

## European Policies on Gender Equality and their Connection to Gender Mainstreaming in Greek Educational Policies: An Overview of Policy Texts.

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### Abstract

*A good educational course for women is not connected to their work and career choices after High school and/or University; therefore the perspective that gender equality issues –especially in education- have been resolved, cannot be supported as the gendered profession and career choices are continuing. This is the case for EU and for Greece. The aim of the following article is to retrospect European and Greek policies about gender equality and particularly the incorporation of gender mainstreaming through an overview of policy texts.*

(Gender mainstreaming, educational gender policies, EU-Driven)

### 1. Introduction

The initial concern about the concept of gender mainstreaming came from the author's participation in the Educational Policies to Address Social Inequalities in Europe program, the target of which was to analyse educational programs regarding vulnerable groups in 14 European countries. In that particular study, as far as programs who targeted gender mainstreaming are concerned, it was observed that even though Member States<sup>1</sup> had been given certain guidelines about applying policies, their design, implementation and results varied from country to country, as well as framework to framework. (Spinthourakis et al., 2009). This overview focuses on the field of education and carried out through studying policy texts.

According to the European study "Eurydice" about the differences in educational choices due to gender in Europe, the professional field of Health and Care is dominated by women graduates by 76%. Women primarily choose humanities by 70% and social and law studies by 60%, while scientific studies are chosen by men by 60% (Eurydice, 2010). In the last exposition about "Responsible positions of women in education" of the Gender Secretariat of Gender Equality of Greece it is stated that there are still scientific fields and professions in Greece that are considered masculine or feminine in nature (G.S.G.E., 2018: 1-3).

As the beginning of Gender policies in Greece, we can consider 1975 constitution, in which for the first time equality between men and women was established. In article 4 par. 2 of the Constitution it is stated that "Greek man and Greek women have the same rights and obligations". Developments that have emerged since 1980 in the field of gender policies are due both to women's organizations which have been strongly politicized and have acted as important pressure-makers, as well as to Greece's entrance to the EU (Papadiamadaki & Riga, 2003, Ziogou-Karasgiriou & Deligianni-Kouimtzi, 1998)

### 2. Methodology

The overview presented here is a part of a research which was used for a doctoral study about the policy transfer of European education gender policies to the Greek education system. In order to do so we collected all the Communications of the European Commission about gender issues, from the beginning of the European gender policies (1956) until 2015 – which was the end of the study- and we collected all the Greek policy texts concerning the same issue.

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<sup>1</sup> Belgium, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg, Malta, Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom. ([www.epasi.eu](http://www.epasi.eu))

The research was qualitative and content analysis was used in order to analyze and cross – compare all the policy texts in relation to gender equality and gender mainstreaming. In this paper we will focus on some of the policy texts which were analyzed (Iosifidis, 2018).

The studying of policy texts about gender equality in Europe and Greece offers the necessary knowledge to professionals that are dealing with gender equality matters and implement policies about gender (e.g. social workers, educators) so that they can understand policies and their development course and view the target of a policy which they are called to act upon.

### 3.1 European Union and gender mainstreaming

European policies about gender equality begin in 1957 in the 119<sup>th</sup> article of Rome's treaty. Since then, different approaches on their planning and manifestation have followed. The main three are: the "equal treatment of men and women" (equal treatment perspective), the regard of women as a "minority group" (women's perspective/ specific action) and the "approach of gender mainstreaming" (gender perspective) (Booth and Bennet, 2002).

The gender mainstreaming strategy that is leading internationally in planning and applying policies, is a production of an international network of academical and political supporters of governmental feminism. The perceptions of this network found resonance in the 4<sup>th</sup> Women's worlds Conference of the UN in Beijing 1995 at which the Action Platform of Beijing was approved by the participating states (and also the E.U.) (Woodward, 2003). According to Daly (2005) the relative bibliography focuses on the essence of G.M. as a political strategy which functions additionally and does not replace the previous policies of equality, laws about equal treatment and positive actions (Stratigaki, 2005). According to Booth and Bennet (2002) when it comes to the E.U., the approach of equal treatment of women is promoted through the publication of Instructions with which the national law ought to be in harmony. Finally, the approach of gender is promoted through gender mainstreaming. The application of this approach entails from the incorporation of the gender mainstreaming strategy as a horizontal action in the context of "soft" regulative methods such as the European Employment Strategy and the Open Method of Coordination.

