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Gender and the Greek Historiography of Education (1970-2012)

El género en la historiografía griega de educación (1970-2012)

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Abstract: The paper attempts to delineate the studies on the history of Greek education that adopt gender as a research and history writing approach; as a theoretical subject of study, an analysis category or an interpretative framework. Specifically, the aim is to present the process of integrating the gender perspective in historical studies in education, the changing conceptualization of gender, the methodological approaches and topics of research interest, on the one hand, and the contribution of such studies to the development of History of Education as an academic field, and their position within the overall production of educational historiography, on the other. The study is based on historiography published since the 1970s. It follows the chronological course of the development of the relevant debate in educational historiography and weighs its observations and findings against Greek and international history of women and gender.

Keywords: Greece; Gender Historiography; Historiography of Education; Gender and Education; Women's Education Historiography.

Resumen: El trabajo intenta delinear los estudios sobre la historia de la educación griega que han adoptado el género como enfoque de investigación y la escritura de la historia; como sujeto teórico de estudio, una categoría de análisis o un marco interpretativo. En concreto, el objetivo es presentar el proceso de integración de la perspectiva de género en los estudios históricos sobre educación, la conceptualización cambiante de género, los enfoques metodológicos y los temas de interés de la investigación, por una parte, y la contribución de tales estudios para el desarrollo de Historia de la Educación como un campo académico, y su posición dentro de la producción total de la historiografía educativa, por otro. El estudio se basa en la historiografía publicada desde la década de 1970. Se sigue el curso cronológico del desarrollo del relevante debate en la historiografía educativa y centra sus observaciones y hallazgos en la historia griega e internacional de las mujeres y de género.

Palabras clave: Grecia; Historiografía de Género; Historiografía de Educación; Género y Educación; Historiografía Educación de las Mujeres.

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1. Introduction

Since the 1990s (20 years after the emergence of gender as a research perspective in international and Greek historiography), the efforts to evaluate the historiography of gender in Greece have borne important fruit. These reviews – conducted by historians (Avdela, 1991, 1997, 2004, 2010; Fournaraki, 1997; Retentzi, 2006) – devote little if any space to evaluating the contributions to research on education, focusing instead on the themes that have mostly interested historians of gender, that is gender rights and labour issues, and therefore mostly evaluating the contributions in Social, Political and Economic History, overlooking History of Education. A second reason for the absence of education as a theme in these studies, which is causally linked to the first reason, that is the historians' limited interest in the field, is that History of Education, as a discrete discipline, has been developed not in History Departments but in Schools/Faculties of Education and in Departments of Philosophy, Pedagogy and Psychology (and, earlier on, in teacher training colleges and academies, as a subject matter associated with Pedagogy), a feature that Greek historical and educational research has in common with – at least – the Anglo-Saxon and German academic world¹. To a certain extent, it has been viewed and categorized as pedagogical rather than historical research, impeding the development of a dialogue between the two academic communities, which is also reflected in the differences in terms of integrating gender in relevant research.

Even less if any, is the presence of studies on the educational history of women and gender in educational historiography overviews. Specifically, gender-related historical studies are often not included in reviews of the historiography of education conducted to date². When they are included, they are either mentioned solely as arithmetical data without further reference in the reasoning of the review, or briefly presented, in a couple of lines or a footnote, as studies on a «special social category» (that is women) or a specific field/theme of the educational system (that is women's education)³. At best, only one review (Koulouri, 2004, p. 507) notes the emerging interest in gendered identities and women's education, presenting a footnote with a substantial number of relevant studies, yet displaying no difference in terms of presenting the milestones and contributions that helped renew educational historiography (a constant scheme in all historiographical studies which overlooks women's and gender studies' such

¹ See: Cunningham (2004, pp. 106-108, 117). The negligence of educational history by mainstream history is pointed out in articles on historiography of education, as is the necessity of breaking down the binary division between «history» and «education». See, Watts (2005, p. 241); McCulloch and Watts (2003, p. 129); Goodman and Martin (2004, pp. 1-2, 5); Kallaway (2012, pp. 1-2).

² See: Andreou (1993); Dimaras (2002, 2004, 2011); Bouzakis (2009).

³ See: Negri (2011, pp. 45-6, 53-4); Tzikas (2006, p. 11); Dimaras (1988, p. 196); Bouzakis (2002, p. 77).

contribution). An exception to the above are two papers: a relatively early and therefore important historiographical review by Charalampos Charitos (1990), which includes the early studies of the 1880s on women's education among the studies that marked the turn towards the «new» educational history, and the paper by K. Dalakoura (2006) that makes explicit though not detailed reference to the contribution of gender historians to the methodological renewal of Greek history of education.

