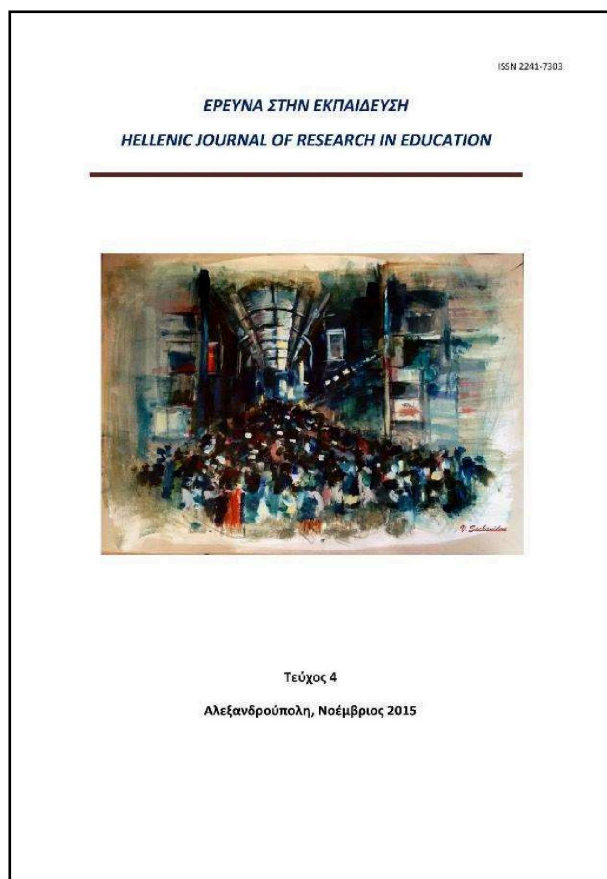


Έρευνα στην Εκπαίδευση

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Εκπαίδευση και πόλεμος: η περίπτωση του εκπαιδευτικού προβλήματος στην πόλη των Ιωαννίνων κατά τα έτη 1940 έως 1949

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Education and war: the case of the educational problem in the town of Ioannina during the years 1940-49

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Abstract

The town of Ioannina lies in the North-western part of Greece; it was under the Axis occupation between 1940 and 1944 and successively joined the effects of the Civil War (1946-49). This paper examines the effects of World War II and the Civil War on education in Ioannina. Under this cadre the inquiry is focused on the general function of the schools, especially the students' attendance and the affection of the day-to-day life during the war on students' lives. The method of historical search that is used is qualitative analysis within the framework of the micro-history of education where the data bring the history of a broader social framework while providing the sense of the personalized to the study of the past. The study unveiled the dimensions of an *unjust war* in society and in education and its long term effects.

Περίληψη

Η πόλη των Ιωαννίνων βρίσκεται στο βόρειο-δυτικό τμήμα της Ελλάδας, όπου τα χρόνια 1940-44, βρισκόταν υπό την κατοχή των δυνάμεων του Άξονα και διαδοχικά επηρεάστηκε από τον Εμφύλιο Πόλεμο (1946-49). Το άρθρο εξετάζει τις επιδράσεις του Δευτέρου Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου και του Εμφυλίου πολέμου στην εκπαίδευση στα Ιωάννινα. Εντός αυτού του πλαισίου, η έρευνα εστιάζει στη γενική λειτουργία των σχολείων, κυρίως στη φοίτηση των μαθητών και στην επίδραση της καθημερινότητας του πολέμου στη ζωή των μαθητών. Η μέθοδος της ιστορικής έρευνας που χρησιμοποιείται είναι η ποιοτική ανάλυση εντός του πλαισίου της μικρο-ιστορίας όπου τα δεδομένα προσφέρουν την ιστορία του ευρύτερου κοινωνικού πλαισίου, ενώ προσδίδουν την αίσθηση του προσωπικού χαρακτήρα στη μελέτη του παρελθόντος. Η έρευνα αποκαλύπτει τις διαστάσεις ενός *άδικου πολέμου* στην κοινωνία και την εκπαίδευση και τα μακροχρόνια αποτελέσματά του.

Keywords: History of education in Greece, Educationalization, schools in Ioannina

Introduction

This study is governed by three main aims: (a) To provide a descriptive portrait about the educational conditions in Ioannina during the years 1940-49, (b) to investigate the general function of the schools and especially the students' attendance and the implementation of curriculum, and (c) to examine the affection of education malfunction on students' lives. The choice of subject for investigation was taken after a thorough literature search for references on education in Greece between the years 1940 and 1949. The introduction is followed by the theoretical background, on which the most important concepts that are perceived as the tool of investigation and explanation of the research data within the historical context are presented and illustrated by the methodological aspects of micro-history of education.

