

GPSG NEWSLETTER #17

NOVEMBER 2009

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Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the **17th Newsletter** of the **Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG)**.

We are delighted to announce that, following a very successful Call, the **two GPSG prizes** for the 4th LSE PhD Symposium have been awarded to Ms Manto Lampropoulou (University of Athens) and Ms Eleni Ganiti (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) who impressed the panel with the quality and originality of their papers – more details below. We would like to thank everyone who took part in this competition and warmly congratulate the two winners whose papers will shortly appear on our website.

In this edition of the newsletter you can also find more details about our proposals to the 60th (Anniversary) annual conference of the Political Studies Association. The Greek Politics Specialist Group has submitted a proposal for a major, **international roundtable** featuring a number of internationally acclaimed scholars. The roundtable will focus on public policy reforms and challenges in Southern Europe and aims to offer a stimulating, interactive and constructive comparison on practices and problems. The GPSG has also **proposed panels** on Public Policy in Greece and on Greek Political Parties & Elections. The outcome of the review process will be announced later in 2009.

In addition to the regular **updates** on our activities, **featured publications** and listings of **upcoming events**, this newsletter also features **articles** by Dr. Dimitris Tsarouhas on the future of social democracy and by Dr. David Green on educational reform in Greece. Finally, we are currently working on the **draft constitution** which will be circulated to Full Members for consultation and approval within the next few months. This will mark several key changes to the way the Group is structured and organised, aiming to increase our transparency, accountability and efficiency.

As always, **your contributions**, ideas and comments are always welcome and crucial to the development of our work. The GPSG is only as good as its **members' input** and there are many ways in which you can contribute, such as submitting a short article for our website, bringing us in touch with potential sponsors and taking part in our competitions and events. Last but certainly not least, if you haven't already done so, please remember to complete the **online membership form**, which helps us stay in touch. By joining us as a Full Member you also get a range of benefits, such as priority access to our events, eligibility for funding support and inclusion to the media 'Experts' service. Please note that, starting from 01 January 2010, Full Membership will cost £7 per annum (PSA members have a 30% discount, i.e. £5).

The **Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG)** of the UK's Political Studies Association (PSA) was founded in 2004.

It is one of the largest and most active groups of the PSA and a leading, international network of scholars and researchers of Greek society, government and politics.

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GPSG Announces Prize Winners

Travel Grants for Young Scholars

The 4th Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus, London School of Economics



As part of its [core mission](#) of promoting systematic research, supporting young scholars and strengthening the ties between the UK and Greek academic communities, the Greek Politics Specialist Group has awarded two **£200 prizes** to young researchers who presented their work at the 4th Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium at the London School of Economics (June 2009).

Following June's Call, we received a large number of applications, which were carefully reviewed by the GPSG panel. The standard was quite high and reaching a decision was not easy. We are delighted to announce that the two winning papers are:

Manto Lampropoulou (School of Law, Economics & Political Sciences, Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens), ***"Public utilities reform in Greece: Privatization, market liberalization and implications for citizens as consumers"***.

The panel was very impressed by the outstanding quality of Ms Lampropoulou's work. The paper is well-researched and well-written and it puts forward a strong, persuasive and ultimately important argument.

Eleni Ganiti (School of History & Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), ***"The military dictatorship of April 1967 in Greece and its repercussion on the Greek visual arts scene"***.

The panel particularly commended Ms Ganiti's work for its originality and thorough documentation. Her paper constitutes a refreshing and informative perspective on an under-researched area and puts forward a clear and interesting argument.

The winning papers will shortly be published on the Working Papers section of the GPSG website. The GPSG wishes to warmly congratulate both winners on their success.

Abstracts of winning papers

MANTO LAMPROPOULOU
Public utilities reform in Greece:
Privatization, market liberalization and implications for citizens as consumers

Abstract

Privatization and liberalization are the two complementary aspects of several reform projects in the field of public utilities. In Greece, since the mid-90's, the telecommunications sector has

undergone radical changes, responding to the new requirements of a market-oriented model, gradually introducing the privatization of the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE) and the opening of the state monopoly. An often neglected aspect of the reform is the implications for citizens as consumers. More “choice”, better quality and lower prices have been usually invoked as illustrations of the beneficial effects, under the general hypothesis of better performance. However, the “shift” is more intricate than the assumptions that a micro-economic perspective suggests.



