

School choice and private schooling: a comparison between Greece and Sweden

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ABSTRACT

Over the past three decades, privatization and school choice have been introduced and embodied in the policies of several education systems across the world. In the cases of Greece and Sweden, private schooling has been steadily increasing its presence over the past few years, although education is provided free of charge. The aim of this article is to examine the phenomenon of school choice and specifically the factors influencing parental choice of private schools in Greece and Sweden. Based on a case study design, twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted with education professionals and parents in both countries, revealing factors behind private school choice. Findings indicate that the background of the family along with the schools' location and the perceived quality of private schools are the main factors leading parents to make a private school choice in both countries.

Keywords: marketization, private schools, school choice, Greece, Sweden

Introduction

Every child in the world should have access to free, equitable and quality education in order to be able to fully develop his/her human capabilities. This right was constituted in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is actively promoted by the United Nations (UN). UN discourse has stood for universal education around the globe by setting development goals since 2002 which aim to inspire people from around the world to take action. In the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Develop-

ment, the fourth goal encourages all countries to “ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning” (UN, 2015). Education is a prerequisite for democracy and for that reason its provision is the primary responsibility of the state, which should ensure free access, equity and equality in schools (Dewey, 2006). It could also be stated that schools are the central social institutions and civil mechanisms that cultivate the ethos of upcoming citizens. Nevertheless, the state is often not fully able to fund or provide education owing to its limited public-sector capacity consequently, the private sector complements the state’s inadequacy in several ways, such as running private schools (Rizvi, 2016). This situation is associated with the notion of privatization of education, which makes the boundaries between the public and the private sectors less distinct.

Privatization of education and school choice have led to a broad political and philosophical debate over the last few years. Specifically, education privatization challenges the notion of education as a human right and public good due to its diversity in ways of schooling, whereas school choice as an option allows parents to choose and have a voice on what “fits them best” (Rizvi, 2016). This phenomenon often leads to the implementation of market-like policies, which are opposed to the concept of education regarding equity and accessibility.

This article will critically examine private school choice in Greece and Sweden. In both countries, private schooling has been steadily increasing its presence over the past few years (Centre for the Development of Educational Policy, 2017; Skolverket, 2017). In Greece public education is provided free of charge, while private schools charge tuition fees. Generally, parents in Greece do not have a free choice when it comes to public schools since this depends on residence criteria, but they can choose when it comes to private schools. In Sweden, both public and private education are free of charge through a student voucher system that is provided by the government, allowing parents to choose among a variety of publicly or privately managed educational institutions. In order to give their children the best possible education, parents in both countries are increasingly opting for private schools, which often include attractive programs, additional resources and extra facilities.

Literature review

Several studies have been conducted in Europe and the US regarding school choice and its sociological interpretations. Many of them have recognized school choice as a strategy of the middle and upper social classes to increase the advantages and opportunities of their children through education, in order to ensure their future positions in the social structure (Ball, 2003, Van Zanten, 2006). As Orellana, Caviedes, Bellei and Contreras (2018) observed, the social effects of school choice are closely associated with Bourdieu's (1997) theory of reproduction in education, since only parents with a higher cultural capital, social networks and high levels of familiarity of the educational system can take advantage of this policy and benefit from it. Based on this argument, many scholars and international policy influencers report that school choice could lead to social segregation of the student population (Orellana et al., 2018).

Furthermore, privatization policies emphasize the individualization of education. The development of such policies often contributes to the provision of different schooling alternatives for students, as opposed to the often-conventional practices which are used in public schools. Private schools often differentiate their curriculum, expand their academic programs and provide additional services compared to other schools (Rizvi, 2016). Furthermore, Rizvi (2016) recognizes that "while privatization has opened up the possibility of universal participation in education, student opportunities are nonetheless unequally distributed" (p. 7). Although Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) contribute to the global goals for education, equality of educational experiences and outcomes is not assured.

David Hursh (2016) has described how privatization policies can hinder the democratic nature of education by presenting the contradiction between the social character of public schools - which are run as learning communities - and the business character of private schools, which treat students as customers and stakeholders. While Rizvi (2016) recognizes that "the ideology of the market necessarily produces winners and losers" (p. 8), Hursh (2016) suggests that the development of reliable accountability systems and the enhancement of cooperation between the public and the private sector are crucial factors for ensuring the development and implementation of policies designed in a way that is consistent with the wishes of the community but delivered by the market.