From 1996 and on, the E.U. adopted a Dual-track Approach, which was gender mainstreaming and the parallel application of specific actions, realizing that gender policy was a field of horizontal action. The Member States were called to develop relative policies, following certain guidelines, so that they can achieve the Union's goals.

The adoption of gender mainstreaming did not have the same development, neither did it wield the same impact on each Member State. According to researchers the application of G.M. in the Member States differs from the E.U. goals in many cases, as differs the point given in the concept of G.M. (horizontal strategy, tool, target) (Woodward, 2008, Van der Vleuten, 2007, Pantelidou- Malouta, 2007, Zippel, 2006, Rubery, 2002). The approval of the strategy by the Member States can be seen as a positive development when it comes to gender policies, according to Verloo (2005: 12) though, the problems that arose in the process of applying such measures in E.U. context but mainly in national context, are numerous. Following the same rationale, Braithwaite (2005), in the boundaries of the EQUAPOL study, mentions that the development of the G.M. policy is "slow and uneven" (Braithwaite, 2005: 2) in the Member States.

For the next five years the Commission, with its Declaration in 2000, submitted a Community Framework Strategy for Gender Equality (2001-2005), which was the Fifth Medium-term Action Program for equality between men and women (European Commission, 2000). The 5<sup>th</sup> M.A.P. designates, even by its title solely, the approach which it follows, using the term "gender equality" instead of "equality of opportunities", which was until then used in all titles of relative community texts and at the same time expresses the content which the E.U. attributes as a strategy in G.M. According to Woodward (2003), the policy on gender equality had faced severe criticism from women's organizations of all parties that participated in the European Parliament and from the European Women's Lobby about the one-sided use of G.M. The new context strategy followed the dual-track approach that the E.U. had adopted the previous years. The field of education, in this presented context strategy, gathers more attention than older political texts.

During the same period of the 5<sup>th</sup> M.A.P. forming, the synod of Lisbon takes form, in which the Lisbon Strategy was espoused, on which quantitative, achievable goals were based in different fields of Union policy until 2010. Between those goals is also the one regarding the increase of female occupation, from a then 51% to a 60% up until 2010. To achieve the goals of the Strategy a new method of implementation was adopted, called the Open Method of Coordination (O.M.C.)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> In an effort to briefly describe OMC, we can say that firstly, leading instructions are defined for a field of political direction at E.U. level, which are later specified by indicators and benchmarks and time diagrams are compiled for their achievement. The Member States transform these instructions into national and regional policy, by taking relative measures that are described in the National Action Plans, suitable for each country. Lastly, there is the observation, checking and evaluation of

In its Announcement, the Commission, justifying the choice of “soft” methods on gender topics, as the E.E.S. and the O.M.C., emphasizes the fact that the differences that appear between Member States in the application of each policy are significant, therefore the Community too will not attempt to continue any actions and measures which, because of the time they require and their nature, can be achieved efficiently in a national, regional and local level. This way it sets the Member States to responsibly organize, manifest and succeed with their policies. Researchers underline that since 2003, the interest of the E.U. in gender equality appears to have decreased, mentioning as an example that in 2003 the fourth pillar about equality of opportunities “vanished” and gender equality was transformed into one of the 10 guidelines. (Woodward & Van Der Vleuten, 2014, Smith & Villa, 2010, Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2009, Jenson, 2008, Walby, 2004, Rubery et al, 2004, Rubery et al, 2003).

The decrease of attention in gender-centered topics in the E.U. is also connected to the content that is referred developmentally to its essence. The relationship that was developed within the European policy between GM and the “soft” methods, E.E.S. and the O.M.C., contributed to it being considered as an organization tool (Sarikakis & Thao Nguen, 2009). According to Woodward (2008), gender mainstreaming has survived as a technique to form horizontal policies. However, its attribution as an approach that calls the policy designers to follow a gender approach with the aim of fighting against gender inequality, which is endlessly reproduced through structures and systems, has been lost.