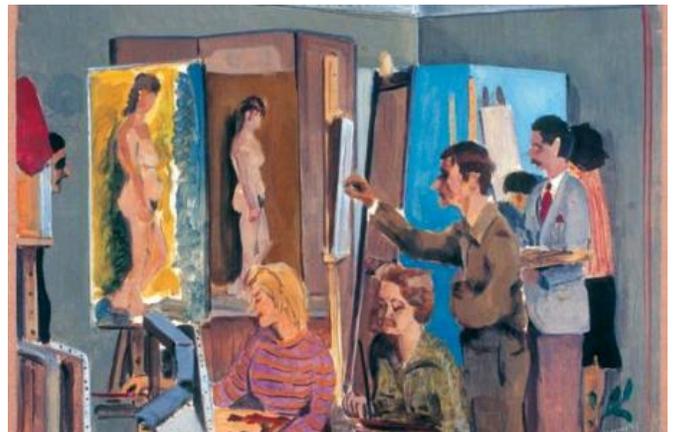
This paper argues that the “citizen/consumer empowerment” is not a self-evident proposition of privatization or liberalization policies. It also proposes that the concept of citizens as consumers implies a selective –thus restricted- approach of the eventual benefit. The aim of the paper is to highlight the constraints and the pre-conditions of the “empowerment” argument, as well as to reveal potential asymmetries in terms of cost/benefit allocation of the reform outcomes.

ELENI GANITI

***The military dictatorship of April 1967 in Greece
and its repercussion on the Greek visual arts scene***

The 21st of April, 1967 has been a portentous date in the history of modern Greece, as a group of right-wing army officers seized power, imposing a regime of military dictatorship, also known as the *Regime of the Colonels* or the *Junta*. The dictatorship came after a period of political instability in the country, intercepting the normal course of things at the political, social and economical sector. This kind of disorder could not leave the cultural life of the country unaffected.

The imposing of the dictatorship had a strong impact on the evolution of the visual arts in Greece, mainly because it came at a time when Greek art, for the first time in the modern years, was finding its pace. The desire for synchronization with the international art was being finally fulfilled and for the first time Greek artists were part of the international *avant guard*. The visual arts scene was flourishing, the audience’s interest was growing and the future seemed promising and optimistic. Then the Junta came to interrupt this upswing.



This paper explores:

- i) the effects of the dictatorship on the Greek visual arts scene and the artistic production of the period
- ii) the reaction of the art world through exhibitions and works of Greek artists that were created and exhibited in the country during the seven years of the Military Regime.

GPSG Panel Proposals

60th Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association

Conference
Conference
2010

Sixty Years of Political Studies: Achievements and Futures

29 March – 1 April 2010
Hotel The George, Edinburgh



GPSG PANEL PROPOSAL 1: International Roundtable – Public Policy in Southern Europe

This roundtable discussion aims to bring together scholars from South European countries (Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Malta) to discuss common problems and challenges in policy-making and implementation of state policies. South European countries have a lot in common such as authoritarian past and/or a turbulent history but they also have a lot of differences in their organization, institutions and political culture. For, example Spain and Italy have strong regional governments while Greece is a centralist state. All six countries are members of the European Union (EU) but they have entered the Union at different times. When compared, the picture that they present is not uniform and differences can be observed.

The goal of the roundtable is to move the discussion forward and to compare similarities and differences between the six countries. It aims to avoid the exceptionalism argument that has been widely used in single-country case-studies and to open the debate to common characteristics, problems and solutions. The roundtable is envisioned as an open discussion where the participants will present short papers and then they will engage to a debate between themselves but also with the audience.

Chair:

Dr. Stella Ladi, Lecturer, Panteion University

Discussant:

Prof. Claudio Radaelli, Professor of European Public Policy, University of Exeter

Panellists:

Prof. Jacint Jordana, Professor, Institut Barcelona d' Estudis Internacionals

Prof. Leonardo Morlino, President IPSA

Prof. Dimitris Sotiropoulos, Associate Professor, University of Athens

Prof. José Magone, Professor, Berlin School of Economics and Law

GPSG PANEL PROPOSAL 2: Greek Political Parties and Elections

This panel offers a comparative examination of three of Greece's major political parties (centre-right New Democracy, centre-left governing PASOK and left-wing Synaspismos) focusing on their internal structure and recent positioning on the ideological spectrum. The parties' strategies vis-a-vis the much-coveted median voter (or "middle ground") are examined, as well as their attitudes towards Europe. This debate will also be informed by a quantitative study of voter behaviour during the recent European Parliament (June 09) and general (October 09) elections.

