

THEMISTOKLES GOGAS

INDISPENSABLE OR NOT?

GREEK FEMALE TEACHERS IN SOUTH ALBANIA

IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD (1918-1940)

Abstract

This paper is focused on the operation of the Greek minority education in South Albania in the inter-war period, located mostly on teachers' work. Also, it examines the conditions under which women served there. It aims to present some indicative examples in order to light a historical situation and to reveal a problem: a considerable imbalance in numbers between the two sexes in the teaching profession. An approach to this contradiction is attempted, shedding some light on the organisational structure of Greek education and the reasons for which this organisation needed gender. It focuses on the structural discrimination against women, aiming at the presentation of the organizational aspects for female teachers. The topic is approached through analyses of economic, social and structural conditions as well as of ideological matters on education. The research is based upon unpublished material held in the Archives of the Bishopric of Ioannina (henceforth: ABI), North-west Greece, where was based the responsible body for the Greek schools in South Albania during the period 1918-1940. Aim of this paper is not just to remain in a descriptive level, but to provide an analytic approach through the structural organisation of education and the gender issue it involved.

Keywords: gender and nationalism, Greek minority education, structural organization of education

1. An introductory note

The paper examines Greek education in South Albania (or Northern Epirus, as the Greeks called that area) in the inter-war period (1918-1940). It focuses on Greek female teachers and the obstacles they confronted concerning their appointment, work conditions and the attitude of the Greek authorities as well as of their Albanian counterparts towards them.

During this period, 83 Greek schools operated in South Albania. In these schools 157 teachers served in total, 143 men and just 14 were women. This imbalance happened at the moment that in Greece the Education Act demanded equal numbers for both sexes in the teaching profession. The situation was reported in a stressed letter of the Greek Consul in Gjirokaster (or Argyrokastro in Greek)ⁱ, Albania, addressed to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asking for remedial measures.

Approaching the reasons for this imbalance, one might argue for the unfavourable conditions working in a foreign state (the relations of which to Greece were not friendly at all); the isolation of living in a distant village and the adverse conditions of traveling. Those tasks were easier for a male teacher than for a young lady, rarely exceeding her twenties (see Ziogou-Karastergiou, 1994: 81 ff).

Working in a foreign country during the first decades of the previous century was not an easy task, in particular for neighbouring countries facing territorial claims by each other. Moreover, exercising the teaching profession in minority schools attracted the suspicion of the local authorities, since for more than a century, education in the Balkans was considered as an instrument of nationalist and irredentist policy, aiming at the national and cultural affirmation of (mostly bilingual) minorities. The Greek expansionist policy and the implementation of education towards this scope was well-known (see: Vouri, 1992).

However, beyond these, which were rather expected, the obstacles posed by the organisational structure of Greece are quite remarkable. Despite the necessity for female teachers, the demands for their qualities were exaggerated, a point which seems contradictory to the abovementioned consular report.

2. A brief sight on History

For centuries the history of Greco-Albanian relations is marked by a continuous interaction between the two peoples, interaction that took any possible form: from mutual cooperation and understanding to the other edge, that of an armed clash (see: Kondis, 1976; Logoreci, 1977). The formation of the borderline between them in 1914 left behind minority enclaves on both sides (Kostanick, 1974: 44). The existence of those minorities nowadays could act as a factor of rapprochement and mutual cooperation. But in a turbulent period as the one under examination it has been frictional in many aspects: political, cultural, economic educational etc. It is self conceivable that nationalist antagonisms and territorial claims prevented any idea for mutual understanding, despite the attempts that happened and the treaties that were signed (Kondis, 1976: 49-51). Typically, minorities enjoyed freedom in education and religion, as well as administrative autonomy in local level. In reality, both parties took any possible measure in order to suppress minority rights.