Contrary to the histories of educational historiography, other studies include more substantial and detailed references to educational historiography of gender. These include the studies on the development of the gender debate in Pedagogy and Educational Sciences, and relevant literature review studies; for instance, the articles by Sidiroula Ziogou-Karastergiou (2006) on the development of the debate in Education and Pedagogy and Evi Kladouchou (2010) on conceptualising gender in Sociology of Education, as well as three literature reviews on education and gender published by the Research Centre for Gender Equality (KE.TH.I.), two in 2001 and one in 2008⁴.

The present paper attempts an overall evaluation of the process of integrating the gender perspective into historical studies on education. It is based on gender historiography published since the 1970s, addressing education as the main subject of study. The paper does not take systematically into account historical studies that may refer to education without a relevant research focus. Specifically, the study takes into account monographs, collective volumes and conference proceedings published in the period under study, and also considers relevant articles sourced from the *Educational Articles Bulletin* (DEA)⁵ published by the Pedagogical Institute, and the best-known relevant Greek journals (*Mnimon*, *Historika*, *Issues of Education History*, *Dini*, *Skoupa*).

The History of Education is a relatively new discipline in Greece as is in the rest of the western academic world⁶. Its origins can be traced to the 1970s, which is when it began to be treated as a discrete research and teaching subject matter

⁴ Vitsilaki-Soponiati, Maratou-Alipranti, Kapella (2001); Frosi, Kouimtzi, Papadimou (2001); Moschovakou, Korella, Xydopoulou, Sakelariou, Flaggini, Fotopoulou (2008).

⁵ In the DEA, 68 journals, yearbooks, and databases on education, pedagogy and other social sciences are indexed since 1994.

⁶ The dates of the establishment of the education societies and the publication of the relevant journals are very much indicative for the time of the (re)establishment of the history of education as an academic field, internationally. See, e.g., USA: *History of Education Society*, 1860, *History of Education Quarterly*, 1861; England: *Paedagogica Historica*, 1861, *History of Education Society*, 1967, *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 1972, and *International Standing Conference for the History of Education* (1978); France: *Service d'Histoire de L'Education*, 1970 (in 1977 it was incorporated in the *Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique*); Germany: the *Historische Kommission* was established in 1969, and elevated to *Sektion Historische Bildungsforschung* in 1872 (both within *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft*).

in academic institutions. The last four decades have witnessed a great literature production, which to an important extent has reconstructed the Greek educational past. For the most part, it focused geographically on the Greek state and chronologically on the 19th and 20th centuries, although the 1990s witnessed the beginning of a more systematic study of Hellenism beyond Greek borders (led by the University of Thessaloniki), expanding the historical time and place of the research. In terms of the kind of educational history served, it is rather a macro-history of institutions, state and mechanisms, with an important presence of local educational history and, to a lesser extent, of micro-history (history of educational institutions), the history of specific personalities (mostly pedagogues) and even oral history.

This historiographical production mainly addresses the history of men as subjects of educational history, despite the ruptures inflicted in the dominant narrative by women's educational historiography, which actively emerged after the mid-1980s. What has been presented by the dominant narratives as the beginning and evolution of Greek educational history, as «milestones» and chronological periods, as interpretations of its course, of the educational/pedagogical influences and ideologies that shaped the orientation and content of education, all this constitutes the history of the male sex; an academic perception and attitude that is not limited to the discipline of History of Education, but is displayed in Greek historiography in general⁷.

In the historiography of Greek education, gender research has been identified exclusively with the subject of women's education, which has not even been altered over the past decade, when gender perspective began to emerge in cross-sectional studies on education that are not women related, through sociological or psychoanalytical approaches⁸. Thus the present paper, too, observes the evolution of the gender debate, the conceptualisations of gender and their use in research practice, addressing the course of educational historiography in terms of women's education.

2. Gender as a Conceptual Tool and the Turning Point in Methodology

The study of the educational history of women appears in a few academic papers in the first decade after History of Education was established as a discrete discipline, the 1970s⁹ as seen above, although there are also very few even earlier publications on the subject (Xiradaki, 1956, 1964; Koukkou, 1965). They adopt

⁷ On women's and gender history and mainstream history, see Avdela (2010, pp. 104-6; 1997, pp. 225-232).