The OECD (2017) has recently published a study on privatization and school choice, reporting the advantages and disadvantages of such policies. According to Andreas Schleicher, the director for education and skills in the OECD, “school choice will only generate the anticipated benefits when the choice is real, relevant and meaningful” (OECD, 2017:3). The OECD highlights the dilemma between the advantages and disadvantages of privatization, concluding that private schools should exist to support the provision of universal education and that they should distinguish themselves from each other so that the choice is meaningful yet adhering to overarching public policies. School choice is described by the OECD as a means for innovation in education. Through market competition, schools that receive increasing autonomy thrive by diversifying from each other and becoming more competitive. As a result, private schools create stronger incentives for innovation, compared to the hierarchical and bureaucratic procedures in the public sector (OECD, 2017).

The main advantage of education privatization, as presented by the OECD (2017:4), has to do with the fact that “the increasing social and cultural diversity in modern societies calls for greater diversification in the education landscape”. From this perspective, the existence of various educational alternatives could better respond to the diverse needs of the student population. However, the OECD also recognises that the main disadvantage of education privatization is the social and cultural segregation produced by school choice.

In a recent UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (2017), dedicated to accountability in education, school choice has been recognized as a significant factor that causes social inequalities in education, benefiting wealthy families while further marginalizing disadvantaged parents and schools. In this report, the phenomenon of social reproduction has been noticed, since “parents generally base school choice decisions on information shortcuts, which can often negatively affect equity and diversity among schools” (UNESCO, 2017:51). It has thus been observed that parents with a high social and cultural capital and more privileged networks are those who more frequently tend to choose among different schools.

Context of the study

Forms of Private Schools

The types of private schools included in this study are the public-funded private-run schools in Sweden called *friskolor*, and the private-funded private schools in Greece, called *idiotika scholia*. From now on in this study, the author will refer to both *friskolor* and *idiotika scholia* as private schools.

Sweden

Swedish *friskolor* are independent schools which are entirely funded by the state by means of a voucher system. These schools follow the general education guidelines set by the government, but their syllabuses, school schedules and academic calendars can vary. Although these schools must conform to the same government regulations as the municipal schools, they are more autonomous regarding their operation, management and allocation of resources. Independent schools may have a special profile, such as implementing various pedagogical approaches, having a linguistic orientation other than Swedish, being denominational or focusing on specific subjects like sports, music, and dance. A noticeable aspect regarding private schooling in Sweden is that there are almost 4000 private schools, representing 25% of the overall school capacity of the country, while 20% of the student population attend private schools. (Friskolornas riksförbund, 2018).

Greece

Greek *idiotika scholia* are funded exclusively by parents; they follow the education guidelines and curriculum set by the government, but their school schedules and academic calendars can vary. One important aspect regarding the costs of private schooling in Greece is that the families who choose these schools need to cover their expenses fully. It should also be mentioned that these costs are significantly high, with an average cost of USD 5,831 per student per year in private schools in

Athens, while the average income per capita is USD 1,7002 (OECD, 2018). Despite the fact that households face significant financial constraints due to the national financial crisis, it seems that school choice for private schools remains steady.

Methodology

Aim

The aim of this article is to explore the factors that influence parental choice of private schools in the primary school sector in Greece and Sweden. Drawing on a case study design, one private school was selected in each country. According to Bryman (2012:419): “a critical case is a crucial case that permits a logical inference about the phenomenon of interest”. The cases selected were not meant to be representative of the Swedish and the Greek contexts but were rather used as a means to further understand and investigate the reasons for private school choice.

Overview of selected schools

Specifically, one private school situated in the centre of Athens, Greece and one in the centre of Stockholm, Sweden were chosen in an attempt to identify critical cases.

The selected Greek school is one of the oldest schools in Athens, forming part of a group of co-educational independent private schools in Greece. This school complex was established in the nineteenth century and has 9000 students enrolled in total. The specific school unit selected for the study is located in the centre of Athens and includes all school levels, from pre-school up to upper-secondary education. Students in and around the Attica region attend this school, which also provides buses for their transfer.