Since the last period of the Ottoman domination, in what nowadays is South Albania, operated a number of Greek schools, nearly in every urban or rural centre, where Greeks (or just grecophones) lived (Glenny, 2000: 414). Despite the censuses that took place during and after the Ottoman domination, it is impossible to estimate the exact ethnic composition of the population due to three factors: a) Apart from the few schools operated by Italy and the even fewer Austrian schools, Greek education was the only alternative for the vast majority of the population there (Logoreci, 1977: 62) b) The confusion between Greek-orthodox and Greeks increased the demographic ambivalence (Stavrianos, 2000: 712, 715; De Rapper, 2004: 164) and c) the fact that commerce was mainly in Greek hands made Greek education necessary factor for the economic survival and flourish of extended areas (Prothero, 1920: 54-5). Thus, the declaration of Albanian independence in 1912 (Logoreci, 1977: 47) found an extended school network set by Greeks, operated by Greeks and serving the ideals of Hellenism. Though Albanian authorities stood suspiciously towards this matter, they were obliged to tolerate initially the operation of these schools due to the structural inadequacy of the Albanian education. The Corfu Protocol, a treaty signed on May 17, 1914 between the two countries took special provision on educational freedom (Stickney, 1926: 49-50; Papadopoulos, 1981: 12-17; Vacalo-pou-los, 1992: 814 ff). According to that, minority education was assigned exclusively to the local communities, which had the right to appoint teachers, to define the subjects taught, to decide on the textbooks to be used and to organise the curriculum. Despite the Corfu Protocol, Albania in several instances tried to cease foreign schools operating in its soil, most serious of which was that of 1933. In that year, Albanian government in its attempts to minimize Italian influence closed all Italian schools and next ordered the closure of the schools belonging to the Greek minority. Greece after that appealed to the League of Nations and due to the condemnatory decision of the International Court in The Hague all Greek schools granted permission to restore their operation (Logoreci, 1977: 61).

By the beginning of the period in study (ca 1918) Greek communities faced major problems to support their own education and asked for assistance from the Greek state. Greece could not intervene officially, but fabricated a clever way to avoid the restrictions posed by the protocol: a

newly-formed Body appeared, called Committee for Education in Northern Epirus (in Greek: *Epitropi Ekpaideytikon Voreiou Ipeirou*; henceforth: CENE). This Body in principle was a private one, under the auspices of the Greek Church. Chairman of CENE was the Greek Orthodox Bishop, based at the city Ioannina, major administrative centre in North-west Greece, close to the Albanian borders.

The Committee undertook the responsibility to arrange all issues involved in community education, i.e. teacher appointment, remuneration, content of curriculum, timetable, financial matters and in general any matter concerning schooling. For this reason, measures were taken immediately, in order to find the appropriate teaching staff, to engage the necessary financial means for salaries as well as for the overall expenses and beyond all, to set a control mechanism ensuring that national guidelines were precisely followed.

Of course, teaching staff was not easy to be found, due to the political and diplomatic conditions in the area, giving for Albania the picture of an unattractive land. However, many persons applied to take the posts in South Albania. It is interesting to see how this control mechanism operated and what the demands were. Indeed, though prerequisites were not formally expressed (e.g. in a circular) the organisation structure of education and society had set them long ago. Johansson (1988: 44) argues about ‘shadows’ in the context of stereotypes. I would claim that these shadows exceeded the field of stereotypes, as they extended far beyond the workplace.

Officially CENE was the intermediary between Greek communities in Albania and the teacher corpus in Greece, as the vast majority of persons who took the post of community teacher in Albania were civil servants in special secondment. In reality CENE was endowed with extended powers and acted as the coordination centre, involving the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs along with its Consulates in Albania, the bishopric of Ioannina as well as other agents, like the Police and Military authorities of Greece. The importance given to this issue is easily explainable if thinking of the conjuncture. It is just 1918 when Greece is getting out of World War I, having acquainted territorial gains and preparing for landing in Asia Minor. The century-long ‘national dream’ about the Greece of “five seas and two continents” (see Jelavich 1983: 262) is close to its achievement. The irredentist policy of Greece viewed Greek minority in South Albania as the perfect nucleus around which its future territorial claims against Albania would be built. To this extend basic motivation was the diplomatic practice of the period, which judged such claims on the basis of house-language. Thus, Greece took the advantage and organised Greek community education, in order to support language among the Greek-speaking population there, as well as to disseminate Greek language among bilingual parts of the population. This ambition reveals the peculiarity of the case in terms of a population which is not clearly defined. I could sketch the mode followed as a sequence of steps: the first one goes towards inclusion of groups into culture (through education); the second one goes towards the inclusion of this particular group into the population espousing the doctrine; the third one is the inclusion of a new group into Greek culture and so forth (Gogas, 2002: 172). This was the reason that this particular educational activity took from the very beginning the form of an instrument for assisting the aims of Greek nationalist and irredentist policy.