Chair and Discussant:

Roman Gerodimos, Convenor GPSG

Panellists:

1. Chrysa Lamprinakou, PhD Candidate, Brunel University

“Interpreting New Democracy through the Party Evolution Model: Why the ‘middle ground’ project was destined to fail”

In the aftermath of New Democracy's 2004 general election victory, numerous studies sought to dissect the underlying reasons for New Democracy's electoral revival. In fact, the party had run a highly effective and professionalised election campaign. On the surface, the party that won the 2004 landslide victory had little in common with the parochial, traditional, divided organisation of the 1990s. However, a closer examination of the nature and scope of the organisational and ideological reforms that were implemented under Karamanlis' leadership – the culmination of which rested on the 'middle ground' project - is indicative of the fundamental institutional deficiencies that were never addressed. Within such a context, the party was destined to fail as soon as the apparent - rather than real – unity faded away. This paper seeks to explain why New Democracy and especially, the party leadership failed to take advantage of the internally and externally driven sequence of events of the pre-2004 period and radically change the party. To this end, the main focus here is to expound the reasons why the middle ground project was destined to fail.

2. Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas, Assistant Professor, Bilkent University

“A modernized ‘contract with the people’? The Greek social democrats’ reforms on party renewal and public engagement”

The literature on internal party reform and empirical case studies reveal the significance of change in delivering electoral victories and rejuvenating the party machine. Rising electoral volatility and the loosening of party identification among voters has facilitated the quest for internal party changes as a precondition for success in party politics.

The 2009 Greek elections have led to the return of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in office. After assuming the party leadership in 2004, the new Prime Minister George Papandreou called for a new relationship between the party and party members/citizens based on transparency, democratic decision-making and horizontal forms of participation. This paper places PASOK's party reforms since 2004 in a comparative European context and assesses the

extent to which the reforms introduced till now are a) isolated incidents or signifying a general trend among Greek political parties, b) crucial in electoral victory or a by-product of inevitable alteration in party structures, and c) important in terms of their internal party political value or indicative of an attempt by the Greek social democrats to use internal reform for wider changes in public policy.

3. Costas Eleftheriou, Researcher, University of Athens
and Panayiotis Skevofylax, Researcher, University of Athens

“Endless debate’: Party-based euroscepticism and intra-party politics in Synaspismos”

Given the increasing intensity of the European integration process during the recent years, party-based euroscepticism has become a constant feature of party competition in Europe. In the relevant debate (Taggart & Sczerbiak, Kopecky & Mudde, Hooghe & Marks, Sitter etc.) the phenomenon is either attributed to party strategy or to certain ideological positions. In the current paper we shall examine euroscepticism as an intra-party strategy in a Greek radical left grouping (Synaspismos / Coalition of the Left, Movements and Ecology). We shall attempt to show that in some cases a party’s stance towards European integration is determined by the internal balance of power within intra-party competition, despite the widespread perception whereby the parties of radical left are eurosceptic by position. The subject of the research consists of the internal party processes on the occasion of three Treaties -Maastricht, Amsterdam, Constitutional –, and the manner, in which, the relevant debate was conducted by the main factions of the party. It will be argued that the controversy, regarding the stance of the party towards European integration, serves the objectives and strategy each faction addresses. The purpose is to understand the relationship between intra-party political and party-based euroscepticism and how the latter can help us understand a party’s ideological orientation and political strategy.

4. Dr Ioannis Andreadis, Lecturer, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
and Prof. Theodore Chadjipadelis, Professor, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

“Comparison of Elections for the European and the National Parliament: the case of Greece”

Analysis of recent elections in Greece reveals two important issues: The first one is abstention. The number of votes cast for the 2004 parliamentary elections is about 7.6 millions. The number of those who participated in the 2004 elections for the European Parliament is about 6.3 millions. The number of voters rose again up to 7.35 millions in the parliamentary elections held in 2007, but it dropped to less than 5.3 millions at the 2009 elections for the European Parliament. The second important issue refers to the changes of the power of the two major political parties. The share of votes for New Democracy followed a declining route since the 2004 parliamentary elections from 45.36% to 41.84% in 2007 and 32.29% in the 2009 elections for the European Parliament. This declining route resulted to PASOK winning the 2009 elections for the European Parliament with a vote share of 36.64%.

In this paper we use the official results of the two latest parliamentary elections held on September 16th 2007 and October 4th 2009, and the official results of the elections for the European Parliament held on June 7th 2009. Applying quantitative methods on these datasets we provide estimates of voting behaviour and the profile of the Greek political parties in 2009.

GPSG PANEL PROPOSAL 3: Developments in Greek Public Policy

This panel focuses on recent developments in the field of public policy in Greece looking in particular at administrative reform and decentralisation.

The papers of this panel explore the role of citizens in public policy making and implementation (through public consultation, local mobilisation etc), as well as at the chronic weaknesses of Greek administration that act as obstacles to reform. The role of regionalism - both at the national and at the EU level - is examined through case studies.