In the case of Sweden, the selected school is part of a group of independent, private-run schools in Stockholm and the greater Stockholm area, with more than 3000 students. The specific school unit selected is located in the centre of Stockholm and covers all education levels, ranging from preschool class to upper-secondary education. Students from

the Stockholm county area attend this school, mostly being taken there by their parents, but there is also easy access via public transport.

Interviews

Overall, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted, audio-recorded and transcribed, 10 in each country, in order to develop awareness regarding the factors that affect school choice of private education. The sampling of the participants was purposive, since the goal of the researcher was to interview people who were relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2012:418). Specifically, research participants included program coordinators, school directors and parents, in an effort to gain insights into the different stakeholders' understandings of school choice and the role of private schools. The interview guides varied according to each stakeholder group, while questions were formulated to identify the reasons for parents choosing private schools. The researcher ensured that no participant was harmed, while data have been anonymized, using code names when referring to research participants or schools.

Analysis

Thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) was employed to analyze the interview transcripts in each of the two countries. According to this method, transcriptions are organized and described in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006) while various aspects of the research topic are interpreted (Boyatzis, 1998). More specifically, after having thoroughly reviewed the interview transcripts, a large collection of themes was created. The main themes that inductively emerged as reasons for private school choice include: *family background*, *school location* and *the perceived quality of private schools*. Finally, after having thematically analysed each case study in parallel, a comparison was made by focusing on the common and different themes that appeared in both cases.

Findings

Family Background

In the case of Greece, it has been noticed that school choice requires parents to get more involved in their children's education and accordingly try to engage them, leading to a positive attitude towards school. It seems that a stronger bond or commitment between the family and the school is created when parents opt for a private school.

Greek Teacher 1: "A parent is more active when he has to choose. [...] Furthermore, with private education, just because the parent pays, something equivalent to a commitment is made both to the child and to the whole family towards education."

Furthermore, some characteristics of parents who choose private schools appeared repeatedly throughout the interviews. These include the level of the parents' education and their ability to critically choose the best school possible.

Greek Teacher 2: "Education, logic and maturity are prerequisites. One would also need to have a certain education background that would allow them to make the right choices. Otherwise, how can anyone set and evaluate selection criteria for schools?"

In Sweden, education professionals mentioned that school choice enables parents to get more involved and engaged in their children's education. Having the opportunity to choose among public and private schools seems to require parents to do their own search of schools and choose the school they think fits them best.

Swedish School Principal: "I think that those parents who make an active choice for their child's school are generally more engaged and interested in education."

Although most of the interviewees agreed that they are positive towards school choice, they also mentioned that for someone to make a decision, he or she needs first of all to get properly informed, otherwise it would be a random choice based on the opinions of other parents. It was argued that information about schools in Sweden is very accessible to those who are Swedish speakers, but not to those who do not speak Swedish.

Swedish Teacher 1: "Most of the poor immigrant families in the suburbs of Stockholm do not have access to private schools. They could

have. They could choose as well. But they don't choose, because there is a lack of information."

Swedish Parent 1: "Surely a parent needs to do research to choose a school. [...] Of course, one has to know the language, because most of the information is in Swedish."

Getting informed depends on the availability of information about schools, but also on the capability of parents to explore and examine their options. As some of the interviewees revealed, they did not have time to look for a "good" school and so did not practice the option of school choice. As a consequence, many parents tend to base their decisions regarding school choice on what other parents reckon about a school's reputation.

It has also been argued that the social status of parents may affect their choices about schooling. Both teachers and parents in Sweden mentioned that there is a correlation between social capital and engagement in education.

School Location

The majority of the Greek participants mentioned that the location of a school may significantly affect school choice, based on where the family's house or workplace is located. However, when parents cannot find a school in a certain location, they prefer to pay additional fees for school buses rather than send their children to the local public school. Additionally, the location may determine the school choice of a private school when a wealthy family with a high social capital resides in an disadvantaged neighbourhood, since parents may not trust the quality of the local school.

Greek parent 2: "The quality of the school depends on its geographical location. A school in a rich region may statistically outperform a school located in a degraded area."