⁸ See (selectively): Deligianni-Kouimtzi, Sakka (2005, 2007); Politis (2006).

⁹ See: Xiradaki (1973); Ziogou-Karastergiou (1976).

a clearly positivistic approach (recording or describing data on women's education: listing schools, female educators and teachers), yet by promoting women (or even to women) as subjects of research and history they inflict a first fissure in the absolute dominant historical narrative focused on male education. Although they do not adopt the theoretical contextualisation of women's history, as was the contemporary feminist paradigm in relevant foreign literature¹⁰, for Greek educational historiography these studies constitute the first step in the debate on the history of women and gender¹¹.

In the next decade, the 1980s, the establishment of women's education as a research theme, integrating the gender perspective, coincides with the conceptual elaboration of gender as a socio-cultural construct and its adoption as a theoretical approach and research practice by international literature¹². This «introductory» decade constitutes a classic period for the Greek history of education and gender, as it set the foundations and orientation of the new research paradigm and the context of its potential further development. Specifically, this decade features the first relevant literature¹³ and the largest number of synthetic studies on women's education (around 10 monographs, mostly published doctoral dissertations or based on unpublished ones)¹⁴, a number that is not repeated in the following decades, with the exception of unpublished MA theses after the mid-2000s. The time and place covered by these studies, following in the steps of dominant Greek educational historiography, is the Greek state and the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, with few studies reaching to or transcending the postwar period. Through macro-historical approaches they record the evolution of the institution of education for women and investigate educational policy and the role of private initiatives, while at the micro-historical level they present examples of the establishment and operation of particular educational institutions for girls, of research on school textbooks and literate women's activity. In terms of more specific subjects, they reconstitute the institution of primary and secondary education and the gradual access to tertiary education, they analyse specific aspects of education, including subject matters, timetables, duration of

¹⁰ On the historiographic tradition of this early period, and more precisely on the «her-story» approach, see Wallach Scott (1988, pp. 17-21). On adopting this approach in historiography of education, see Kamm (2010); Turner (1974).

¹¹ It has been argued by the Greek historians of gender that such a division into phases could not be identified in Greek historiography of women's and gender history. Educational relevant historiography, though, had not been taken into account in this stance.

¹² See the «debate» between M. Gomersal, J. Purvis και K. Flett on the significance of gender as an analysis category comparing to social class category, Flett (1989); Purvis (1989); Gomersall (1989).

¹³ See selectively, Pambouki (1980); Lambraki-Paganou (1986); Korasidou and Samiou (1988); Avdela (1988).

¹⁴ See selectively, Ziogou-Karastergiou (1986, 1988); Fournaraki (1987); Bakalaki, Elegmitou (1987); Iordanoglou (1989); Charitos (1989).

study, relative data on attendance, gendered social ideology and educational philosophy, and they investigate the social role and position of literate women, both scholars and teachers.

Overall, the studies conducted in this decade constitute the research field of women's education and reveal, directly or indirectly, the social category of women as a research subject. Yet not all studies on women's education adopt gender as a theoretical approach or research tool. Apart from studies that adopt certain conceptualisations of gender as an analysis category, there are also studies that approach women as a biological category or that could be integrated into another research field within history of education, since they adopt a sexless approach to their subject (Lambraki-Paganou, 1988; Iordanoglou, 1989; Charitos, 1986, 1989).

The studies that attribute meaning to the category of gender analyse and interpret the ideological processes of education and edification, regarding the formation of female standards and identities. These include: conflict, opposition and resistance to the necessity of women's education and the process of defining its contents and aims; gendered social perceptions that underpinned the choice and content of educational provision, established bourgeois female standards and guided women's options for further study; normative discourses on the social role of women, their philosophical, scientific and political foundations in connection with changing historical and ideological circumstances (modernisation of Greek society, the «equality in difference» doctrine, the «national mission of women» argumentation). These studies highlight the social class dimension of education, though without elaborating on how it inter-relates with gender, and explore the reflections of ideological processes in its establishment, and in the shaping of women's subjectivity and gendered identity, their social action and their position as subjects of education and literacy in general¹⁵.