Chair and Discussant:

Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas, Assistant Professor, Bilkent University

Panellists:

1. Dr. Stella Ladi, Lecturer, Panteion University

“Public Consultation, Participation and Administrative Reform: the Case of Greece”

The lack of trust to democratic institutions and to the effectiveness of governments has led to the search of a new contract between governments and citizens. Citizens' participation in the decision-making process but also in the implementation of public policy through consultation mechanisms is nowadays considered vital. The last two decades a diffusion of public consultation mechanisms can be observed in Western societies (e.g. US, UK, Canada) and in supranational and international organizations (e.g. OECD, EU). In Greece, discussions about the importance of public consultation have also increased in the last two decades but its application has been limited. This paper aims to analyze the types and examples of public consultation as well as the values behind it. Greece is an interesting case-study because similarly to many other countries implementing public consultation mechanisms has proven to be challenging. It is argued that establishing consultation mechanisms in Greece would signify a shift of administrative paradigm, given that the existing model is hierarchical.

2. Dr. Adamantios Dionysios Minas, Researcher, University of Athens

“Voicing to the regional, loyal to the international: European Union, International Maritime Organisation and Greek Maritime Interests”

The paper will try to explore the relations between the Greek maritime interests and the EU taking as case studies the accidents of the oil-carriers Erika and Prestige off the coasts of France and Spain in 1999 and 2002 respectively. The Commission responded to the accidents issuing proposals that would augment maritime safety and environmental protection. These proposals fuelled the reactions of (greek) ship-owning interests, which protested that regionalism would be imposed on an international industry. For the maritime interests IMO is the appropriate forum of addressing matters relevant to shipping. In Hirschman terms maritime interests used their voice against the Community and expressed their loyalty towards the IMO.

3. Vassilis Leontitsis, PhD Candidate, University of Sheffield

“Exploring Institutional Inertia and Change: Lessons from the Decentralisation of Greece in the 1990s”

Greece is one of the most centralised states in Europe, although during the last 30 years considerable decentralisation efforts have taken place. These changes are most notable in the period between 1994 and 1998, when a number of far reaching reforms affected all levels of sub-national government (regions, prefectures and municipalities). The effects of these reforms are still visible today. Nevertheless, although the changes have been considerable, the fundamentals of the polity have remained relatively untouched. This paper examines the causal factors that pushed for the decentralisation reforms throughout this period alongside the obstructing factors that resisted them contributing towards a relative inertia of the polity structures. Theoretically this paper draws on Historical Institutionalism arguing that the reforms of this period transpired mainly due to ‘unintended consequences’, ‘reactive sequences’ and ‘policy entrepreneurship’ by the then Minister of the Interior, Mr Alekos Papadopoulos. However, when one looks beyond the surface, a story of relative inertia and ‘path dependence’ emerges.

4. Prof. Fotini Papoudakis, Assistant Professor, Higher Technological Educational Institute of Kalamata

“The role of leadership in mobilizing collective will and the building of sustainable communities: the case of Anavra, Greece”

Institutional and economic weaknesses of local government in Greece have always been among the scholarly interests of students of Greek politics and public policy. The truth is that the devolution of powers to local government in Greece has not been followed by adequate fiscal competences while features of political culture connected to existing opportunity structures shape an unfavourable setting for sustainable local growth. The above context has been the excuse offered by local authorities in an effort to explain their inability to build sustainable communities. Nonetheless, the case of Anavra, a small mountainous village in Greece suggests that leadership and political determination can overcome the above mentioned negative factors by exploiting local comparative advantages and making the most of the opportunities offered by national and EU resources. While the case of Anavra would be rather common in other national contexts, it stands out as a unique and most amazing achievement precisely because it occurred in the Greek political and public administration environment..

Taking this case study as the starting point, this paper is exploring issues of trust in government, community participation, social capital mobilization and local government, collective will, political will and capacity, social development and sustainable economic growth.

Latest Additions to Our Website...



British Policy versus Greek Policy for Regulating the Illegal Trade of Antiquities: Convergence or Divergence?

Dr. Sofia Chatzidi

[http://www.gpsg.org.uk/docs/GPSG Working Paper 02.pdf](http://www.gpsg.org.uk/docs/GPSG_Working_Paper_02.pdf)

Abstract

This research is about policy change in regulating the illegal trade in antiquities by way of a comparative case study between the United Kingdom and Greece – the UK being a prime example of a country that hosts the market in antiquities, Greece being a prime example of a country for whose antiquities this market trades in. The study of this research was based on the examination of primary and secondary data. Elite interviews were conducted which highlighted new areas. The main research question is whether the theoretical perspective of globalization, modernization or Europeanization (or a combination of particular elements of all three) best explains policy change in regulating the illegal trade in antiquities.