Continuing the 5<sup>th</sup> M.A.P., in 2006 the European Commission published the Communication about “The roadmap for equality between women and men” which included the planning of policies regarding gender equality, for the years 2006-2010. The Roadmap, as early as the introduction paragraph, points out the part that the Member States are called to play in the achievement of the Commission’s set goals. Specifically, it is mentioned that the Commission cannot achieve these goals by itself, since in many fields the core is located at Member State level. (European Commission, 2006: 2).

When it comes to fields that are not directly or indirectly related to employment, the one that appears to be strengthened is violence against women, as well as the development of measures for the protection of women that belong to minority groups of the population (e.g. Immigrants). Education continues to be considered as a way to fight stereotypes about gender roles and the gender segregation in occupation. One significant point that was added, regarding the previous texts, is the reference on facing the early dropping out of school, mainly by boys. At the same time, in this text takes place a connection between the issue of equal rewards and stereotypes and choice of profession, setting the educational policy field as important for fighting the pay-gap between men and women too (i.b., 2006).

In the 'Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015', five priority areas are defined: equal economic independence, equal pay for equal work and work of equal value, equality in decision-making, dignity - integrity and ending violence based on gender and gender equality in external actions. Horizontal actions, which include gender roles, legislation, governance and gender tools, are the sixth sector. Reports in the field of education are substantially reduced in this text. The introduction recognizes the impact of gender roles on women's life choices and relates to education (European Commission, 2010).

The Strategy focuses on gender segregation in the work field and the issue of equal pay and the passing through education into the labour market. However, it is not directly connected to the educational system, like it was in previous texts. (i.b., 2010: 7). Education is noted in the 6<sup>th</sup> field, in the horizontal actions, regarding gender roles. It is remarkable that there is not a reference to education as a way of defeating stereotypes (i.b., 2010:12). Such a connection can be found in the European Pact on Equality that follows.

In 2011 the European Union Council improves the European Pact on Equality 2011-2020, in the light of the “Europe 2020” strategy, recognizing that “*the equality between women and men is a fundamental principle of the European Union*” (Official Newspaper of the European Union, 2011). In this Pact, which is a brief text of 2 pages, the Council requests for measures to be taken by the Member States to defeat gender segregation in the labour market, which will regard the: “*elimination of gender-based stereotypes and promotion of gender equality in all educational levels and employment, as well as in the working life, so that the diversion based on gender in the labour market can be limited.*” (i.b., 2011: 12).

The description above, which is offered to us by documents of the European Commission, highlights the criticism that takes place around the E.U. gender policies. These policies are being led, during each time course, by the economic policy of the European Union and were mainly developed as sub-assisting measures to the employment policy (Woodward & Van der Vleuten, 2014, Grosser, 2009, Jenson, 2008, Fagan, Grimshaw & Rubery, 2006, Bruno, Jacquot, & Mandin, 2006, De la Porte, 2002, Rubery, 2002).

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them, as a mutual student process, through which good practices and action models are recognized, interchanged and effused. (Szyzszak, 2006, De la Porte, 2002).

The reconstructive content of the GM policy, in the shape with which it had entered the Action Platform of Beijing, did not survive in community policies (Woodward, 2003). During its development GM was used as an alternative term for equality in opportunities policies and in the end as a tool of horizontal policies (Woodward, 2008, Bruno et al, 2006, Daly, 2005). Woodward and Van der Vleuten (2014:78) claim that the European Union functioned, after Beijing, as a mean of transmitting and transferring a policy of the United Nations and not as an inventor of this policy. In parallel, they claim that the embodiment of gender mainstreaming in the Amsterdam Treaty had something to do with the prospect of the entrance of Austria, Sweden and Finland in the E.U. in 1995, countries that had stood critically against the lack of social and gender dimension in community policies and continue the criticism around the Treaties mentioning that even if the obligation to embody gender equality has a “tough” base in the Treaties, this duty lacks power since there are no punishments in the case of no measures being taken by the Member States (Woodward & Van der Vleuten, 2014:72).