1. War, Education and History

The philosophical analysis of war has proven that war is a continuation of policy by two fundamental concepts. When the term policy under the perceived importance of the objective characterizes the shaped through time socio-historical character of a collective political subject, then the war continues the policy, while under the importance of subjective political purposes implies the persons with significant role in the political affairs of a collective subject. Then the war continues the policy as a means to fulfill these objectives and these aspirations (Kondylis, 2008).

Although war is seen as the continuation of policy the word *Aggression* is the name of war where it presents a singular and undifferentiated crime, in all its forms and challenges rights that are worth dying for. Thus the wars are distinguished as *just* and *unjust*. For Walzer the *just wars* are defensive wars, liberation wars, even wars dictated by the requirements of deterrence as urgent humanitarian disasters, namely military interventions designed to salvage entire populations from genocide or extreme forms of tyranny. Walzer proceeds even further. Namely, hostilities should obey rules that determine what is permissible in war and what is not. So what is morally correct is to distinguish war crimes and to demand criminals to be brought before justice. Crimes against the civilian population, crimes against prisoners, destroying resources and even environmental disasters constitute violations of *jus in bello* and justify prosecution of criminals (Walzer, 2013).

Criminals and their actions are nothing but pieces of our society which generates war while the relation between society and war is a two-way relation; society prepares and

executes the war and then the consequences of the war affect peoples' lives and all social sectors, including education. Education, as the main sociologists (Durkheim, Marx, Bernstein) stated, is in constant interaction with society and directly influenced by social structures and developments. However social life is not chaotic nor are its members completely freely acting individuals who do not suffer social constraints in their action. What is important according to Garfinkel is the *forms of participants' action* and how they make their activities rationally explainable. The attention should be focused on a wider range of social activity in order to understand the ways in which people trade the social frameworks within which they are located (Cohen L., Manion L., Morrison K., 2008, 39-40).

Researching education and its structures and trying to understand the school culture during the difficult times of the war, we accept the statement that "to cope with societal and central demands, the teacher establishes strategies that can make her/his life bearable, possible and even rewarding as an *educational practitioner*" (Hargreaves, 1978). As Cuban states the main factor in improving education within schools is the teacher's behavior (Cuban 1984, 263-267) which is extended by the theory of *educationalization*, expressed by Depaepe, where "the integral educationalization of society" is realized within classrooms (Depaepe M., 1998, 25). The grammar of educationalizing contains the design of an "eco" or "ethno-history of education" in which ecological, ethnological and anthropological principles are in central position. The school climate is reconstructed in its historical and social context on the basis of "informants", where the experience of teachers and students is substantial as the main part of the context. Depaepe suggests that the available documents should be interpreted in the terms of discourse analysis and reconstruct the experience (Depaepe M., 1998, 26).

As from that, in this study, data analysis and narration of historical moments is based on the above theoretical background which is perceived to be a definite tool in the interpretation of social resultants. Also discourse analysis is used within the framework of the micro-history of education where the data complete the history of broader social context while adding a perception of specification and personalization in the study of the past. The main objective of micro-history is to open history to those people who with other methods would stay out and illuminate the historical causality at the level of small groups (Aroni-Tsihli, 2008, 333)

Specifically personal documents of teachers who served during that period in schools the so-called *ego-documents* are examined (Dekker M. R. 1989, 61-72). As the autobiographies in the form of interviews and reports are of the search of the dynamic relationship between the person and the history (Stone A. E., 1991, 95-120) data from autobiographies as well as testimonies which were recorded shortly after the events are used. Additionally interviews contributed the recording of occupational and economic progress of then-students elders today.

Any attempt to record the testimonies within the topical periodicals of the time seemed to be unfruitful since their circulation stopped during the German occupation. Namely the periodical *Epirotic Chronicles* edited between 1926 and 1941 in 16 volumes. In 1944 the political adventures allowed another remarkable periodical edition under the name *Epirotic Letters*, which lasted for only ten months. When political conditions were more peaceful a group of creative intellectuals edited the *Epirotic Life* which unfortunately lasted only from January 1946 to October 1947 (Ploumidis G., 1997, 412).

2. Sources

Thus, facing difficulties in finding testimonies within the periodicals expressed by teachers, and in order to have facts and to draw conclusions about the past, the paper proceeds in a systematic and objective identification, evaluation and synthesis of testimonies. (Cohen & Manion, 1994, 71). As documents derived from sources, the sources are distinguished in two sections: primary and secondary sources (Travers, 1964, 112). The students' catalogues and minutes of teachers' assemblies are identified as primary sources as these were recorded during the period examined by the Head teachers. More precisely the following sources were studied:

-*Zossimaia Model School of Ioannina, Boys High School*¹, Z1. the Book of Minutes of Teachers Assemblies (started at 348/15.09.1942 till 577/23.12.1942), Z2. the Book of Minutes of School Economical Committee (started at 101/01.04.1940 until 07/14.12.1948), in order to depict an impression of the economical issues of the time since the Zossimaia

¹ Zossimaia was the most important School in Ioannina since 1797 established by the benefactors brothers Zossimas. In 1852 the Zossimaia School acquired 4 years secondary school and was recognized equal to the Great School in Constantinople while its graduates were admitted to the University of Athens without exams (Papageorgiou, 1950, 68). The school had great library and laboratory. From 1878 till 1913 the Committee of the School added an extra training year for the future teachers.