The outbreak of World War II on October 1940 gave an end to this effort, along with the irredentist dreams of Greece for expansion northbound. However, what is left from this attempt is the expansionist implementation of education, a sort of instrument in the nationalist policy of a given state.

3. The causes for the imbalance

What is the interesting point on that matter is the imbalance in numbers between men and women teachers. Out of the 157 served in total, only 14 were women. This imbalance seems to be a problem for Greece, as it is noted in a Consular report addressed to the Ministry of Education in Athens and the CENE (ABI, Kaloutsis to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, copy to CENE, 429/ 28.3.1937). In this report, Consul Kaloutsis stresses the importance of this imbalance between sexes in teaching

profession and asks for remedial measures. More or less of the same content is another 'classified' document, mentioning the lack of women teachers (ABI, CENE to 8th Infantry Division, Intelligence Branch, confidential: 103/ 8.6.1940).

The reasons for this imbalance are sketched tragically throughout the documents of the Archive. For methodological purposes I classified them in the following categories:

3.1. Travel difficulties

Nowadays a journey abroad is an easy (and pleasant) task and can be prepared rapidly as far as tickets, passport and currency exchange are concerned. For the period in examination there was a long and time-consuming procedure before all requisites to be accomplished. For the young lady Kassiani Vidouri, this procedure lasted for nearly three months. In May 1937 CENE sends a letter to the Bank of Greece, Patras' Branch, certifying that the interested person is newly appointed teacher and asking the Bank to provide her the necessary foreign currency (ABI, CENE to Bank of Greece, confidential: 141/ 20.5.1937). Purpose of that letter was to stress the importance of the case, aiming at the acceleration of the procedures in order the teacher to be at her place by September 1st. For all teachers the same procedure is followed: months before the appointment, CENE has to send a letter to the Police in order the teacher to obtain the passport. A second letter also is sent to the Bank of teachers' permanent residence for the permission to get foreign currency.

3.2. Living conditions

Albania during the inter-war period was in a state far beyond any western standard of the era. I will make use of a quotation from Glenny (2000: 415) who states: "One could barely describe Albania as a state in the early 1920s [...] was dreadfully poor". Most villages were isolated, with no electricity, no rail and extremely poor road conditions, communications were non-existent and housing of poor quality (Logoreci, 1977: 49-65). In addition to that, as most teachers were foreigners had to pay a considerable amount of money to rent a house, a burden which decreased even more their low salary.

3.3. Financial problems

The salary of teacher was fixed in Greek drachmas. Any devaluation of drachma (i.e. the then national currency of Greece) affected the teachers, as their salary in local currency (i.e. Albanian Lek) decreased. This problem is sketched in a letter of a teacher, whose salary diminished significantly due to the devaluation of the drachma. He asks the Committee for an exceptional financial aid, claiming that all other Greek civil servants abroad received such supplement except of teachers,. (ABI, Dimas to CENE, 198/ 21.3.1932). Unluckily for the poor teacher the Committee rejects his demand with no specific excuse (ABI, CENE to Vice-Consulate in Argyrokastro, confidential: 1795/ 22.4.1932). A few months later the poor guy comes back with another letter. This time he states his pitiable financial state, asking for the intermediation of the Chairman of CENE in order his son to be accepted in a the public boardinghouse in Greece. Unfortunately we don't know what happened, since there is no any written evidence in the Archives regarding this matter.

3.4. Control

The selection of teachers takes place within a methodic procedure. The persons to be appointed have to be loyal to the national ideal. Thus, before the appointment CENE asks the Police to provide information about the loyalty of the appointee, which has to be sent confidentially through an official certificate. In such a certificate, the Commander of the Security Police certifies that the

person in question has no criminal record and “is not known as communist” (ABI, Security Police to CENE, confidential 4112/ 14.4.1937). This form of control is not limited just on the selection procedure, but it is extended during the service. In June, 1940 the Military Intelligence sends an urgent letter to CENE, asking for information about two specific persons serving in a minority school. The commander of the Intelligence branch asks whether the persons in question are involved in actions against national interest and, moreover, their professional adequacy (ABI, Military Intelligence to CENE, confidential: 12944/ 5.6.1940).