The undoubtedly positive effects of the European gender policy, are linked to the impact it had on Member States that had no previous tradition of such policies and whose commitment to the leading tracks of the E.U. was the driving force for the improvement of the life of women. The responsibility of the Member States is noted particularly in the policy texts of the Commission from 2006 and on (European Commission, 2009, European Commission, 2008, European Commission, 2006). On one side, this mattered since the approval of “soft” setting methods needs the Member States to take actions, on the other side, it brings out the lack of political will and a resistance of the Member States to persevere on actions for gender equality (Woodward, 2008). Whatever followed is linked to expanding GM in action fields that did not relate directly or indirectly to employment and to the avoidance of its use as a mean that would finally work against women. Used as an excuse of why positive actions in favour of women were decreasing, it mainly came from pressure applied in the contexts of the E.U. from female groups of the European Parliament, the European Lobby of Women and the individual efforts of female politicians (Pantelidou- Malouta, 2007, Stratigaki, 2005, Stratigaki, 2003, Woodward, 2003, Booth and Bennett, 2002, Woodward, 2001). If we spectate the course of E.U. policies we can see that what came next has happened after the intervention of international organizations such as UN and women’s organizations. Additionally, it is visible that in the last ten years there have not been significant alterations to the targeting of the European Commission.

The first change, which was the approval of positive measures in the first two M.A.P. during 1980-1990, comes at the time of the ratification of the International Convention on Elimination of Segregations on women’s expense of UNO in 1979, in which the policy of positive actions is also officially accepted. Pressure of women’s organizations led to the incorporation, as an intervention field, of “the participating of women in the process of decision making” in the 3<sup>rd</sup> M.A.P. during 1990-1995, so that it can “vanish” in the Announcement of the Commission 96/97 and come back as a main target in the 5<sup>th</sup> M.A.P., after the Parliament’s reaction. Even the so-called Dual-Track Approach, which is the main approach followed by the E.U. since 1998, is a result of pressure that emerged as a reaction to the specific announcement of the Commission (Stratigaki, 2005). The pressure however was not proven enough to decrease the direct dependence of the development of gender policy on the economic policy.

### **3.2. European policies in Greece: a fair copy?**

Researchers claim that in Greece there is a model of policies that is exclusively led by the guidelines of the E.U. (Pantelidou-Malouta, 2007, Stratigaki, 2006, Braithwaite, 2005, Stratigaki et al, 2004).

Up until 1980, the handling of the “gender equality” issue was based on article 4, par. 2 of the 1975 Constitution in which it was mentioned that “Greek men and women have equal rights and responsibilities” as well as basic law alterations related to family law, maternity protection and the legal action against rape (Stratigaki M., 2006, Papayiannopoulou et al., 2005, Papadiamantaki et al., 2003). The law settings that followed were an attempt of the Greek government to bring together the national Law and Community Instructions, based upon which the principle of equal treatment of women regarding rewards, work, professional training and social insurance.

Another example of the role played by the E.U. in promoting policies about gender, regardless of their successful or unsuccessful application, is the foundation of groups such as the G.S.G.E. (General Secretariat for Gender Equality) and the R.C.E.I. (Research Center on Equality Issues) in 1985 and 1989 respectively. It should be noted however that the main function of those but also of other groups surrounding the application of equality policies had just only begun in 1994. In 1994 the promotion of equality of opportunities for men and women was established, though optionally, for the first time, through all the European Structural Funds (EYSECT, 2003). The G.S.G.E. as well as R.C.E.I. will depend their function and actions on the events in European Policy about gender and the funds of the Structural Funds

for Community Programs (Stratigaki, 2006). The new regulations of the Amsterdam Treaty<sup>3</sup> and especially the recognition of positive measures with article 141, created the circumstances to legalize and promote actions on the Member States' part. In Greece, this development was marked by the revision of article 116 of the Constitution in 2001, where the positive measures in favour of the under-represented gender to achieve real equality was recognized (Papayianopoulou & Paparouni, 2005, YPESDA, 2004).