School was the only private high school of the time, Z3. the Book of Certification of Studies, from school year 1937-38 until 1950-51.

-*Kaplaneios Primary School of Ioannina*². K1. Catalogue of the school from September 1937 until June 1949.

-*Elisaveteio 1st Primary School of Ioannina*. E1. Catalogue of the School from September 1939 until June 1946

-*4th Primary School of Ioannina* P1. Catalogues from September 1938 until June 1947.

-*Rizareio Primary School of Monodendri*. R1. Students' Catalogues from September 1940 until June 1950.

-*Elafotopos Primary School*. EL1. Catalogues from September 1940 until June 1950

The testimonies of the students of the time, adults today, that have been recorded through interviews are evaluated also as primary sources. The interviewees (19, 12 men and 7 women, aged 72-89) answered to semi-structured questions about their experience in school during the decade 1940-1950 in Ioannina and the broader area. Additionally autobiographies where all the relevant information that discloses the educational conditions in Ioannina of the time was isolated, were used. The material was enriched by the administration documents (laws, statistic data, economical data) as well as testimonies by the protagonists of the National Resistance. The search was realized in the Library of the University of Ioannina and the Municipal Zossimaea Library of Ioannina, the archive of the General Archives of State (GAK) where the unpublished primary sources were approached during the autumn of 2013.

3. The War casualties

The Italian attack in the Northern borders of Greece in October 1940 (Kossyvakis G. N., 2001) was the tragic starting point of a grid of catastrophes that alienated and marked the country for decades. Despite the victorious outcome of the first year of World War II the Greek casualties were significant as 11.000 soldiers were lost (Nikolaidou, 1997, 398). In

² Kaplaneios School (1805-1820) was funded during the Ottoman period and it was very famous about the advanced teaching methods used by and under the supervision of its teacher and director Athanasios Psalidas. Since the liberation of Ioannina (1913) it functions as primary school.

April 1941 the Greek army receded with collapsing morale and black feelings, despite its victory, while the German army was conquering the country (Liaska A., 2002, 156). Immediately afterwards, the German administration (Majer F. Ch., 1995) divided Greece into three occupation zones: the German zone, the Italian zone and the Bulgarian zone. According to the protagonist of the National Resistance Manolis Glezos, the occupiers used *unjust war* characteristics in order to pin down the Greek people morale in the process of extermination of all those who resisted (Glezos, 2006, 232-303).

In Epirus the Germans conceived the idea of establishing the "Kingdom of Pindos", using as a means of splitting the region the propaganda on the Vlach minority, however the whole idea catapulted in the air due to the locals indifference (Glezos, 2006, 262). Similarly, they established many actions that were characterized as process of the extermination and were realized mainly through the use of the following methods: the use of the version of counterfeit banknotes and the massive version of dishonored banknotes, the coercion of loans, the participation of Germans in Greek businesses about 51%, the requisitions of the Greek buildings, the foreclosures of Greek properties, the lien and the forced labor, the grabs and the robberies oof the Greek wealth, the looting of works of art and of archaeological treasures and the devastation of everything that was Greek (Glezos, 2006, 263). Namely, the unleashed devastating inflation and the unprecedented and sustained bleeding in a very poor economy has contributed to creating scarcity of goods including food, resulting in higher prices and death of starvation of hundreds of thousands of people. (Antonakos, 2001, 77-78) (Figure 1) In the same field a significant political repression was implemented by Wermacht through collective executions and the total destruction of many villages. The "ripple" German casualties due to alleged illegal political involvement of the civilian population and the diffuse of a brutal treatment rumors of German prisoners, was the reason for the immediate implementation of measures so-called "lustration" (Papanastasiou & Fleischer, 2007, 130-131)

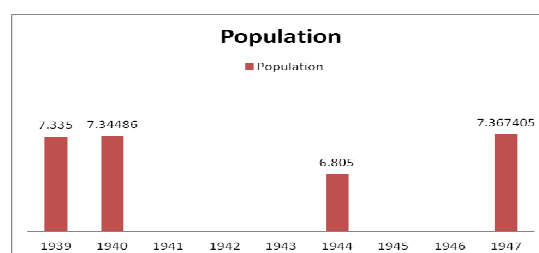


Figure 1: The population in Greece (1939-1947)