This research aims to contribute in understanding policy change in regulating the illegal trade in antiquities by examining the reasons that have led to this change and the role of the involved actors. In contributing to the understanding of how the regulation of the antiquity trade has developed, this study will assist future research on the effectiveness of regulation as a policy instrument as such.

Author Bio

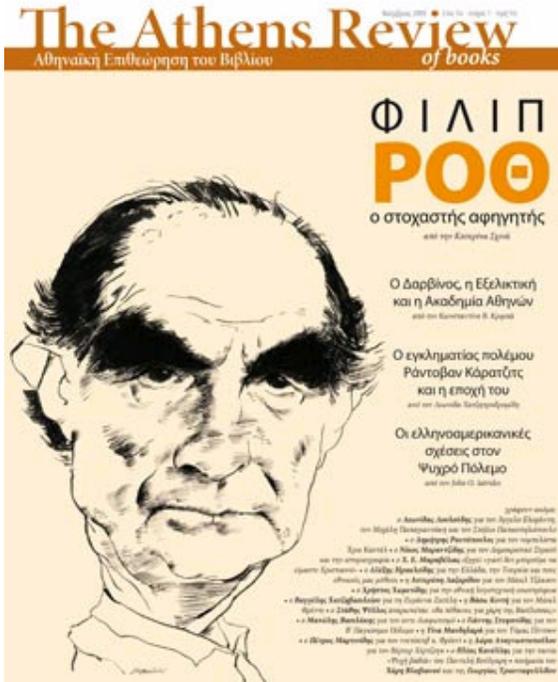
Dr. Sofia Chatzidi (PhD in European Studies, scholar of I.K.Y., Greek State Scholarship Foundation) is currently working for the Department of Greek and Foreign Scientific Institutions, Organizations and International Issues of the Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Articles

- » [11/2009 - Dr. Dimitris Tsarouhas - "The Party-Union Link and the Future of Social Democracy"](#)
- » [10/2009 - Roman Gerodimos - "Return to the Politics of Modernisation"](#)
- » [10/2009 - Georges Tassiopoulos - "Elections 2009: Challenges for the two main parties"](#)
- » [09/2009 - Dr. David Green - "Law 3606/08: Elegy or Energy?"](#)

<http://www.gpsg.org.uk/articles.html>

Featured Publications



The Athens Review of Books Αθηναϊκή Επιθεώρηση του Βιβλίου

Το *Athens Review of Books* είναι ένα καινούργιο μηνιαίο περιοδικό ποικίλης ύλης για το βιβλίο, τις νέες εκδόσεις, τις ιδέες, τα πρόσωπα, τις ιστορίες με τις οποίες ασχολείται η βιβλιοπαράγωγη – αλλά και η κοινωνία. Περιέχει μεγάλα, εξονυχιστικά ακριβή κείμενα, γραμμένα από σημαντικούς εκπροσώπους της πανεπιστημιακής εκπαίδευσης, της λογοτεχνίας και της δημοσιογραφίας.

Δημοχάρους 61, Τ.Κ. 11521, Αθήνα

<http://booksreview.gr/>

Εκδότρια: Μαρία Βασιλάκη
Διεύθυνση: Μανώλης Βασιλάκης, Ηλίας Κανέλλης
Art Director: Ανδρέας Ρεμούνης

Web Bookmarks:

http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/publication_summary15501_en.htm

The image shows the cover of an ECFIN Country Focus publication. At the top left is the European Union flag. To its right, it says 'Economic analysis from the European Commission's Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs'. Below this, it says 'Volume VI, Issue 6' and '10.7.2009'. The main title is 'ECFIN COUNTRY FOCUS' in large, bold letters, with a blue oval around it. Below the title, it says 'External imbalances of the Greek economy: the role of fiscal and structural policies' and 'By George Moschovis & Mateo Capo Servera*'. On the left side, there is a section titled 'Highlights in this issue:' with two bullet points: 'Both rising investment and falling savings have led to a deterioration in Greece's lending position' and 'Widening external'.

The Party-Union Link and the Future of Social Democracy

by Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas*

Social Europe
Journal

Join the debate on Europe's future

<http://www.social-europe.eu>

A rejuvenation of the party-trade union link could play an important part in the recovery of European social democracy.