In the boundaries of the E.U. developments with the adoption of the European Strategy for Employment in 1997, mainly with the targets set during the Lisbon Process in 2000 (increase of women occupation at 60% until 2010), the economic and political dimension of gender equality was promoted in Greece as well (YPESDA, 2004, Papayianopoulou et al, 2008). The Greek governments, following the lead of E.U., designed two action programs about gender equality: the "National Action Program on Equality (2001-2006)" and the "National Policy Priorities and Action Axle on Gender Equality (2004-2008)". The texts above did not just go after the targets described in the corresponding European ones, but they adopted the dual-track approach specifically. Of all the actions and measures that were proclaimed in that examined period, very few followed the approach of gender mainstreaming. In the respective texts it is mentioned as a target in visible fields, such as education and occupation. (Stratigaki, 2006, Braithewaite, 2005).

As for the changes in the social insurance field, the Greek laws met the Instructions 86/37/EEC and 96/97/EK which regard the equal treatment of men and women in the professional systems of social insurance (i.b., 2005). The effect of the policies of the E.U. on the retirement policy is judged by Braithewaite (2005) as weak and in many cases negative regarding gender equality, especially when it comes to the retirement system. Policies regarding violence and sexual harassing against women in Greece are discussed in the light of human rights, which is why most of the time women are mentioned along with immigrants and children in relative texts, and not so much in the light of gender inequality. (Hadjiyanni & Kamoutsi, 2005). In the context of promoting women in the decision-making centers, it was propelled by the laws 2839/2000 and 2910/2001, based on which a participation of women at least by 1/3 in the service councils and the collective bodies of public organizations was foreseen as well as in the voting ballots of the Prefectural and Municipal elections, although without the existence of any forecast about the parliamentary elections (Stratigaki, 2006, G.S.G.E., 2005).

The education field, in context of the European and Greek policy on gender, is linked to women's training to be enrolled in the labour market, the combating of stereotypes and the vocational guidance for girls, so that the segregation in the work environment can be defeated. To serve that purpose, special programs for stereotypical beliefs were organized emphasizing on primary education, educational manuals and vocational guidance in school. (Deliyanni Kouimgi et al, 2008). The education field had fertile grounds to offer for the application of the embodiment of gender dimension in all relative policies and compared to other fields, it is presented to be the one on which was attempted to apply the "dual-track approach". Nevertheless, according to Braithewaite (2005) and Stratigaki (2004), because of the group of promoting actions in education being the Structural Funds, the groups that were loaded with their planning and implementation were functioning without synchronizing themselves with other actions and services of the Ministry. As a result, the planning of action had no long-term results.

If we try to evaluate the governmental proclamations of that period, we realize that among the measures that were taken, very few follow the approach of gender mainstreaming, even if it is a crucial element of the governmental texts. The reason for this is that there is no national policy on gender equality but gender mainstreaming is considered a target in different fields of policy control. (Stratigaki, 2006, Braithewaite, 2005).

### **3.2 3d Community Support Framework - Operational Program of Education and Initial Professional Training II (EPEAEK II)**

The development of positive action measures and programs for gender equality, did not just happen along the 3d C.S.F., but is a direct result of it (General Secretariat for Equality, 2010). Up until 1999 gender mainstreaming, in the application of Operational Programs was optional (General Secretariat for Equality, 2004). However, in the boundaries of the 3d C.S.F., gender mainstreaming was a horizontal principal and duty of the Member States during the planning and application of the Operational programs, during the period (2000-2006) (Papayianopoulou et al., 2008, General Secretariat for Equality, 2004, EYSEKT, 2003).

Specifically for Greece, it is mentioned as a strategical target, apart from the decrease of the long-term unemployment of women, the increase of the percentage of women's occupation at 50%, so that it comes closer to the respective European average (Papayianopoulou et al, 2008, EYSEKT, 2003).

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<sup>3</sup> Gender mainstreaming is established in the Amsterdam Treaty with articles 2 and 3. Also established are the equality of treatment and the promotion of special measures for women with article 141.