Immediately after the occupation, the Greek government recorded the casualties which found to be significant. The towns and villages that were destroyed by bombing, burning and depredation were 3700. The homeless people were 1.200.000 (18% of the total population). Lived in unsanitary conditions: 88.000 rural families within the ruins, 30.000 rural families in temporary housing, 16.000 rural families in semi-damaged houses, and 100.000 rural families lived in unsanitary conditions. 80.000 families sold their houses while 5000 school buildings destroyed or damaged. The destruction of houses and infrastructure in the region of Epirus was 36,20% and in the prefecture of Ioannina was 39,80%. (Doxiadis, 1946). Only in the mountainary area of Northern Pindus, in July 1944, 53 villages were totally burned and 160 inhabitants were executed (Antonakos 2001, 461) The occupiers justified their criminal actions by claiming that they tried to exterminate the extensive resistance movement (Voglis P., 2010) that existed throughout the country, namely, the important moments of the Greek National Resistance which was formed from the first days of the occupation and spread throughout across the country rapidly. All the years of occupation, the resistance movement was unprecedented, with constant conflicts, sabotage, destruction of material and substantial casualties for the occupying forces. After the capitulation of Italy in 1943, the undertakings of rebel groups against the Germans thickened. However, in the middle of 1943 the first elements of antagonism between the resistance organizations began to appear. The hunger, the repression and the enormous material damage combined with the effective extermination of Greek-Jewish community, were accompanied by a bloody struggle, which would culminate to a Civil War from 1946 to 1949 (Pentzopoulos Th., 2012, Zaousis L.A., 1992). The bulk of American aid, which in Western Europe was used for economic development, in Greece was earmarked for military purposes. (Clogg R., 2002, 170-171).

4. Education in Greece

Nine years of military operations had inevitably devastating effects on the structures and functioning of education. Dimaras stated that “the war, the occupation and the anomalies of the following years provoked not only serious disruption in the function of the schools, but they led to the complete dislocation of the system” (Dimaras, 1984, v’). Many school buildings were bombed, destroyed or requisitioned by the occupying forces. From the 8345 occupied school buildings, only 719 were left intact, while 1000 were burned or

demolished (Kstsikas & Therianos, 2007, 180). After the Civil War, 70% of the school buildings were totally or partly damaged, 90% of the school furniture was lost, 7% of teachers were killed while others kept in prison and 350.000 children had become orphans (Hatzistephanidis, 2005, 281). Those schools that remained open were intended more to employ children and to protect them from the dangers that threatened them than to offer education and medication. Soon they acted as food distribution centers (Dimaras A., 2013, 209) where teachers ringleadered in food preparation (Sakellariou H., 1984, 29). In March 1944 the Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA, 45/1944) reconstituted the Teachers' Federation of Greece (DOE) and recorded the data of the educational system where 3500 schools were closed (Sakellariou H., 1984, 41). On the other hand the Ministry of Education demanded: successive limitations of weekly hours, prohibition of written work and homework, deterioration, restriction or abolition of promotion examinations and introduction of the teaching of German and Italian. The respective teachers accepted special training and received allowance equal to 50% of their salary (Dimaras A., 2013, 209). In late 1945 the newspapers reported that many schools were not functioning due to lack of personnel, and noted that required immediate appointment of 1500 to 2500 teachers (Noutsos H., 2003, 110). Simultaneously, according to Noutsos (2003), the Third Way policies that were implemented by post-occupation government and were focused to solve two critical problems: the regime and the elections, exacerbated the issue of school operation establishing clearing committees in every prefecture provoking further unrest in education.

Moreover, school year 1940-41 lasted 3 months and school year 1941-42 only 20 days, more or less, in many areas of the country (Mazower, 1994, 140) and as the former Minister of Education Amandos concluded "the four years 1941-44 were equivalent to one prewar school year (Noutsos H., 2003, 86). The school buildings destruction and requisition led thousands of children to be excluded from any kind of school life. Children were barefoot, shorn entirely due to lice and many of them were orphans who were looking for a job to sustain themselves. Without school, family or any kind of discipline, many children turned into hard whelps (Archives DEA 4/24, 04.01.1944). The low students' attendance is also very clear in the statistic data of ESYE that made a comparison between the students in primary before the war and the students of secondary the last year of the Civil War where only 175.774 students attended high school. (Figure 2) (Dimopoulos, 1965). The difference is significant and that means that a big number of children never entered high school.

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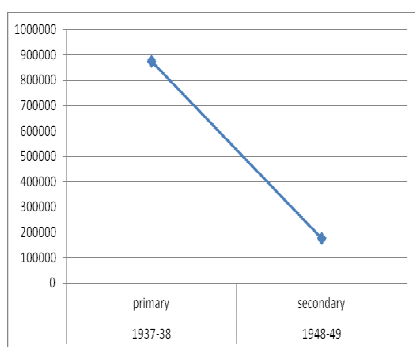