3.5. Albanian persecutions

Besides the century-long deeply rooted xenophobia (Fisher, 1985: 106) it is the period that Albanian nationalism flourishes. Within this frame Albanian authorities considered Greek teachers as being a potential danger for the integrity of the State for as de Rapper (2004: 165) states: “Albanian nationalism developed in southern Albania in reaction to the territorial gains made by Greece since its independence”. This resulted to a series of troubles for teachers, most frequent of which was a continuous control of their documents by the Police (ABI, Oikonomou to CENE, confidential: 14/ 4.4.1929). In some cases, teachers were called to the Police station for interrogation accused for espionage in favour of Greece (ABI, Vice-Consul in Argyrokastro to CENE, 170/ 3.3.1940).

3.6. Specific behaviour demands

For Greece education in Southern Albania was the excellent means for the deployment of its irredentist policy. Consequently teachers being considered national agents were expected to act within this frame and to comply with predetermined patterns of behaviour. Any violation of these patterns could jeopardise the character of the national mission. Indicatively, I will mention a document posing a fine against a teacher who traveled to Italy, after an invitation given to her by the Albanian prefecture. The purpose of the voyage was the participation in an arts festival. (ABI, Vice-Consul in Argyrokastro to Embassy in Tirana, confidential: 115/ 22.6.1939) Her only sin was that, before anything else, she had to inform the Greek Consulate and ask for permission. In the mind of the Consul such an action was equivalent to collaboration with the enemy, henceforth a heavy fine was imposed on her, equivalent to 1/3 of her monthly salary!

It is obvious that in the general context of the period in the specific area, the situation is peculiar. Teachers are required to perform their duties within an adverse environment, facing on the one hand the life in a semi-hostile and backward country, while on the other, the demands and the restrictions on behalf of Greece are exaggerated. Not to forget that they are considered ‘national agents’, a role involving the cultivation of national sentiment as well as the irredentist aspects, plus a high degree of propagating activities. In that sense, men could perform these duties quite well, as they could stand stoically the traveling and living conditions, even a possible interrogation by the Albanian gendarmerie. A weak and fragile creatureⁱⁱ (Smith-Rosenberg, 1973), like a woman originating from an urban centre of Greece, how useful could it be? I think that this provides an adequate explanation of the imbalance in numbers between the two sexes. A final detail also would be useful to facilitate this understanding. While for men the selection criteria are limited to loyalty to the national idea, for women are extended to another aspect of life: that of morality. In the confidential Police certificate, necessary to all applicants before their selection, for women has to be clearly defined a note on their morality. Thus, in the abovementioned certificate (ABI, Security Police to CENE, confidential 4112/ 14.4.1937) the “integral morality” of the young lady is stated. Such a note on the certificate reassures CENE that the moral behaviour of the appointee will not reflect negatively the picture of Greece abroad. In a brief critique on the integrity of the sources, I have to admit that in the archive are kept only those applications who have been approved. Consequently no rejected application has been saved, hence it is not possible to get any conclusion for rejections based solely on morality criteria. In other words no document has been spotted concerning a young lady of “ambivalent” morality. The

sporadic material and the few scattered notes on those that took the post give just an indication, consequently cannot be generalised.

4. Theoretical examination

The specific education system under examination is a complex organisation. Its complexity includes internal and external factors involved in its operation. The former involve exclusively education factors intervening or affecting teachers work e.g. pedagogical control, administrative inspection, or merely the daily timetable or the content of the curriculum. The latter compose a wide network including extra-education agents (like the consular authorities or the police) plus all those factors which are 'invisible' e.g. social formation, mentality, culture, ideology etc. In order to acquire adequate understanding, one has to consider all intervening factors to the degree they involve in education.

Next, I will approach the situation theoretically, focusing in detail in the internal and external parameters of the specific education system. The purpose of this analysis is to define the organisational structure of this system and to reveal these aspects that affect work (i.e. teaching profession) in general and the function of gender within it. Archer (1996; 2003) introduced a mode of examination of social constructions focusing on culture, structure and agency. This analysis fits the case, for it provides the necessary ground to approach a situation through its components, plus the relations between these factors and the degree that each factor determines others or is determined by them.

5. The concept of culture

Culture is a collective concept, including language, custom and convention (Elias 1970) and it applies to a certain society. In that sense, different societies form different types of culture. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963: 181) claim that "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values".

Culture in that sense can be approached through social formation and ideology. Social formation will be examined next, along with economic structure of society. As far as ideology is concerned, in the following pages I will present the dominant ideological trend for Greeks: the Great Idea.