In this framework the country was bound to the planning and implementation of complete programs in favour of women in all political fields (education, occupation, care, operation, research, technology), which, as commented by Stratigaki (2006: 290), are linked directly or indirectly to the labour market. This direction towards actions regarding the improvement of women's position in the labour market, is considered to be a result of the effect the targets of the European Social Fund had in the total of the 3d CSF (General Secretariat for Equality, 2004). To serve this goal there was a set percentage of the financing of the total fund of the European Social Fund, 11.8%, to be invested exclusively on programs that target policies for equality of opportunities between men and women (Papayianopoulou et al, 2008, EYSECT, 2003).

This setting promoted actions for gender equality in fields that had received no similar interest during the previous years. One example is the attempt of Research Center for Equality to incorporate the Operational Program for Education and the Initial Professional Training I (1996-2000), a setting program for the education of teachers in regards of gender. However, after the new regulation of the financing by the 3d Community Support Framework, the Ministry of Education was urged to incorporate the training programs for teachers and to include the equality of opportunities between women and men in targets, in planning and in implementation of the EPEAEK II (Deliyianni- Kouimgi & Ziogou, 2007).

According to Papayianopoulou et al (2008), the education field was promoted as a vital bearer of development, especially after the Lisbon Synod in 2000, in which it was noted that the target for 2010 is to claim Europe "*the most competitive and strongest economy of knowledge worldwide*". In this way, in the Operational Program of Education and Initial Professional Training II, gender equality was a horizontal action in all five axes of priorities.

In Greece the gender policies in education were linked to the concept of equal opportunities and the equal entry of girls in the educational system, problems that had already been resolved since the '80s (Delliyianni- Kouimgi & Ziogou, 2008, Papadiamantaki et al., 2004, Stratigaki et al, 2004, Ziogou- Karastergiou & Deliyianni- Kouimgi, 1998). The decreased interest, the lack of political will by the Ministry of Education, as well as the general lack of tradition in planning national policy on gender equality, were main factors for the delay in developing such policies (Stratigaki et al, 2004, Papadiamantaki et al, 2004). The effects of the E.U. policies in the education field were immediate, following with consistency along the community guidelines, something that of course promoted the connection between the educational system and the labour market. According to Stratigaki (2004: 186), the funding of EPEAEK II from the European Structural Funds and the clause that a part of the money would be invested in actions on gender equality, "opened a window of opportunities" for the planning and implementation of relative actions in the educational field (Stratigaki et al, 2004).

This direct relation between the development of the policies on gender equality and the funding of the 3d C.S.F. is a result of political pressure on behalf of the E.U. This fact had a positive effect when it comes to the adoption of policies that did not yet exist until 2000. On the other side there was the possibility that these actions would be fragmentary and would come to an end when the relative funding does too, since they are not connected to a national policy on gender equality (Deliyianni- Kouimgi & Ziogou, 2008, Stratigaki et al, 2004).

The next text about programming policies on gender mainstreaming is the "National Program for the substantial gender equality 2010-2013", in which the suggestions and programs on equality by the General Secretariat for Gender Equality on those three years are registered. This certain program was followed until 2015. The methods that seem to be used are the dual-track approach, horizontal interferences throughout the public policy and specialized policies, as it is suggested by UNO and the European Commission. The relation of international and European policies on gender (UNO and European Commission) is noted in the entire programming text. Apart from the suggested legal regulations, which emphasized on family law and combating violence against women and specialized policies<sup>4</sup>, gender mainstreaming is especially emphasized as a strategy using certain tools, as it is described in the Beijing Action Platform and is specialized in Communications of the European Commission and not as a target that was understood in previous programming. The above text is the proof of an effort to transfer policy from the European to the Greek level (even if we are still analyzing and meditating upon texts and proclamations).

What is intriguing in this particular article are the remarks and suggestions regarding the Ministry of Education in the current text. It is remarkable that after the plenty of educational programs regarding gender equality and funded by the 3d CSF and incorporated in the EPEAEK II, the lack of reviews in the educational field is visible. The National Program on Gender Equality, in the description of specialized actions, even if it mentions and pinpoints the prevention and combating of stereotypes, it connects them to the interferences in the Media and the use of art and culture.

