textbooks in the Romani language for students and teachers’ guides have been published.

Several projects focusing on Roma children’s’ educational problems have been organized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and Roma activists. International NGOs, such as the Open Society Institute (OSI) in Budapest and the World Bank, have established the ‘Roma Educational Fund’ promoting educational activities for Roma people across Europe. In 1992 the Bulgarian National Committee of UNICEF was the first NGO educational project dealing with the problem of

²⁰ <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/projects/eplplus-project-details/#project/9ae98e0e-aeaa-40e7-971a-93f8df8b44ad> (last accessed 26/3/2019).

mother tongue education in Romani. The project concentrated its activities on working with children at the pre-school and school-age levels, as to facilitate the early socialization of Roma children. Bilingual textbooks were published and introduced in experimental kindergartens. Children using their mother language with the help of Roma community workers were successfully prepared for Bulgarian literacy instruction.(Kyuchukov, 2007).

Bulgaria's Institute of National Statistics reported a graduation rate of just nine percent for Roma students from secondary education in 2011. This is an improvement of 3.5 percentage points since 2001.

Recently, in 2017 the Roma Education Fund (REF), with the financial support of the Ministry of Education and Science announced the opening of a two-year secondary school scholarship program for Roma students currently enrolled in academic and vocational high schools in Bulgaria.

The ultimate mission of the programme is to close the gap in educational outcomes between Roma and non-Roma. In order to achieve this goal, the organization supports policies and programs which ensure quality education for Roma, including the desegregation of education systems. Designed to address chronic discrimination and inequality in the provision of educational services in Bulgaria, this scholarship scheme includes financial incentives as well as tutoring and mentoring components for academic support based on the Fund's secondary school model.

Six hundred scholarships will be allocated annually over the next two years, with 40 percent of the funding originating from the Ministry of Education of Bulgaria. Implemented by the Centre for Educational Integration of Children and Students from Ethnic Minorities (CEICSEM) through the 2017-2018 academic year, this new secondary school scholarship program aims to improve the educational results of Roma students, trigger their successful completion of secondary education and encourage them to transition to higher education.²¹

III. Albania

1. Anthropology of education

In Albania, there was no equivalent to Social Anthropology course or university department before or during the socialist period. The field has been dominated by 'national ethnography' and is known as the study of folk culture (Doja, 2013). Ethnography was associated with a range of arts and techniques performed to transmit people's memory, knowledge, and practices through the generations.

They were regarded as illustrations of the past functioning in a similar way to historical records. Thus, ethnography in Albania cannot be separated from the broader political and social context that generated widespread interest in the collection, description, preservation, and praise the 'nation' (Doja, 2013: 155).

Institutionally, people's culture studies were developed after the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the communist regime. Albanian scholars followed Marxist- Leninist theoretical directions and methodological framework (Hysa 2010). Their goal was to construct a popular socialist culture that would contribute to the building of socialism.

²¹ <http://www.romaeducationfund.org/news/ref/news-and-events/ref-secondary-school-scholarship-project-launches-bulgaria-700-places-roma-> (last accessed 24/3/2019).

In 1960 ethnography was recognized as a science with the establishment of the Institute of Folklore. In 1979, this institute was transformed into the Institute of People's Culture Studies within the National Academy of Sciences that had been established in 1972. In 2008, the institute changed its name to the Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies and transferred to a newly founded National Centre for Albanological Studies. The change served the efforts of universities to move away from the purposes of social sciences in the era of socialism (Vesna, 2002: 13).

The majority of the heads of university departments believed that the change of names would spell magically the problems of science and its past (Tishkov, 1992: 382). Changes in a discipline's name do not necessarily reflect or engender predictable changes in methodological and theoretical orientations (Doja, 2013; Kodra-Hysa, 2013).

Nowadays, almost 30 years after the change of the political regime, Socio- Cultural Anthropology is taught in bachelor and master degree levels in many departments (History, Sociology, Archeology and Cultural Heritage). However, anthropological courses are not yet included in teaching education. Only in Tirana European University there is a Faculty named Social Sciences and Education which include the Sociology- Social Anthropology department, without any specific interdisciplinary program that connects anthropology and education.

2. Intercultural education

At the beginning of the 1990's were the first efforts on inclusive education in Albania. In the 1994-2000 period, thanks to the support of international organisations, the first inclusive projects were run in kindergartens and schools around the country. These efforts, although they were promising, they were gradually reduced because of the lack of financial resources. In 2002, the Secondary Legislation on Pre-school Education used for the first time the concept of inclusive education along with a series of rules enabling its implementation in practice.