5.1. Social and economic structure

From an economic point of view, it is known that the transition from feudalism to capitalism, which in Western Europe was achieved during the 16th-17th centuries, was delayed significantly in the Balkans. It was only by the end of 19th century when the first signs of capitalism arrived in the area. This was due to the economic structure of the Ottoman Empire (which ruled the area for nearly five centuries) where one can distinguish a long period of post-feudalism (Berend & Ranki, 1983) rather than the first proto-capitalist signs (Hindes, & Hirst, 1975; Sawyer, 1976; Dunn, 1982; Lubasz, 1984). As the area passed through a post-feudal period, it remained in a backward stage, while in Europe (and to an extent to the neighbouring Balkan States) the transformation of economy into its capitalist form was in progress. For instance, just a few miles south, in Greece, economy and society was gradually transformed according to a capitalist model (Mouzelis, 1986: 30-31). The social formation of the Greek minority in Albania remained in a phase of what Gellner (1990) called agrarian society. In purely economic terms Albania was in an agrarian-manufacturing phase, but modernisation is not merely the external characteristics of economic structure (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1994: 270-1). Indeed, as far as economic modernisation is concerned (industrial development, management

techniques, technology induction etc.) the case is not verified (Spulber, 1974). Also, in terms of social modernisation (increase in literacy, urbanisation, abolition of traditional forms of power etc.) traces of it cannot be found in the society locally. Going further, one may find indications of political modernisation in terms of the development of political parties, voters' rights or collective participation, even though the initial conditions give the impression of only shadows of these qualities. Reversely, as regards cultural modernisation, the situation is clear: secularisation and adherence to nationalist ideologies, provided that an examination takes into account that the portion of the population referred to has acted within a wider frame of culture, which was alienated from the dominant state (i.e. Albanian) culture.

Along the same lines are the remarks of Gellner (1998: 41-42), who locates the problem in the backwardness of these societies (Spulber, 1974) in terms of industrialisation and modernity. As far as industrialisation is concerned, if one accepts the views of Grothusen (1980: 23), up to the second decade of the 20th century one has to consider the societies in the Balkans as pre-industrial agrarian societies, hence a precapitalist mode of social organisation. As far as modernity is concerned, Sugar (1980: 85) claims that the Greeks and the Slavs, though espousing early the principles of Enlightenment, knew little (if anything) about the 'economic revolution' that was developing alongside.

5.2. The Great Idea

Whereas the development of Greek nationalism followed a different route from other similar movements, it did not move far from the basic trend of nationalism: an ethnologically coherent population; a common language; and a common historical tradition are the three conditions that motivate the expansionist dreams (Jelavich, 1983: 174). The Greek political scene, made things more intense: the birth of a Greek irredentist movement through an ambitious plan for a state which would embrace all "enslaved" Greeks. This had the side-effect of a return to letters, politics and the arts of classical antiquity (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 9). This neo-classic trend soon became the motif for education and a movement began towards the cultivation of classical studies and the reinforcement of Ancient Greek into the curriculum. This was the so-called "link to the Glorious past" (Fishman, 1996: 158-9, Bien, 2005: 225) and appeared as a result of the major conceptual framework for nation formation in Europe, which demanded language as the critical factor of national identity (Skendi, 1980: 32 ff.). This is the main argument in Schleiermacher's work (Quoted in Kedourie, 1993: 57) as he stresses the importance of language, stating: "Only one language is firmly implanted in an individual. Only to one does he belong entirely, no matter how many he learns subsequently". In that sense, Greek nationalism is characterised as the construction of an 'imagined community', in terms with which Castoriadis (1987: 148, 161) approaches the issue. He describes the 'imagined communities' not as an image "of" but as an "unceasing and essentially undetermined (social-historical and psychical) creation of figures/forms/images, on the basis of which alone there can ever be a question of "something"". He also presents the tactic of nationalism towards a synthesis of a history, which allows "us to name ourselves as a particular association".

6. Structure

Following Weber's analysis on bureaucracy, I will argue on the bureaucratic nature of the case. Bureaucracy is a hierarchically organised system of administration based on high degree of specialized and regularly paid personnel, divided in clearly defined categories, performing tasks distributed as official duties and having impersonal relationships with clients (Weber, 1978 I: 223).

The existence of an extended archive with so many details shows the importance given to this system and reveals its highly bureaucratic structure. The documents are kept in files, named after the schools. Each file includes sub-files one for every teacher served at that place, containing any document concerning the specific person. It is remarkable that in the content of these sub-files all

official documents of personal record are included, as well as papers with a variety of information: consular reports, financial and budgetary matters, manuscripts, personal letters, reports of local agents concerning the teacher, surveillance reports in favour or against the teacher and any possible sort of information, from service details to family status and from political activity to personal affairs.