According to research participants in Greece, another factor leading parents to opt for private schools includes the growing number of refugee and immigrant children enrolled in public schools. This increase is considered to have undermined the quality of education, since there are no proper plans and activities developed particularly for these children. Participants also claimed that migrant children's poor Greek language

skills can hinder the overall level and “learning speed” of the entire classroom, a fact that seems to discourage parents from opting for such public schools.

Most of the interviewees in Sweden had a positive attitude towards school choice, arguing that it allows parents to select the school they favour instead of being automatically assigned to the closest school. This is positive, according to the participants, because in some areas, especially the suburbs, the quality of schools is not as high as in major cities. Hence, location appears to be one of the major factors that affects school choice, since, in certain areas, parents argued that schools are of poor quality and they would like to avoid them.

Swedish parent 3: “Location plays an important role. Previously, when I was living in a degraded area, I did not want to send my child to one of the local schools, so I chose a private school, in another area.”

Last but not least, the rise in the number of immigrants in Sweden appeared to be another reason why parents choose private schools in an attempt to avoid immigrant students who predominantly attend public schools.

The perceived quality of the school

Education seems to be the means to a successful career path, according to the interviews in Greece. Teachers working in private education tend to believe that education could work as an investment for their students’ future career paths. In that way, investing in education is considered reasonable, since private schooling appears to be more secure and stable than public schooling.

Greek Teacher 2: “I firmly believe that education is an economic investment that will help children succeed professionally and financially.”

Private schools often adopt an international profile by teaching foreign languages and following international curricula. Greek parents want to provide their children with multilingual education, as this is often required for a successful professional career. Furthermore, this kind of education is necessary to those who choose to move abroad, which is a frequent phenomenon nowadays, with an increasing number of Greeks leaving the country to find better employment abroad.

According to the Greek interviewees, the quality of private schools is

perceived to be better than that of public schools, because of the school infrastructure and the quality of the teaching staff. Private schools tend to offer attractive buildings, with a variety of facilities and infrastructures. Moreover, teacher evaluation occurs frequently, in order to ensure a high quality of teaching. In private schools, teachers are held accountable for their performance, having to report on their achievement and student progress to their employer. According to the information extracted from the teachers' educational and professional background, it can be concluded that competition when hiring teachers in private schools may be very intense. According to the teachers and principals interviewed, teachers should hold at least one post-graduate diploma in order to get an interview for a teaching position in a private school.

In the case of Sweden, the annual academic results of a private school tend to be the most important criterion that parents evaluate when choosing a private school. A school that has a high number of students scoring high grades is more attractive to parents, since parents tend to correlate academic success with future professional success. Therefore, private schools tend to advertise their academic results on an annual basis.

In addition, private schools usually offer alternative teaching styles and pedagogical approaches, which capture the interest of parents. In the case of the school selected, its international profile and the emphasis placed on teaching English appear to be the main reasons why parents prefer it.

In the case of Sweden, the public schools' "loose" policy was mentioned from all the participants as one of the main reasons why parents prefer private schools. It has been argued that public schools tend to be less demanding in terms of academic expectations, class management and behavioural regulations. As a result, parents turn to private schools, which they expect to be stricter and more old-fashioned.

Swedish parent 1: "What was missing from public schools and made a lot of parents choose a private school is discipline. I think that the Swedish public schools are too loose in their goal-setting and classroom management. Parents want their children to have a goal and evaluation criteria."

Discussion

Taking into account the findings presented above, several insights were drawn regarding the factors for private school choice: the family background, school location and the perceived quality of private schools. Firstly, family background seems to be a crucial factor influencing private school choice, since the findings from both countries showed that a certain level of education and a social network are required from parents in order to be able to actively choose schools. As previous research has proved, the cultural and the economic capital of a family determines a child's choice of school, which implies that school choice is not equally open for all (Symeonidis, 2014). Secondly, school location tends to be another significant factor when choosing a school since the demographic and economic characteristics of each area seem to affect the perceived quality of the schools. Furthermore, the concentration of immigrant population in certain areas leads to residential segregation in terms of cultural diversity and distribution of resources. Thirdly, private schools seem to attract more students over time as the 'extras' they provide influence the parents' trust in terms of education quality.