The studies of this period thus highlight the gendered dimension of the institution of education and its correlatively changing conceptualizations: i.e., general education as decorative education for the girls, its gradual transformation into practical and «professional» education, in correspondence with the changing content of domesticity, women's destiny discourse, and the respective social class references¹⁶. While examining how the institution of education was established through state choices and practices and private initiatives, these studies also investigate how public gendered discourses conceptualise gender inequality and construct gender differences and hierarchies that lead to relevant practices

¹⁵ Ziogou-Karastergiou (1986); Bakalaki, Elegmitou (1987); Fournaraki (1987). See also, Avdela (1988); Varikas (1988); Sklaveniti (1988).

¹⁶ On the concept of domesticity and its changes, see Bakalaki, Elegmitou (1987, pp. 249-258). See also, Korasidou, Samiou (1988, pp. 55-56).

and institutionalisation. By promoting the socialising and ideological function of education, women's educational history turns towards the historical subject, the concept of identity and its social constructions, and relates to social issues of the time. In this, the historiography of gender in education seems to move in the same direction as Greek historiography of gender conducted by historians, which focuses on the presence and action of women in other fields and issues

In the context of the history of women's education, during this decade the research and methodological approach transcends the postulations of women's history and meets the history of gender. That is, between the 1970s and the 1980s, historiography seems to take a methodological and theoretical leap from an absolutely positivistic traditional historiography to a historiography that integrates the theoretical approaches and utilizes the analytical tools of gender historiography. Certain characteristics of this historiography, though, can be attributed to this rapid covering of a considerable methodological and theoretical distance. These include the subjects chosen, following the themes of international literature in previous decades¹⁷ (an inevitable necessity in view of the complete absence of relevant research data, which is a prerequisite for any theoretical elaboration), the emphasis on the normative importance of roles, the use of the term «women» rather than «gender», etc.

This paradigm shift, and even the turn towards women's education as a subject, was favoured by the general research and epistemological historical circumstances, both in Greece and abroad: the methodological shift of Greek historiography of education, since the mid-1970s, towards the historical hermeneutic paradigm; the consequential communication with other social sciences (economy, sociology, politics), which favoured multidisciplinary critical approaches; the interest in new sources; the fact that the «New» Greek History focused its interest on institutions, mechanisms, and the state; the rich, in terms of themes and theoretical searches, international research on the history of women and gender; and the establishment by the historians of a first Greek historiography of women and gender from the late 1970s to the decade under study. Under these favourable circumstances, the history of women's education followed the interests of the dominant educational historiography to a certain extent (studying educational institutions, reproduction mechanisms, education policy). However it is primarily a history of ideas, a social history and a history of gendered discourses (and identities), showing a convergence with Greek historiography of gender with regard to these tendencies.

Although the historical circumstances were epistemologically and methodologically favourable, the same does not apply to the academic circumstances.

¹⁷ See, selectively: Dyhouse (1976); McMullen (1977); J. Burstyn (1977); MacLeod, Moseley (1979).

The field did not fall under the subjects studied by academic educational history. It was implicitly viewed as non-scientific, particularly its theoretical approach and conceptual tools, and therefore as a preoccupation of female scholars which could not be integrated into academic teaching and research¹⁸. However, the different political circumstances of 1980s in Greece and Europe provided institutional acceptance and reinforcement by non-academic public bodies, which boosted research activity, academic meetings and cooperation among gender researchers, with the organisation of meetings and conferences and the support of relevant publications. Such bodies were: Gender Equality Board [*Symvoulio Isotitas ton dyo Fylon*], established in 1982; Mediterranean Women's Studies Centre [*Kentro Erevnon gia tis Gynaikes tis Megogeiou (KEGME)*], in 1982; Historical Archive of Greek Youth, under the auspices of the General Secretariat for Youth [*Istoriko Archeio Ellinikis Neolaias/Geniki Grammateia Neas Genias (IAEN/GGNG)*], in 1983; General Secretariat for Gender Equality [*Geniki Grammateia Isotitas ton Fylon (GGIF)*], in 1985; Research Centre for Gender Equality [*Kentro Erevnas gia Themata Isotitas (KETHI)*], in 1989. Moreover, the collective efforts that began to take shape (e.g. the *Women's Studies Group* established at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 1983; the publication of the feminist journal *Dini* in December 1986) contributed to the formulation of the debate and research/thematic interests, and interpreted from this viewpoint the extensive convergence of both, the approaches and the conceptualisations adopted during this decade by the historiography of women's education with the rest of the historiography of women and/or gender.