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<sup>4</sup> Violence against women, protection of women that bear a lot of discrimination, reproductive and sexual health, women's occupation, promoting women in decision-making centers, combating stereotypes through the media, arts and culture.

The reference on education is done in the description of the horizontalization of the policies, the gender mainstreaming policies, hence the Ministry of Education too (General Secretariat for Gender Equality, 2010).

At the same time with the text regarding national programming on equality, we mentioned the Operational Program of Lifelong Learning and Education, Programming Period 2007-2013 (YPEPTH, 2007) for reviews around gender. The issue of gender policies appears as a field in which many problems have been resolved. It is specifically mentioned that *“The analysis of the indicators about gender equality in the educational system resents that the inequalities between men and women, when it comes to the participation of women in education, have been eliminated by a large percentage, mainly because of the fast rhythms of increase of women’s participation in education.”* (i.b., 2007: 104).

The 2007-2013 Programming of the Ministry of Education at the same time mentions that *“the challenges on education regarding women in this country do not concern the educational level and their participation in all educational levels (excluding doctoral training and their participation as higher education professionals), but mainly the connection between education and the requirements of the labour market and Lifelong Learning”* (YPEPTH, 2007: 104). Only in this way can it be claimed that there is a gap in gender policies relative to the policies on gender in education and the effect they have in the occupation field, although this is the main target that permeates all the efforts of policies application by the E.U. from their very beginning.

The lack of policies in the education field is perceived also in the concluding observations during the 7<sup>th</sup> periodical expedition that Greece filed to the Committee of Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of the UN. In that particular text CEDAW mentions that the country manages to implement programs co-funded by the European Union and concludes in the statement that the *“expedition was not compiled through a cooperative process and that neither the governmental organizations nor the Parliament took part in the total process.”* (CEDAW, 2013:1)

It is also discussed that the combating of gendered stereotypes is the main goal of the European Commission (suggesting policies in education): *“The Commission also expresses their concern about the fact that, until now, the contracting country has not taken permanent measures so that the stereotypes and the negative traditional principals and actions can be eliminated.”* (CEDAW, 2013:5). The utilization of educational programs and the role of the educator, as a mean of defeating gender inequality, is also linked to the confrontation of violence against women, the prevention of the low quality level of participation of women in the technical-professional field and the traditional career choices, as well as the participation of women in decision-making centers. CEDAW and its conclusions may not be binding for a government, but can give us a bigger picture of gender policies in each country.

The most recent development regarding educational gender policies took place in primary education. In July of 2015 a covenant of cooperation was signed by the MINISTRY OF EDUCATION and the G.S.G.E. about the planning and implementation of actions that will target the sensitization and training of educators on equality matters and gendered discrimination regarding nursery and primary schooling educators (G.S.G.E., 2015). This action is co-funded by the European social Fund and according to the G.S.G.E. it was implemented in the second semester of 2015. (<http://www.isotita.gr/index.php/news/2270>).

The most recent policy text is the National Action Plan for Gender Equality 2016-2020 in which actions that can be beneficial for men and women are resurrected. However, they are only proclamations at this point. A remarkable mention regarding education is the recognition that the interconnection of gender equality and education is an issue that remains unresolved even though there has been a decrease in gender inequalities, gendered discrimination and stereotypical choices are produced, reproduced and reassured in social practices. The existing gender segregation in employment and respectively the inequalities that come up, are spotted and reflected in the educational environment during the whole educational process and educational levels. Greek policies are characterized by a constant effort to harmonize itself with the European leading lines. As entails from the study of basic elements of Greek policy of gender its denomination as led by the E.U. (Stratigaki, 2006, Braithwaite, 2005, Stratigaki, 2004) is valid especially in a context of law and proclamations of governments where an exact re-enactment of the respective proclamations and targets included in E.U. texts is observed. However, particularly because Greece was “forced” to follow the Community directions since it was a country with no previous tradition in gender policies, the country did not embody those policies in a wider political planning and as a result they remained fragmentary. Especially when it comes to the approach of gender mainstreaming, even though there was a relative political commitment in proclamation levels, it was not turned into action other than at a certain point in occupation and education fields, where again, it did not have a long-term plan.

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