More specifically, with regard to the family background, school choice also seems to be closely associated with the increased engagement and involvement of parents in their children's education. However, only in the Swedish case was it mentioned that the parents' social status could also affect their opportunity to choose schools, in terms of being capable of searching for schools and having access to information regarding private schools. At this point, it should also be mentioned that although the Greek interviewees did not refer to the financial capacity of the family, it is certainly a crucial factor in Greece, since parents need to pay high fees for Greek private schools. In accordance with previous research (Björklund et al, 2005, Hsieh & Lindahl, 2003), this article concludes that parents' education and immigrant status are important determinants for private school choice.

As argued in the interviews, not everyone has access to private education, in the case of Greece due to the parents' limited financial capacity, and to the restricted access to information about schools in the case of Sweden. Since Greek private schools do not receive any financial support from the state and charge parents for schooling fees, a considerable proportion of Greek parents are unable to pay for this kind of education,

and consequently are totally excluded from choosing a private school. Furthermore, in Sweden Swedish language skills are required of parents for them to be able to make an informed choice; therefore, many newly arrived immigrants in Sweden are unable to obtain information about schools and select what is best for them. Limited language skills are not the only barrier that immigrants face when they have to choose schools. They are also confronted with long queues (Böhlmark, Holmlund & Lindahl, 2015). Private schools have long waiting lists of students (who are often enrolled there from the day they are born), a fact that makes it almost impossible for immigrants to opt for these schools.

According to what the participants stated, there are also parents who find it difficult to choose a school and are, in some cases, not able to make a school choice at all. Parents' limited available time and lack of a certain level of education are often additional structural barriers (Offenheiser & Holombe, 2003) that prevent parents from exercising their right to school choice. Furthermore, as the interviewees mentioned, parents should have a certain socioeconomic background in order to be able to critically assess and then choose a school; Böhlmark et al. (2015) have also found that there is a significant connection between school choice of private schools and parents' socioeconomic background.

School location has been identified as a major factor for private school choice in both countries, and for similar reasons. Greek and Swedish parents recognize that local schools in degraded areas may not have the quality of private schools in wealthy areas and that there is a significant dependence on school resources and parental income. These conclusions are in accordance with the fact that municipality costs per students vary greatly in Sweden, since resources tend to be distributed on a per capita fee principle (Skolverket, 2009). In addition, the increase of immigrant populations in both countries, and the concentration of these populations in certain areas, is another similar factor in Greece and Sweden which leads parents to select private schools in order to avoid a school with high percentage of non-native speaker students. Private school choice is closely associated with residential segregation, and given the fact that peers have an important effect on student achievement (Björklund et al, 2005), students from disadvantaged backgrounds have less opportunities to interact with their more advantaged peers owing to a lack of language skills.

In addition, private schools locate in areas where parents demand

them. As Böhlmark et al. (2015:27) have pointed out, “school choice and segregation by immigrant background is largely driven by residential sorting patterns”, meaning that large groups of immigrants live in certain residential areas where there are usually no private schools. As a result, if an immigrant parent manages to obtain information about private schools and finds a spot in the waiting list of a private school for their child, that student will have to travel long distances on a daily basis to attend that school, which is both costly and discouraging for parents.

It could also be argued that although both countries emphasize that every child has the right to education, quality and equity in education vary significantly among different schools. As stated by the interviewees, having the option to choose among different schools could mean that there are some schools of high quality and some of lower quality. Parents looking for a high-quality school for their children decide to choose private schools. As a result, social polarization can be assumed to exist between private schools and public local schools in areas where a great number of immigrants live. This fact is opposed to the human rights-based approach to education (Offenheiser and Holombe, 2003), according to which, quality education should be provided for all children regardless of their families’ resources.

Finally, interviewees from both countries mentioned that education is seen as a means to a successful career path, and parents perceive private schooling as an investment in their children’s future. Based on the analysis of the interviews, parents see education as a means to an end, and their choice of a private school is purposeful and goal oriented (Olsen, Codd & O’Neil, 2004, Gillis, 1992). It could be argued that this interpretation of education as an investment for the future is in accordance with the Human Capital Theory, which expresses an economic approach to human behaviour.