Figure 2. Students in Greek Schools

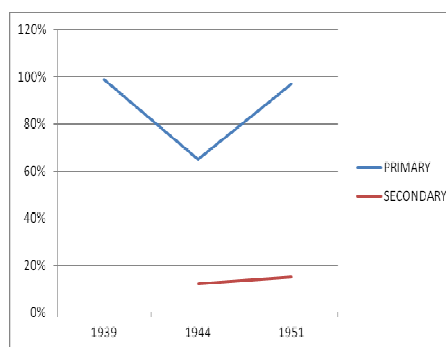


Figure3. Students in Primary and Secondary

Another source advocates that in 1939, 99% of children were studying in primary while this number was reduced in 1944 to 65%. In 1951 the number amounted at 97% of children. The attendance in secondary was very low. In 1944 a percentage of 12% is recorded while in 1951 it amounted at 15% which is still very low (Figure 3) (Hatzistefanidis 1990, 281). The numbers are implacable: according to the recorded data by ESYE in 1951, 25,7% of the population over 15 years old were illiterate and 36,7% were semi-illiterate which means that they did not graduate from primary school. Generally, the situation in education can be characterized “tragical” (Kyprianos, 2004, 270). The region of Ioannina suffered the hardships of war and the painful impact on the education of the population as the rest of Greece.

5. Education and war in Ioannina

The town of Ioannina, due to its northern-western location was a few kilometres from the Greek-Italian front and was heavily affected by the military operations. The witnesses referred to successive bombings, while on the 20th of April 1941, the Easter Sunday, the building of Zossimaia Pedagogical Academy that was transformed to a military hospital was bombed and more than 60 people died (Ntatsi A.E., 2006, 298). Further, in January of 1942, the town was covered by a thick layer of snow at least 50 cm thick while the temperature reached -12o C. The habitants’ life during the years 1941-42-43 was unbearable due to the cold weather while the basic food products had disappeared (Papaioannou K. G., 2006, 74-81). As Alexiou Alekos (88) witnesses, “*we had nothing to eat so we had to steal from our conquerors*”. The Germans entered the town during autumn of 1943 and on the 25th of March 1944 transported 1725 members of the Ioanninian Jewish community to German

concentration camps (Enepekidis K. P., 1996, 159) proceeding to its total annihilation. At the moment, the Jewish School named *Alliance Israelite Universelle* which, during the first year of the War, educated 301 students ceased its function (Nar A. L., 2009, 43). Whilst living in the town was difficult, on the other hand the National Resistance was rising in the environs. Later during the years of the Civil War military operations were also extensive (Mpalodimos, 2014).

Since the region of Epirus was at the heart of military operations for about 10 years, it was inevitable that the infrastructure and operation of education dramatically affected. As from the sources, the paper attempts here to reconstruct the past using as *informants* the teachers' recordings.

At the beginning of the new school year at the first year of World War II, the Head Teacher Christos Soulis (Z1/548/10.09.1940) of Zosimaia Model High School recorded that there were 5 teachers absent due to their enlisting in the Greek army 48 days before the outbreak of the Italian front. Later on November 2nd 1940 the Italian planes bombed the building of Zosimaia (Z1/561/10.02.1942) and according to the student Alexiou Alekos (88), *"the students were divided in different buildings in order to continue their lessons and everyone was waiting for the restoration. However students' parents were fearful of the constant bombings and insecurity that prevailed and did not send their children to school"*.

After the withdrawal of the Greek troops from the front and the Germans invasion by the end of April 1941, the looting of the file, library and the material of the School became unobstructed (Z1/561/10.02.1942). The inspector general of the 12th educational region ordered the appropriate measures for the preservation of the archives of the School and its material (Z1/816/12.08.1941). The order of material recording due to problems of the school building was executed in February 1942. According to the essay of Bistoglou Constantinos, teacher of physical education, which was presented in teachers' meeting in 10.02.1942 :*"a) the Archive of the School did not have any damage, because since the beginning of the war, was transferred and particularly the Books of General Competences and the Students' Catalogues in a safe place. Also neither the Titles of Enrollment of students nor the school board books of School Economical Committee have suffered damage, b) the library and the material of the School was seriously looted. Specifically there were missing: the costumes for the theatrical performances, 100 youth uniforms, 22 physics lab instruments, 107 chemistry lab instruments, 12 physical education instruments, 8 music instruments, 14 music instruments which belonged to the Youth Philharmonic Orchestra of Ioannina and books from the library. Desks, seats and some blackboards were destroyed. At the end of the teachers' meeting they warmly thanked the teachers Topalis Dimitrios and*

Fragoulis Odysseus because *“during those difficult days of the withdrawal of Greek troops, they made it possible to salvage and secure the teaching material and furniture due to the School Head Teacher absence in Athens...”* (Z1/561/10.02.1942).