3. A Breath of Optimism, Setbacks, and New Trends

The intense collective and research activity of the 1980s and its turn towards optimism, despite the resistance of the academia, were reinforced in the 1990s. This decade was characterised by funded research programmes on gender, conferences as part of the implementation of the programmes, and collective publications of the research findings or conference proceedings. In terms of quantity, these publications replace the monographs of the previous decade, though the historiography of education only comprises part of the collective publications: for instance, the collective volume *Education and Gender*, edited by V. Deligianni-Kouimtzi and S. Ziogou (1993), includes five historical studies (210 pages out of a total of 481). Although the number of monographs is significantly diminished, the overall literature production is increased, mainly due to the contribution of the relevant scientific articles. This decade extends the time period covered to

¹⁸ On the attitude of the historians' academic community towards research and historiography of women's and gender history, see footnote 8.

include the 20th century¹⁹, even though the 19th century remains the main period studied. It also expands the geographical area covered by research (for instance, Ottoman territory becomes a privileged research field at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)²⁰. While an interest in matters of institutional organisation and content is maintained, the research themes are enriched (women in education²¹, co-education²², educator training²³), and the term «gender» replaces the term «women» to a great extent.

The significant quantitative increase of studies on women's education and the frequent use of the concept of gender is an important development in the course of historical educational research. This development marks the gradual acceptance of the scientific significance of the subject and the validity of the gender approach by the academic community. At the same time, it fills actual and substantial gaps of basic systemic knowledge on the educational experience of women. Part of the historiographical production of this decade follows the methodological paradigm of the 1980s, elaborating more systematically the concept of the «construction» of gendered identities, focusing more on the subjects and their public action, and expanding the concept of education to include informal education and extra-institutional educational bodies²⁴, though it fails to approach topics and fields that do not address the educational experience of women. Nevertheless, the majority of these studies adopt the term - as is also the case with Greek gender historiography conducted by historians - mostly due to a kind of an «academic trend». The term «gender» is usually adopted without its accompanying reasoning and assumptions. It is used as a synonym of the term «women», and when it does not allude to the theoretical assumptions of the first period of women's history, it often regresses to a positivistic and almost gender-less approach. The appearance of a neo-positivistic approach in the mainstream historiography of education of the time may have played a part in the matter.

Since 2000, while the simplifying conceptualisation of the term continues to be adopted, the term and its derivatives have become an expressional norm, and a new meaning has emerged: gender refers to the educational experience of both men and women, but it corresponds to the biological sense of the term. For most studies, the adoption of the gendered perspective entails a reference to the descriptive data of educational research on both genders. This leads to the appearance of the term in plural, «genders», signifying the conceptual re-

¹⁹ Lambraki-Paganou (1995); Ziogou, Kelesidou (1997); Antoniou (1996).

²⁰ Ziogou-Karastergiou (1997); Dalakoura (2000); Stefani (2000).

²¹ Mesimeri (1997); Vaina (1997); Vlachogianni, Papadimitriou (2002).

²² Ziogou-Karastergiou, Kelesidou (1993).

²³ Tamboukou (1997); Bouzakis, Tzikas (1996-1998).

²⁴ (Selectively) Korasidou (1995); Fournaraki (1999).

naturalisation of the term. In contrast, in few monographs and collective volumes, and part of the relevant scientific articles, one may observe that the subject of women's education is again placed in the context of the history of women and the gender, in a renewed methodological and interpretative framework. In the theoretical framework of identity as a construct, there is a shift from viewing gendered identity as a single, solid and «constant» identity, to approaching it as a multiple, composite, and changing identity, leading to the adoption of the term «representations» (Dalakoura, 2010a), which feminist post-structuralist theory has considered more appropriate for the changing nature of the self and the complex processes of shaping gendered identities²⁵. In the context of micro-history and the theories of social networks and the permeability of the private and public sphere, research takes a sharp turn towards individuals and the study of gendered subjectivity, while new conceptual tools of Foucauldian origins, such as «body» and «body culture» are used to study the latter and bring new insights to the study of education. In general, these studies investigate the educational experience in a complex historical context (bourgeois morals, nationalism, educational demoticism). To a certain extent, they seem to follow the new trends of historiography (transcending national history, studying and conducting research beyond the West), with a turn towards the Balkans and continuing interest in the Ottoman territories²⁶.

In terms of topics, the historiography of this period focuses on the study of: a) Girls' educational establishments²⁷, b) Female educators as a professional and social category, focusing on their involvement in social and ideological movements such as trade unionism, feminism, and as individual courses and interventions²⁸, and c) The local educational history of women (Dalakoura, 2009). Research is conducted on non-institutionalised educational forms and bodies (Sunday schools for girls, educational societies), specific categories of educational provision and educational life (popular education, textbooks, school life)²⁹, women's literacy and their public cultural pursuits (publishing and cultural activity)³⁰.