Coinciding with the biggest financial crisis since the second world war, and an economic crisis whose full consequences have yet to emerge, the 'good society' debate offers social democrats an opportunity for reflection and programmatic rejuvenation. Both are necessary. Although it is too early to judge the political consequences of the crisis, it seems clear that progressives are once again in an uncomfortable place. In spite of the complete vindication of their earlier calls to regulate markets, social democrats are now being blamed for the bloated public sector, and the constraints this poses on a swift recovery from the crisis! Nowhere is this better illustrated than in Conservative attacks on Labour in the UK. But this is just one example of a wider issue. European social democracy has yet to redefine its core message in these changing circumstances, and to articulate a viable way forward – conscious of the realism that is entailed in governmental responsibility, yet confident in its values, and bold enough to openly do away with market fundamentalism.

Clearly, this process of reflection and rejuvenation will involve in-depth analysis and many adjustments. One aspect of this – rejuvenating the relationship between social-democratic parties and trade unions – is discussed in this piece. My argument is that the party-union link remains vital for the social-democratic movement, and that it offers institutional, financial and political resources that 'civil society' can in no way replace. What is more, a new relationship between the two sides can send two significant messages. First, that progressives are concerned with 'real' working people, rather than with the self-absorbed debates of yesterday; and secondly, that trade unions have a central role to play in the process of rebalancing the mixed economy, and can be relied upon to act in a spirit of responsibility to assist Europe's recovery from the current slump.

What is remarkable about the party-union link is how much it has been underestimated by social democrats themselves. The 'golden age' was made possible by many different components, but one of them was certainly successful party-union links: these were instrumental in forging governmental coalitions that enhanced women's rights, gave employees a say in the workplace and secured safe work conditions for employees. Even today, and despite all the changes that the link has gone through, unions continue to form the backbone of the progressive movement in a number of countries.

'Third Way-ists' often displayed in office the dismissive attitude towards trade unions that is characteristic of those who uncritically adopt neoliberal orthodoxy. Regarding unions as a historical relic, they rushed to pronounce the arrival of a post-ideological age, in which labour was an economic factor of only secondary value as compared to the glitz and glamour of financial capital.

The crisis has revealed the absurdity of that attitude, but – since it takes two to tango – the unions themselves also need to assume responsibility for the build-up of a new link with social-democratic parties. Their democratic functioning, representative character, corruption-free organisational structure and reformist credentials will be a crucial part of any attempt to place their relationship with progressive politics back on track.

Social democracy remains as relevant as ever in an age of rapid change. Insecurity and fear have crippled people's lives, and the absence of a sense of community has led to alienation from politics and distrust towards the political. A new party-union link can contribute to the restoration of the European social-democratic movement by once again forging a working-class/middle-class coalition, united in its defence of socio-economic rights and sustainable growth as the basis of the post-crisis settlement.

* * *

Dr. Dimitis Tsarouhas is Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, Bilkent University and GPSG Panel Convenor.

This article was originally published in the Social Europe Journal (04 November 2009).

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Law 3606/08: Elegy or Energy?

*by Dr David Green**



*"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife
Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
Along the cool sequestered vale of life
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way".*

These lines from Thomas Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* neatly encapsulate the outgoing Greek government's approach to higher education reform. They chose all the softer options in order to avoid "the madding crowd" of left-wing students and "kept the noiseless tenor of their way" in order to placate the higher education lobby of university lecturers who have a morbid fear of external competition and transparency. The result is a fudge, reified in the new law 3696/08, which may be seen, negatively, as an elegy on the current system of higher education or, positively, as the launch-pad for an energetic reformation of that system by the new incoming government. Which is it to be: elegy or energy? More particularly, will the new minister of education and religious affairs be able to include Greek universities in the formal launch of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in Budapest and Vienna on 11 and 12 March 2010 respectively?

In order to answer the question whether the new law 3696/08, which still awaits full implementation, is an elegy on the state monopoly of higher education or an opportunity for a burst of political energy in the entire sphere of higher education, it is necessary to move the debate to a wider canvas. The reforms of the Bologna Process which will reach their apogee in Budapest and Vienna, and to which Greece is a signatory, concentrate on three areas:

- Easily readable and comparable degrees organised in a three cycle structure – the so-called Bologna 3-5-8 formula for Bachelors, Masters and Doctorates – with clearly defined learning outcomes at each stage.
- Quality Assurance in accordance with the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the EHEA.
- Fair recognition of foreign degrees and other higher education qualifications in accordance with the Council of Europe/UNESCO Recognition Convention.