Towards this direction, in 2017 the Albanian Parliament voted the Law on the Protection of Minorities. This is the first time that Albania has a law to protect the rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities in the country. This, of course, is one of the conditions that the European Union posed to Albania to start negotiations for its integration into EU. Additional efforts are needed to be taken to decrease multiethnic conflicts. T

he right to education is one fundamental and democratic principle that every country has to respect. In Albania there was a Law since 1995 that "*guarantee equal rights to all citizens to be educated in all education levels mentioned by this law, independently from the social status, nationality, language, sex, religion, race, political convictions, health status and economic level*". (Law 7952 Article 3, 21.06.1995). However, over 50% of the Roma community does not know how to write or read, mainly Roma girls and women. This was the situation during the years of the socialist system and got worse after the political change (Meçe, 2015).

The lack of education infrastructure, school books in the native language, a bilingual primer book, programs and low quality of education process, are some of the problems faced by Roma children and be responsible for high drop-out rates (Musaraj, Jonuzi, 2013: 185; Meçe, 2015). According to Meçe, Roma families do not perceive school as an educational and cultural agent that promotes knowledge and cultural diversity; instead, they regarded as an institution where various discriminatory behaviours repel Roma children from attending school.

To deal with this situation, the Albanian government was forced to undertake various policy reforms. Since 2004 created and promoted the “Second Chance Program” for children, who have dropped out of school. Furthermore, in 2012, the government passed the law 69/2012 on pre-university education system and a new normative clause in 2013 guided by the principles of the best interest of the child, promotion of children’s rights, protection against any form of discrimination, inclusion and equal opportunities for quality education (Meçe, 2015: 10).

In addition, the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the regional directorates of education organizes training seminars for the education personnel on issues regarding cultural diversity, ethnicity and gender equality. Pre-school education and children kinder gardens in minority areas teach the children to communicate with each other and with their educators in their native language. Teaching in their native language is guaranteed at primary level as well as at the secondary level.

Since 2010 Albania is a member of the Council of Europe for “**Pestalozzi**”²² teacher training programme”. The teacher training programmes of the Council Europe "Pestalozzi" and “European Centre for Modern Languages, ECML "are some of the financial sources for the mobility of teachers and other educators in Albania. These programs offer training for all levels of education (early childhood, basic and secondary education) in Albania.

In Albania, as in Bulgaria, local and international NGO’s along with state institutions have implemented and continue implementing projects related to integrative or inclusive education for children of ethnic minorities or with disabilities. Regarding the participation of children with disabilities, Albania has undergone some progress. The Law 69/2012 on pre-university education declares that the involvement and integration of children with disabilities in mainstream kindergarten and schools of basic education shall be a priority.

Deaf students and those who cannot speak shall be guaranteed their right to communicate in the language of sights. Blind students should be guaranteed the right to use Braille writing system”²³ Since 2004 the Ministry of Education conducts in the regions Librazhd, Gjirokastrë, Korçë and Vlorë the project “Inclusive education – a requirement of the new millennium” in collaboration with “Save the Children”. The project aims to ensure the education of children with disabilities and the creation and strengthening of inclusive schools in the regions mentioned above.

According to “Save the children’s” report, the situation of children with disabilities got improved in the regions that this program was applied; “children with disabilities who have attended inclusive education have better academic achievements, higher self-esteem, and better social skills” (Çuko, Kulla, Kasapi, 2012:102).

²² https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/mobility-early-childhood-and-school-education-92_en

²³ https://phzh.ch/globalassets/ipe.phzh.ch/projekte/europaweite-projekte/nezi-netzwerk-albanischer-sprachraum/4_nezi-konferenz-2/lapu-nr.69-2012-english.pdf (last accessed 20/3/2019)

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Figures

Figure 1: Structure of the Greek National Education System https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/greece_en (accessed 20 February 2019)

Figure 2: Structure of the Bulgarian National Education System <http://www.fulbright.bg/en/educational-services/education-usa-advising/educational-services-for-visiting-us-schools/educational-system-of-bulgaria/> (accessed 18 July 2019).

For more information on the respective education systems, see

Albania:

- https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/albania_en
- https://phzh.ch/globalassets/ipe.phzh.ch/projekte/europaweite-projekte/nezi-netzwerk-albanischer-sprachraum/4_nezi-konferenz-2/lapu-nr.69-2012-english.pdf

Bulgaria:

- https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/bulgaria_en

Greece:

- https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/organisation-education-system-and-its-structure-33_en
- Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs <https://www.minedu.gov.gr/>
- General Secretariat for Lifelong Learning and Youth <http://www.gsae.edu.gr/en/>