In terms of quantity, despite a gradual increase up to the middle of the decade, over the last years historiographical production has displayed a significant decrease, apart from the unpublished master's theses and PhD dissertations. Gender seems to no longer attract the interest of historians of education as much as it did in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century. Some of the factors

²⁵ See: Weiler (1998); Ramazanoglou, Holland (2002).

²⁶ See: Ziogou-Karastergiou (2010); Kanner (2004, 2010, 2012); Dalakoura (2008 2010b, 2012b).

²⁷ See: Thanailaki (2005); Asimaki (2006).

²⁸ Vlachogianni, Papadimitriou (2002); Asimaki (2007); Papastefanaki (2012).

²⁹ Dalakoura (2010b); Efthymiou (2010); Thanailaki (2009).

³⁰ Kyriakidou (2009); Ziogou-Karastergiou (2002).

that interpret this decreasing tendency may include: the academic sector still treats research interest focused on women's educational experience as partial or «specific»; dominant historiography overlooks and ignores relevant literature production in Greece and abroad, and downplays its contribution to overall historiographical research, despite the rhetoric of acceptance of the discipline; the funding of historical research in general and of research on the history of gender in particular is limited. An optimistic point, though, for the future course of research is that the theoretical and methodological renewal of approaches seen above appears more pronounced during the same period of quantitative decrease. Moreover, gender historians have shifted their interest towards education as a field of research, since part of the renewed studies mentioned above has been conducted by historians rather than historians of education.

4. Conclusion

Despite their limited number, the weaknesses noted in the adopted approaches, the setback inflicted on the conceptualisation of gender by its re-naturalisation, studies adopting a gender perspective have contributed to renewing educational historical research. They have introduced new subjects, mainly women's education and related fields, e.g. philanthropy as an extra-institutional educational practice and policy, or female periodicals as a «forum» of educational discussion, lobbying and creating culture. They have expanded the range of the topics being studied and have addressed new questions on issues considered «already studied». They have adopted new research practices for studying the experience of educators, e.g. the study of female teachers' individual journeys towards revealing the multiple meanings of the teaching profession. Although some of these elements, which have renewed historical research in education, can be found in historical educational studies beyond the history of gender, the importance of this contribution is not lessened.

The resulting educational historiography has challenged dominant discourse and its general truths indirectly, both by integrating the study of the female experience into the discipline and by promoting new interpretations, defining new ideological and/or social parameters as important for understanding the educational/cultural/pedagogical phenomenon, as well as directly, i.e. by proposing new historical periodisations³¹. It has revealed the gendered dimension of

³¹ Ziogou-Karastergiou (1986, pp. 339-53); Dalakoura (2008, pp. 29-44). S. Ziogou indicates the 1960s and the year 1893 as crucial to an educational periodization, based on women's educational experience and the educational policy of the Greek state. The same is true of the education of Greeks in the Ottoman space; research on women's experience, contextualized in Ottoman communal legislation and history, led to the proposal by K. Dalakoura of an alternative periodization of the course of Greek education.

the educational institution, educational processes, and pedagogical quests, and legitimised the scientific study of gender.

The most important contribution of the historiography of women and gender to the History of Education is the suggestion of another approach, a different way of viewing the educational past, by using a new analysis category that can highlight the greater complexity of educational phenomena and their social effects: the role of educational institutions in the construction of gendered identities, the reproduction of gendered social division and other dualities and dichotomies, and the influence of gendered social hierarchies on their constant construction and reconstruction.

However, its position relating to the dominant narrative has not been differentiated over the last thirty years. Not only has it failed to be integrated into the dominant narrative, but it has remained marginal to a great extent, as evidenced by the reviews of educational historiography to date, and the publication of more recent volumes on general history of education (See: Bouzakis, 2011). This is due to more than one reasons, the most important being the continuous and implicit resistance of the academic dominant historiographical tradition. The belief that gender cannot be «constant and sole research interest of a scholar» nor be proposed as the main category of historical analysis and approach is still strong, though neither as acute nor as absolute as in the first two decades. This «evaluation» of research interests leads researchers on the history of gender towards other fields, and new researchers towards the fields of «historiographical certainty» (Avdela, 1991), to quote a contemporary gender historian.

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