It seemed that the adventure of Zosimaia Model High School did not end here. Right after the consolidation of the German occupation in Epirus and particular in Ioannina, the German authorities verbally ordered the Head Teacher to proceed into the evacuation of the basement of the bombed building of the School, as well as of the room of Physics and Chemistry, the Laboratory of Physics and the Natural History Museum of the School. The Economical Committee of the School which consisted by Kaloudis Giorgos, Lappas Vasileios and the Head Teacher Soulis Christos, met and found that was *“urgent need to protect and to save at least the library books and the remaining lab instruments of Physics and Chemistry, the teaching materials and other furniture and fixtures”*. The Committee decided to bear the costs of transport disbursing from the accounts of the School in the Agricultural Bank of Greece, the amount of 450,000 drachmas, placing the materials in a location deemed safe and appropriate (Z2/125/19.07.1943). After the transport the School building was transformed to prisons of the occupation authorities.

Thus it is deduced from the documents and records that by the time of the bombing and after, the lessons took place in various other buildings of the town without books, teaching materials as well as lab instruments of Physics and Chemistry, gymnastic and music instruments and cloakrooms. In the meeting of 24.01.1944 the same Committee evaluating that there were serious problems in teaching the different subjects decided to force students to *“a compulsory levy of 50,000 drachmas each”*(Z2/127/24.01.1944). Some months later they decided that *“due to the uncertainty of situation because of the debasement of drachma, we will not constitute the budget for the coming school year 1944-45, for the moment”* (Z2/130/25.07.1944).

The destruction of the building and the materials was significant and without any budget the leadership of the Zosimaia Model High School could not reverse the situation. In the Book of the Economical Committee the great difference of the balance sheets between the years 1940 and 1944-45 due to the uncontrolled inflation and the circulation of the uncovered banknotes was distinguished. Although the 1944 revenue is more than 20 times bigger than the revenue of 1940 in absolute numbers, the School Economical Committee could not cover the cost of School operation due to inflation. For the year 1941 there was no

budget since “the fund of the School cannot meet its requirements due to increased costs of the School and decides this month the monthly contributions of students to increase” (Z2/109/15.11.1941). The financial needs of the school returned to the prices that existed before the war in 1946, at which time the situation was normalized (Figure 4)

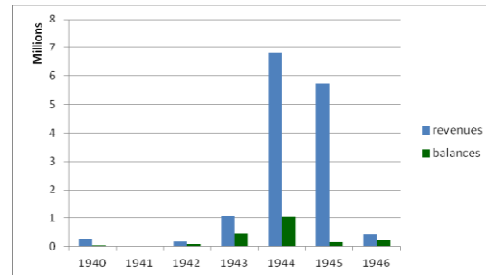


Figure 4: Zosimaia Model High School, Balance Sheets 1940-46

On the other hand the teachers' assembly had accepted and decided to record and to release the financial contribution of indigent students who, according to the benefactor's covenant, could not exceed 25% of the total students. Thus in April 1942, 124 students out of a total of 494 students were registered without tuition (Z1/568/27.04.1942). This had an adverse effect on the fund of the School during the crucial times of occupation. Simultaneously a serious disruption in the operation of each school year was recorded in the Book of Certification of Studies (Z3) (Table 1) while its smoothness returned during the school year 1947-1948.

School Year	Opening	Closure	School Year	Opening	Closure
1937-38	11.09.1937	10.09.1938	1944-45	14.01.1944	11.04.1945
1938-39	11.09.1938	10.09.1939	1945-46	12.04.1945	31.12.1945
1939-40	11.09.1939	10.09.1940	1946	01.01.1946	09.07.1946
1940-41	11.09.1940	10.01.1942	1946-47	10.07.1946	10.09.1947
1941-42	11.01.1942	09.01.1943	1947-48	11.09.1947	10.09.1948
1942-43	10.01.1943	02.10.1943	1948-49	11.09.1948	10.09.1949
1943-44	03.10.1943	13.01.1944	1949-50	11.09.1949	10.09.1950

Table 1: Zosimaia Model High School: Book of Certification of Studies (Z3)

The fact of the severe sub-operation of schools had been recorded also in the Students' Catalogues of the Kaplaneios School, the 1st Primary School and the 4th Primary

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School of Ioannina. In Kaplaneios School the school year 1943-44 ended on the 7th of April 1945, and the school year 1944-45 ended on the 7th of June 1945. In the 1st Primary School of Ioannina and in the 4th Primary School of Ioannina we record the disruption of studies in tables 2-3 below:

1 st Primary School of Ioannina, Students' Catalogues (E1)			4 th Primary School of Ioannina, Students' Catalogues (P1)		
School year	Opening	Closure	School year	Opening	Closure
			1938-39	11.09.1938	26.06.1939
1939-40	11.09.1939	30.06.1940	1939-40	11.09.1939	15.06.1940
1940-41	11.09.1940	20.12.1941	1940-41	11.09.1940	09.12.1941
1941-42	20.02.1942	20.12.1942	1941-42	No data	20.11.1942
1942-43	08.01.1943	12.06.1943	1942-43	No data	15.06.1943
1943-44	20.05.1944	10.04.1945	1943-44	No data	07.05.1945
1945	11.04.1945	20.09.1945	1945	No data	23.12.1945
1945-46	01.1946	30.06.1946	1946	02.01.1946	10.06.1946
			1946-47	11.09.1946	23.06.1947