Let me begin with the third area of reform, namely the recognition of foreign degrees. Currently, Greece is before the European Court of Justice (ECJ), which ruled in December last that its ministry of education and religious affairs was in contravention of both the European Treaty and attendant EC directives, specifically directive 2005/36/EC. Greece has until 1 January 2010 to comply with the three rulings of the ECJ or face stringent infringement proceedings. What was not picked up by the local press was that in its third ruling the ECJ stated that article 16 of the Greek constitution was ultra vires the relevant European Treaty and directives. In other words, as far as the ECJ is concerned, article 16 is dead in the water. I hope this fact is recognised as we move into election debates on the future of higher education. I would also hope that the new minister of education could move quickly to remove the requirement that teachers of English (or French or German or Mandarin Chinese) must have a proficiency certificate in Greek. This current requirement is once again against the European Treaty – and indeed is counterintuitive.

In relation to the second area of EHEA reform – quality assurance – the outgoing Greek government is to be congratulated on setting up the Hellenic Quality Assurance Agency (HQAA), but to date I have been unable to access any publication of its audit reports on universities or university departments (transparency). The European Network of Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) has recommended that universities in the EHEA should include representatives from other universities on their external quality audit teams but as far as I'm aware no Greek university has yet established an external quality assurance system per se. As a British academic I had the privilege to chair examination boards of British universities which included external Greek academics and was most impressed with the professionalism of my Greek counterparts. I believe this is a model for university external audit systems, namely that British or Greek universities and their academic programmes should not be audited by a "foreign" quality assurance agency but should include academics who are not members of the respective university. Putting it bluntly, and with the greatest respect, as a British academic lecturing on British university programmes in Greece, I would not wish to be audited by the HQAA for the simple reason that it would not be in tune with British academic cultures. In this respect, the outgoing Greek government was prudent to avoid this particularly knotty problem in its new law 3696/08.

Finally, Bologna 3-5-8, the first of the abovementioned EHEA reforms. Some of my European colleagues see this formula as the stratagem of a British fifth column. What they fail to recognise is that Scottish universities still run four-year Bachelor's programmes and there is currently a lively debate in the UK about their one-year Master's programmes. My personal position is that three years is sufficient for a Bachelor's programme and that British universities should come into line with the number of credits/years (two not one) required for an EHEA Master's programme. In relation to Greece, Ms Yiannakou (a former Greek minister of education and now an MEP) missed a golden opportunity to bring Greece into line with this EHEA reform when she

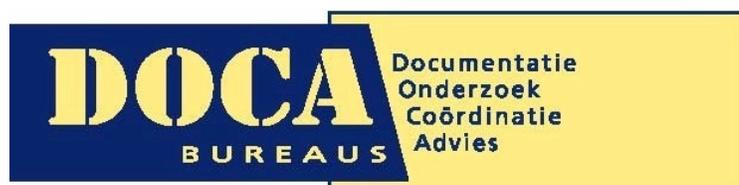
recommended four-and-a-half to six years for a Greek university diploma/BA(Hons) degree instead of Bologna's three. Apart from everything else, this is a gross waste of public finances at a time when Greek higher education needs to conserve all its resources. In spite of all the pre-election promises we're likely to hear over the next few weeks, it is unlikely that Greece will be able to increase its percentage of GDP on education for the foreseeable future. The financial future for Greek universities, therefore, lies in the introduction of tuition fees for first stage diploma programmes and/or the establishment of public/private partnerships. Those who would oppose such a strategy should reflect on why Harvard is both the richest and No 1 university in the world, according to the Times Higher Education's World University Rankings. (The nearest Greek university is the University of Athens at No 200.)

In the final analysis, it must be stated that not even the full implementation of the new law 3696/08 by the incoming government will have a material effect on Greece's participation in the Bologna process nor the formal launch of the EHEA next year. It represents an internal process to tidy up the administration of higher education within the Greek polity and in that respect is to be welcomed. That being the case, the new government still faces some hard choices in relation to the direction and quality of Greek higher education. The new law is indeed an elegy on an asymmetrical and inefficient administrative system but it does not contain the banal energy to move higher education forward, nor indeed to prepare Greek universities for the launch of the EHEA in Budapest and Vienna in March 2010. That will be a Herculean challenge for the new minister of education and religious affairs next month.

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Dr David Green BA(Hons) MSc FCMI CertTeach (UK) is former UK College Principal and University Academic Dean and an affiliate member of the GPSG. A version of this article was first published in Athens News (21/09/2009). It is published here with the author's permission. Email: fdgreen@hol.gr

DOCA Bureaus Publishes EC-Commissioned Report on Inclusion and Education in Europe



Dutch research agency DOCA-Bureaus has released its final report on inclusion and education across Europe. This major project was funded by the European Commission (2007-2009/001 TRA-TRSP0) and looks at a range of issues, such as discrimination, integration, special needs access and early school leaving. Report 14 features a comparative analysis of inclusion measures across 14 EU countries, including a section on Greece written by GPSG convenor Roman Gerodimos.