Burke (1993: 28-9) argues that a model (or a 'type') is just a simplification, for it does not exist in its totality of characteristics, but there are numerous varieties, according to the general conditions. He accepts that a model can be characterised as such if a constellation of traits appears (ibid: 31). He also states the case of transition and gives an example examining the stage of transition from 'patrimonial' to 'bureaucratic'. He contrasts the five attributes of each model as follows:

Patrimonial system	Bureaucratic system
1 Undefined areas of jurisdiction	Fixed areas
2 Informal hierarchy	Formal hierarchy
3 Informal training and testing	Formal training and testing
4 Part-time officials	Full-time officials
5 Oral commands	Written commands

Having the above in mind, I will approach the type of government according to the set of dichotomies for each attribute. Obviously, the case does not show uniformity in its characteristics. More specifically, despite its apparent resemblance to bureaucratic system, cases no 1 and 5 above classify it to the patrimonial. For instance, the areas of jurisdiction are not fixed, for as it has already been stated above, it reveals the paradox where Military Intelligence asks information about the teaching quality of specific persons. Also, the involvement of the Police seems that this Body trespasses its institutional limits and is occupied in areas logically falling within the boundaries of pedagogical control. To the same direction moves characteristic no 5 above: there are no written commands, concerning their national mission. The few scattered notes revealing the actual duties of teachers are covered under "top-secret" or "confidential" classification remaining thus invisible, hence within the 'patrimonial' type of administration. On the other, cases no 2, 3 and 4 (namely: Formal hierarchy, Formal training and testing and Full-time officials) match the traits of bureaucratic model. This marks another point on the peculiar nature of the case, as it displays its transitory form from pre-industrial to industrial, or as Burke (ibid: 31) puts it, from 'agraria' to 'industria'. Going back to the actual definition of bureaucracy given by Weber (1978) one can see that if all other traits of bureaucracy match minority education, the impersonality in relationships between organisational members and their clients is not existed. Basic aim of teachers' mission is to establish close and personal links with the members of the Greek minority. Moreover, they had to approach the bilingual groups, attracting them on Greek education, a task rather impossible through impersonal and formal relations. At a previous stage (end of 19th century) Greek teachers sent in the Ottoman lands in order to teach in the Greek schools had been characterised as 'National Apostles', a term taken from the Bible, combining the national mission with the characteristics of an Apostle, far from any impersonality.

7. Agency

The involved agencies moved within the frame of the contemporary politics. In the period under examination Greece presents a politically turbulent phase, passing from a dictatorship to democracy and thence to constitutional monarchy and vice versa. The main political trends within the specific geo-chronological conjuncture are: ethnocentrism; faith to the motherland; loyalty to the regime; and abolishment of internationalist (i.e. communist) ideals (Stavrianos, 2000: 661 ff.). The state sets a control mechanism in which police and army dominate political activity. To this direction record files are kept in the police stations, updated regularly by the reports of the

surveillance agents. Within this frame, education could not remain intact. Teachers are obliged to declare loyalty to the state and to the national ideals, while they are forced to abstain from any political activity counter to the party in power. They are subject to control either through the official controlling mechanisms (i.e. inspectorate) or through the suppressive apparatus (i.e. police).

To that extend, minority education operates within this controlling mechanism, which is posed (as mentioned above) in two levels: the one prior to their appointment and the next, during their service. This explains the close cooperation between CENE and the police or Military Intelligence and this is also the rationale under which the diplomatic authorities of Greece in Albania have the jurisdiction to pose fines or penalties to teachers. In that terms, the multiplicity of agencies involved act in a certain political sphere, revealing that the structure determines actions of individuals.

8. Why women teachers were necessary?

As the examination approaches to its end there is one more element needing definition: Consul Kaloutsis's solicitude for reinforcement female teachers in numbers. As it is stated above, the task assigned to teachers were performed more easily by men. What was the reason, then, for such an anguished letter as mentioned above? Why this matter is stressed to the extent that all involved actors exchange letters between them, emphasizing to one another the same matter?