Table 2 & 3: Students' Catalogues opening and closure in 1st Primary School of Ioannina and in 4th Primary School of Ioannina

It is observed from the data that school years differed significantly in their length. The exact numbers of days of the school function were not recorded nor how many students attended the classes daily. Another mark is related to the differences between schools which reveal that head teachers decided the days of function independently. The school year 1943-44 lasted more than 12 months while the school year 1945 lasted only 5 months. The only thing that is recorded in Books is the number of students that was enrolled in the schools and as from the Students' Catalogues almost all of them passed the following year. The data reveal a reduction in inscriptions during World War II, while during the Civil War the inscriptions were significantly increased. In Kaplaneios School a big number of transcriptions (106) from rural schools are observed, where in the same rhythm Zosimaia increased the issue of Certificates of study from 425 in 1950 to 838 in 1951. At the same time between

1947 and 1950 almost all of the rural schools that were located in mountainous areas suspended their function (Figure 5) while much of the rural population was transferred to inhabit in the town. Alexiou Alekos (88) remembers that *“during the Civil War years the western side of the town of Ioannina was filled with makeshift constructions of tar paper in which were installed the people from the villages that were guerilla-affected”*. Marou Freideriki (72) witnesses that *“my village Anthracites was totally burned by the Nazis and after that was in the centre of the Civil War, I should have attended the 1st year in 1948, my first day at school was in September of 1950 while the teacher used for classroom a roofed area in the damaged church”*.

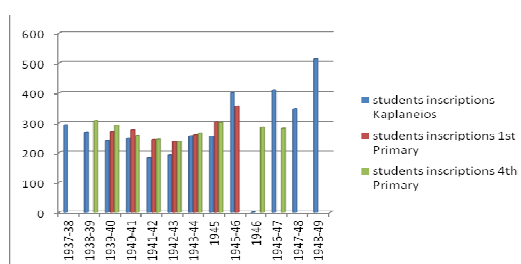


Figure 5: Students' Inscriptions in Kaplaneios Primary School, 1st Primary School and 4th Primary School of Ioannina

To sum up, the affection of the war on education can be described as follows: the building of Zosimaia Model High School was destroyed, the library and the material was looted, students attended lessons in different buildings without material, the Economical Committee was incompetent to cover the cost of school operation, the length of school years varied significantly, teaching was degraded and the years of Civil War students' inscriptions increased enormously. Teachers' professionalism prevailed through difficult times and despite the *unjust war* affections on educational structures they proceed to actions in order to preserve their dynamic role of society *educationalization*. They continued teaching even under difficult circumstances and they focused on the safekeeping of schools material, while they tried to absorb students' transcriptions from the rural areas. In Kaplaneios School, the 1st Primary School and the 4th Primary School irregular school operation is observed and large students' inscriptions the years after 1947, while in rural schools for example as Monodendri Primary School and Elafotopos Primary School, students were transported in Ioannina or other towns and abandoned their villages due to the military operations (Figures 6 & 7)

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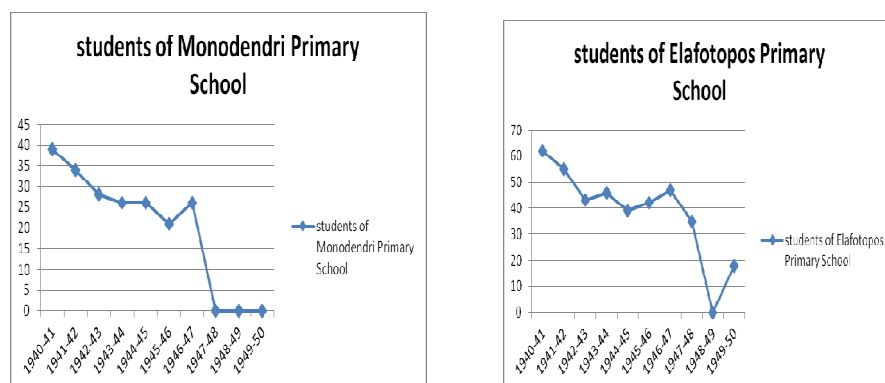


Fig. 6: Students of Monodendri Primary School Fig. 7: Students of Elafotopos Primary School

The analysis of our findings is verified by the data of two other educational institutions: the Zosimaia Pedagogical Academy and the Commercial School of Ioannina. The Zosimaia Pedagogical Academy was the town's supreme cultural institution since those years the University had not yet been established. As its building was bombed by the Axis in 1941, the Academy was housed temporarily from 1941 to 1944 in the old school building. The inscriptions were varied significantly during the years of the war: 227 students in academic year 1942-43, no students in 1943-44, 12 students in 1944-45 and 157 students in 1945-46 (Kitsou I. K., 1988, 278). In the Book of Minutes of Teaching Staff (109/15.09.1941), the looting of the Academy's material and the installation of the German troops within the building is recorded (Kitsou I.K., 1988, 361). In the other institution, the Commercial School, where students received specialized education under a six years program of studies, a serious malfunction is observed. The school year 1942-43 graduated 19 students while there was an interruption of studies the school years 1943-44 and 1944-45. During 1945-46 there were two graduation seasons: the first on January 1946 for the graduates of 1945 and the other on June 1946 for the graduates of 1945-46 (Zakkas P.K., 2004).