Given the ‘extras’ that private schools provide, their students might be granted more opportunities to develop and expand their capabilities, whereas students in public schools might not. The provision of additional educational activities and the adoption of certain pedagogical styles could encourage students to explore their inclinations and talents rather than pushing them into particular functions. Specific educational goals regarding compulsory education are set out in both countries, mainly concerning the development of literacy and numeracy skills. Private schools, being more flexible in their educational planning and

use of different pedagogical approaches, may give more emphasis to other subjects outside the curriculum, such as art. Evidently, further inequalities seem to exist concerning the capability approach to education, according to which all children should have the opportunity to expand their inclinations and talents through education (Drèze & Sen, 2002; Unterhalter, 2003; Robeyns, 2006); this is shown in the analysis of the findings, which suggests that students at private schools are more privileged than those at public schools when it comes to opportunities to develop themselves through education.

Furthermore, previous research has showed that the 'extras' that private schools may provide tend to benefit only students with a high socio-economic capital (Francia, 2013; Östh et al., 2013). Especially in the case of Sweden, inequality in education standards and performance has been observed and serious arguments question the concept of children's "own" choice since the introduction of school choice (Skolverket, 2009).

Concluding Remarks

Private schools are incorporated in the education realities as school alternatives to the public sector, in both Greece and Sweden. As it has been observed, Greek parents continue to choose private schools, despite the severe financial crisis that the state faces, while in the past few years Swedish parents have tended increasingly to prefer private schools. These observations inspired the author to compare these two countries, in order to holistically understand the phenomenon of private schooling and investigate the factors that affect school choice for private schools.

The study revealed that not all parents have access to a private school choice under the same terms. Specifically, school choice implies that parents should make an informed search of the school options they have, in order to find the school, they prefer the most. This requires a particular level of education, available time and available information about the school alternatives, while in the case of Greece, the parents' financial capacity could also be a crucial determinant when choosing a school. Hence, not all parents have a choice of a private school under the same terms.

Private schools, run by companies and individuals, tend to be more flexible than public schools in terms of enriching their educational programs with additional activities or adopting certain pedagogical approaches to teaching. This flexibility allows them to be more innovative than public schools. Furthermore, private school choice is considered an investment for the future, since parents mainly perceive education as a means for increasing their children's human capital. As a consequence, the school choice policy tends to foster an individualistic environment, where only certain parents manage to make a choice according to their criteria.

This article aimed to provide a comprehensive examination of private school choice in Greece and Sweden. The main conclusions highlight the need for both countries' governments to design new policies that could (a) enhance the democratic and social role of education, providing quality education for all; (b) upgrade the quality of public schools; and (c) develop further regulations regarding private schools in order to combat social inequalities amongst them.

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Τις τελευταίες τρεις δεκαετίες, η ιδιωτικοποίηση και η σχολική επιλογή έχουν εισαχθεί και ενσωματωθεί στο λεξιλόγιο πολλών εκπαιδευτικών συστημάτων σε όλο τον κόσμο. Παρ' όλο που η δωρεάν εκπαίδευση έχει θεσπιστεί σε Ελλάδα και Σουηδία, η ιδιωτική εκπαίδευση αυξάνεται σταθερά και στις δύο χώρες. Ο σκοπός αυτού του άρθρου είναι να εξετάσει τους παράγοντες που επηρεάζουν τη γονική επιλογή προς τα ιδιωτικά σχολεία στην Ελλάδα και τη Σουηδία. Στη βάση μιας μελέτης περίπτωσης, διεξήχθησαν είκοσι είκοσι ημι-δομημένες συνεντεύξεις με επαγγελματίες της εκπαίδευσης και με γονείς από τις δύο χώρες, προσφέροντας μια εις βάθος διερεύνηση των δύο εθνικών πλαισίων, και εμπλουτίζοντας τη μελέτη με εμπειρικά δεδομένα. Όσον αφορά τα ευρήματα της έρευνας, φαίνεται πως το πολιτισμικό και κοινωνικό υπόβαθρο της οικογένειας, η τοποθεσία των σχολείων και η ποιότητα των ιδιωτικών σχολείων, όπως γίνεται αντιληπτή από τους γονείς και τους εκπαιδευτικούς που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα, είναι οι κύριοι παράγοντες που οδηγούν τους γονείς στην επιλογή του ιδιωτικού σχολείου και στις δύο χώρες.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: εμπορευματοποίηση, ιδιωτικά σχολεία, σχολική επιλογή, Ελλάδα, Σουηδία