Links:

DOCA Bureaus homepage: <http://www.docabureaus.nl/>

Final Report 14 (Experts and PLA): <http://www.docabureaus.nl/14.%20ExpertsPLA.pdf>

RIEAS

Research Institute of European and American Studies

‘Terrorism in Greece: Reality versus Mythology’

Thursday, 10 December 2009

Titania Hotel, 52 Panepistimiou street, Athens

R.S.V.P: Mrs. Anna Mavriki at conference@rieas.gr and 210-9911214 (14:30-17:30)

List of confirmed speakers

John M. Nomikos

The Impact of the Media on Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Greece

Spyros Kyriakakis

Society's Evolution and a New Doctrine for the Heavy Criminality Prevention

Maria Alvanou

The revival of terrorism in Greece: issues of counterterrorism policy

Aya Burweila

Gateway to the Balkans: The Role of Greece in EU Counter-Terrorism Efforts

<http://www.rieas.gr/>

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΙΑ (ΕΚΕ)

HELLENIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY (HSS)



The 2nd International Conference of the Hellenic Sociological Society, “Risk Society: Challenges for the 21st Century”, took place at the Titania Hotel in Athens on 5-7th November 2009. The Keynote Speech was given by **Professor Ulrich Beck** on “Imagined Communities of Global Risks”.

<http://www.isa-sociology.org/cforp402.htm>

8th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs Athens Institute for Education and Research (AT.IN.E.R.)

When: 21-24 June 2010

Where: Athens, Greece

First Call for Papers and Participation – Deadline: 21 December 2009

The Politics Research Unit of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (AT.IN.E.R.) organizes its 8th annual international conference on Politics and International Affairs, 21-24 June 2010. The registration fee will be €250, covering access to all sessions, two lunches, coffee breaks and conference material. Special arrangements will be made with local hotels for a limited number of rooms at a special conference rate. In addition, a number of special events will be organized: A Greek night of entertainment, a special one-day cruise in the Greek islands and a half-day tour to archaeological site in Athens.

The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of Politics and International Affairs and other related disciplines. You may participate as panel organizer, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. For programs of previous conferences and other information visit the conference website www.atiner.gr/docs/Politics.htm

Papers (in English) from all areas of politics and international affairs are welcome. Selected papers will be published in a Special Volume of the Conference Proceedings or Edited Books. For Books and Proceedings of previous conferences you may visit http://www.atiner.gr/docs/POLITICS_PUBLICATIONS.htm for table of contents and order forms.

Please submit a **300-word abstract by 21st of December 2009**, by email, atiner@atiner.gr to Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER and Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA. Please include: Title of Paper, Full Name (s), Affiliation, Current Position, an email address and at least 3 keywords that best describe the subject of your submission. If you want to participate without presenting a paper, i.e. chair a session, evaluate papers to be included in the conference proceedings or books, contribute to the editing, or any other offer to help please send an email to Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, gtp@atiner.gr, Director, ATINER.

The Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER) was established in 1995 as an independent academic organization with the mission to become a forum where academics and researchers from all over the world could meet in Athens and exchange ideas on their research and discuss the future developments of their discipline. Since 1995, more than 100 international conferences were organized and more than 80 books have been published. The Institute is organized into four research divisions and nineteen research units. Each research unit organizes at least an annual conference and undertakes various small and large research projects.



Call for Applications

2010 Kokkalis Program Fellowship

Deadline: 8 January 2010

Master's in Public Policy, Public Administration, and Public Administration / International Development Fellowships

John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

The Kokkalis Program strives to support individuals committed to invigorating the public sector in Southeastern and East-Central Europe by providing fellowships for study at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Eligible to apply for a 2010 Kokkalis Fellowship are natives of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia and Turkey who are applying to one of the following degree programs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government:

- **Master in Public Policy (MPP)**
- **Master in Public Administration (MPA2)**
- **Mid-Career Master in Public Administration (MC/MPA)**
- **Master in Public Administration in International Development (MPA/ID)**

Candidates with academic and/or professional backgrounds in one of the following fields are encouraged to apply: public policy and administration, the non-profit sector, law, economics, social sciences, and related fields. Applicants should demonstrate a strong commitment to public service and the region of Southeast Europe.

Candidates must complete TWO applications: the online John F. Kennedy School of Government application for admission and the Kokkalis Fellowship application. For more information, please visit: http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/educational_opportunities.html

The deadline for submission of the Kokkalis Fellowship application is **8 January 2010**. Deadlines for admission to HKS vary according to the degree program. Applicants should consult the following website for details:

<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/degrees/admissions/apply/deadlines>