The situation in Ioannina, as was formulated at the end of the Civil War, was similar to that of other cities of Epirus and Macedonia, due to the military operations in the mountains. Mountainous Greece was deserted, the inhabitants moved to urban centers and schools were closed. In our analysis in this article we do not deal with the events and those responsible nor the mass-kidnapping issue and its parameters, but with the final outcome and the results that affected the children of the time. As so the difficult social and economical situation led many of the students to be excluded from school lessons, to remain illiterate or semi-illiterate and to get involved to the economical upgrade of their families. Vasdekis Nikos (84) witnesses that *"I lived my childhood in my village in Zagori and I joined the*

primary school before World War II, I passed difficult times during the Civil War". Vatavali Elektra (79) refers that "I lived with my family in my village Vitsa and attended the primary years from 1 to 5 in the village school from 1941 to 1947. The school building was bombed by Italians and 2 people died and a student was injured. In 1947 the school suspended its function and my family was transported to Ioannina, we were called guerilla-affected and we habited a house where 25 people lived together, with the Church's aide. In the streets we were seeing many orphans." Although the orphans were estimated at the end of the Civil War about 340.000, the official government from the one side and the "mountain government" on the other side contributed to the "salvation" of not more than 60.000 children (Vervenioti T., 2004), which received education and advanced their destiny although they lived far away from their families. The way of salvation and actions of each government were completely different due to different worldview and different ideological perceptions.

The children's transfer, according to the communists, was to protect children, according to their rivals to be trained in a new Janissary mass kid-napping (Clogg R., 2002, 168). In fact, in propaganda war, children were valuable tools. By royal decree was established the Charity "Providence Northern Provinces of Greece" (10.07.1947) in order to assist the government under the supervision and the direction of Queen Freideriki. They proceed in the erection of the Institution of Paidopolis with 53 establishments to host unprotected children and orphans. Charity reported that 18.000 children were hosted to these institutions while the archives of the Communist Party estimated that 25-28.000 children were transported to eastern European countries (Vervenioti T., 2004), where according to the Red Cross 2000 of them were sent to the fronts of Civil War and many ended up in detection camps and prisons (Marantzidis N., 2012).



Identity card from Paidopolis, 1950

Homer Vasdekis (74) child at the time narrates that *“hundreds of children, in one night, left from Zagori villages because the information that everyone had and was real, referred that the raid for the mass kidnapping of children was coming. It was the year 1947, where the catastrophic Civil War, had swept the whole country and especially the region of Epirus”*. His family moved south to Preveza and he was introduced more south in the Paidopolis of Patras where he stayed for a year and was moved then to the Paidopolis of Agrinio and at last to the Paidopolis of Zeros in Preveza.

All the adults that participated in this inquiry pointed out the dramatic effects of war on their lives, and mostly, the limited education that they were administered. They believe that an advanced level of education would have changed their destiny and would have given them another quality of life experiences.

6. Conclusions

World War II and the Greek Civil War changed the social and economical standards in Greece and especially in the town of Ioannina where the effects were disastrous. The excesses of the Nazis in the mountainous region of Ioannina, but also in purely urban areas, portrayed the image of an *aggressive* and *unjust* war which did not obey in standards of civilian population protection. On the other hand, the Civil War showed its savage face to the young children, as many of them were transferred away from their homes for ideological purposes by both rival factions.

As education is in constant interaction with society the war conflicts made teachers and students life difficult. The educational institutions were subfunctioned, school buildings were seriously damaged, teaching was degraded, children suffered from social exclusion and school failure while they attended fewer average years of education.

While reconstructing the past and especially the educational process by the *informants*, the teachers' intervention and effort to save the schools' property, to continue teaching under poor educational environment and to protect their students, is apparent. Sometimes teaching was realized in other buildings and sometimes students were not participating due to the hostilities. At the end of the examined decade the urban schools had had their school population tripled as many students were transferred by the conflict from mountainous areas, although the number of teachers was reduced and this provoked

serious teaching problems. At this point, teachers established strategies in order to feel the reward of an *educational practitioner* and to cope with their over-crowded classes. As soon as the schools reopened and re-functioned properly, they regained their aims to establish their integral *educationalized* component of society. As for those children who lost their chance for attending their lessons, their lives were enormously affected as their poor educational level excluded them from a great range of professions. As the war destroyed the economy and the infrastructure of the area and changed its future, some of them immigrated in other parts of Greece, abroad even in Germany, for creating a better future.

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