For approaching this, one has to examine the social formation contemporary. In an agrarian, pre-industrial society of that form, all characteristics of patriarchy are met (Weber, 1964: 346). Tradition is deeply rooted in the mentality of the population and a strong belief exists concerning the unnecessary of women's education. For a long sequence of centuries women are placed in the private sphere, while the public is an exclusive privilege of men (Millet, 1971: 25; Walby, 1990: 178-9; Avdela & Psarra, 2005: 68). Moreover, the agricultural mode of production does not raise any demands for educated personnel. Thus, except of the required skills for domestic and agricultural tasks, any other knowledge for girls is superfluous, time consuming and keeps them far from household tasks. In addition to that, the general concept about morality, requires girls to remain indoors (Hall & Gieben, 2003: 329 ff.), for any 'exit' of woman outside the yard might disintegrate the foundations of her family and poses a threat upon the moral life of society as a whole (see: Hall & Gieben, 2003: 100-101).

Another factor keeping girls far from school was the prejudice against mixed-gender classes. This phenomenon caused a discourse in Greece at an earlier stage (Bouzakis, 1994: 250) and initiatives had been taken in order parents to accept mixture of sexes in primary classrooms. Many years passed before this prejudice ceased to exist and, as it was expected progress was made in urban centers at a higher degree than in rural areas. Consequently, the isolated communities in the valleys or the highlands of South Albania maintained this prejudice for a longer period of time. Yet, the presence of a male teacher made the dull and dark school even less attractive. On the contrary, a woman is considered more appropriate, firstly due to her gender as she substitutes for the mother and secondly as she can teach basic skills necessary to every girl, like knitting or tailoring, qualities that a man does not possess.

Education for the girls of the minority was imperative for Greece. On the one hand it is the institutionalized concept about general education for both sexes. This concept had to be applied in the schools of the minority to the same extend as it happened in Greece. On the other, the irredentist circles of Greece are well aware on how crucial is the role a girl may perform: becoming mother and breeding her children with the principles of Hellenism. This concept has been developed at an earlier stage, in the nationalist context of late 19th century. As Avdela and Psarra (2005: 74) note: women had to become "... 'better Greek mothers of Greek men' and to raise their children according to pure Greek (i.e. *ancient* Greek) traditions, taking care to teach the Greek language properly...". This passage incorporates the ideals within which women had to act, performing their duty towards the nation. In the case under examination, the idea in principle remains intact underlying the basic motivation of the women teachers served in Albania.

9. Conclusion

Concluding, the examination of Greek minority education in South Albania reveals a system characterized by a high degree of bureaucratic structure demanding strict devotion to regulations (Merton, 1968: 254). In Weberian terms it is a sort of combination of the 'rational-legal domination' and 'traditional domination' (Callinicos, 1999: 157). The characteristics of the period in terms of economic development, social formation, cultural patterns and ideological trends do not fall in the same category of domination, forming a hybrid case. This explains the antinomy of the situation. On the one hand the needs for specially trained (and devoted) personnel require women to serve nationalist ideology. To this extent special care is given on selection criteria. The involvement of external to education factors (e.g. police) assures the validity of the procedure. On the other, the adverse conditions of work and life act as counter motivations. Moreover, the particular requirements for women (e.g. certified "integral morality") make the situation harder for women's participation. As the State was unwilling to provide satisfactory compensation, women were not attracted. For the few exceptions, which left behind a more comfortable life and a much promising career in the urban centers of Greece, it is worth mentioning Anderson's (1997: 213) argument that nations inspire love and self-sacrifice.

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- i. A major problem faced by anyone who would like to conduct a research in the history of the area is the multiplicity of cities', towns' and regions' names. Wasserstein (2007: ix) notes on this point: "Many cities and regions, particularly in eastern Europe in the early part of the twentieth century, were known by two or even three names, reflecting mixed populations and changes in sovereignty". This problem is reflected in here, due to the fact that the area was inhabited by mixed populations, thus the variety in names. In this paper I will keep the name as it appears in the documents, giving in brackets the official name nowadays.
- ii. The notion of women as being "weak and fragile creatures" falls within the stereotypical thinking of the past centuries, which arrived intact up to nowadays. At a random search I found a web page where Elisabeth Bevarly claims: "Both women [i.e. her grand mother and her mother] lived in times when women were viewed as weak, fragile creatures, yet both of them were strong, forceful women who struggled to overcome poverty and hardship. They were anything but weak or fragile." <http://www.fantasticfiction.co.uk/b/elizabeth-bevarly/> (accessed 30.10.2010).

