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Social Cohesion and Development

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**Θ. Σακελλαρόπουλος, Λ. Παπαγαλάνη, Α. Καλαφάτης,
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The 8th Global Forum on Migration and Development, Istanbul, Turkey (**A. Ioannou**), International Society for Labour and Social Security Law (ISLSSL), XI European Regional Congress, Young Scholars Session – European Embryo, Dublin, (**A. Tsetoura**), Ο Διαθρησκευτικός Διάλογος στην Ελλάδα: Η Συνάντηση Επιστήμης, Κοινωνίας και Πολιτικής μέσα από δύο Ημερίδες (**Σ. Πανταζόπουλος**).

ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΟΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗ

Εξαμηνιαία Επιστημονική Επιθεώρηση

SOCIAL COHESION AND DEVELOPMENT

Biannual Scientific Review

ΣΚΟΠΟΣ. Η Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη (ΚΣΑ) είναι μια εξαμηνιαία επιστημονική επιθεώρηση για την έρευνα και συζήτηση θεμάτων κοινωνικής πολιτικής, συνοχής και ανάπτυξης. Σκοπός της είναι η καλύτερη κατανόηση του ρόλου της κοινωνικής συνοχής στη σύγχρονη ανάπτυξη και προώθηση της κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης στο εσωτερικό και μεταξύ των εθνών. Τα άρθρα που δημοσιεύονται καλύπτουν τα πεδία της ανάλυσης, του σχεδιασμού, της εφαρμογής των πολιτικών, της αξιολόγησης των αποτελεσμάτων τους, της συγκριτικής έρευνας, της ανάλυσης του ρόλου των διεθνών οργανισμών, των εθελοντικών, κοινωνικών, ιδιωτικών και τοπικών φορέων στην κοινωνική ανάπτυξη και πολιτική. Ειδικότερα, η Επιθεώρηση φιλοξενεί άρθρα που αντιπροσωπεύουν ευρύ φάσμα γνωστικών πεδίων, όπως εργασιακές σχέσεις και απασχόληση, φτώχεια και κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός, συντάξεις και κοινωνική ασφάλιση, υγεία και κοινωνική φροντίδα, εκπαίδευση και κατάρτιση, πολιτικές για το παιδί, την οικογένεια και τα φύλα, μετανάστευση, εγκληματικότητα, εταιρική κοινωνική ευθύνη, καθώς και δραστηριότητες του τρίτου τομέα και της κοινωνίας πολιτών. Η Επιθεώρηση φιλοξενεί επιστημονικά άρθρα, βιβλιοκριτικές και βιβλιοπαρουσιάσεις, σύντομες εκθέσεις ερευνητικών προγραμμάτων, είτε στα ελληνικά είτε στα αγγλικά. Ενθαρρύνει τη διεπιστημονική, συγκριτική και ιστορική προσέγγιση.

AIMS AND SCOPE. Social Cohesion and Development (SCD) is a biannual interdisciplinary scientific journal for research and debate on social policy, social cohesion and social development issues. It aims to advance the understanding of social cohesion in the contemporary development and to promote social justice within and between the nations. Articles are covering policy analyses, developments and designs, evaluations of policy outcomes, comparative research, analyses of the role of international organizations, the voluntary, private and local agents in social development and policy. The journal provides comprehensive coverage of a wide range of social policy and development issues, such as labour market and employment policies, poverty and social exclusion, ageing, pensions and social security, health and social care, education and training, family, gender and child policies, migration, crime and corporate responsibility, as well as civil society and third sector activities. The Review welcomes scholarly articles, book reviews and short research reports, in Greek or English. It encourages a multidisciplinary, comparative and historical approach.

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Relations between national-regional unemployment and employment policies for a sustainable development in Greece

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Η Σχέση εθνικής- περιφερειακής ανεργίας και πολιτικές απασχόλησης για μια βιώσιμη ανάπτυξη στην Ελλάδα

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ABSTRACT

The extent of unemployment constitutes one of the most basic indicators of sustainable development and particularly in the field of socio-economic development, given that the extended unemployment, especially of the youth, cannot be considered to be compromising with the concept of sustainable development, as it restricts the possibilities of an important part of society to satisfy its needs, in the present and in the future too. Labor, when using the linear regression analysis, defines the relations between regional and national employment and unemployment in Greece, in order to reveal the reactions of each of the 13 regions of the country to the national trends for a period of 16 years, between 1998 and 2013. The differentiations that are revealed are considered crucial in the implementation of a regional strategy against unemployment, in order to achieve better prospects of economic development, to reduce the unemployment rate of each particular area and to implement an integrated strategy of sustainable development of the country.

KEY WORDS: Sustainable Development, Endogenous Development, Unemployment, Regional Differentiations, Regression Analysis

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η έκταση της ανεργίας αποτελεί έναν από τους βασικούς δείκτες της βιώσιμης ανάπτυξης και ειδικότερα του τομέα της κοινωνικοοικονομικής ανάπτυξης, δεδομένου ότι η εκτεταμένη ανεργία, ιδιαίτερα των νέων, δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ότι συμβιβάζεται με την έννοια της βιώσιμης ανάπτυξης, αφού περιορίζει τις δυνατότητες σημαντικού τμήματος της κοινωνίας να ικανοποιεί τις ανάγκες του και στο παρόν αλλά και μελλοντικά. Η εργασία, χρησιμοποιώντας την ανάλυση γραμμικής παλινδρόμησης, προσδιορίζει τις σχέσεις μεταξύ περιφερειακής και εθνικής απασχόλησης και ανεργίας στην Ελλάδα, προκειμένου να αναδειχθούν οι αντιδράσεις της κάθε μιας από τις 13 περιφέρειες της χώρας στις εθνικές τάσεις σε μια περίοδο 16 ετών, μεταξύ 1998 και 2013. Οι διαφοροποιήσεις που αναδεικνύονται θεωρούνται κρίσιμες σημασίας στην εφαρμογή μιας περιφερειακής στρατηγικής κατά της ανεργίας, προκειμένου να επιτευχθούν οι καλύτερες προοπτικές οικονομικής ανάπτυξης και η μείωση του ποσοστού ανεργίας κάθε συγκεκριμένης περιοχής και να εφαρμοστεί μια ολοκληρωμένη στρατηγική βιώσιμης ανάπτυξης της χώρας.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Βιώσιμη Ανάπτυξη, Ενδογενής Ανάπτυξη, Ανεργία, Περιφερειακές Διαφοροποιήσεις, Ανάλυση Παλινδρόμησης

1. Introduction

1.1 Sustainable Development and Employment

Already since 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development or the Johannesburg Summit officially recognized that sustainable development is supported by three fundamental components or dimensions: the economic, the environmental and the social one (in which the cultural is also included)¹. The economic component mainly refers to the preservation of a sustained economic growth, which is considered as a necessary condition for the constant improvement of social wellbeing, the avoidance of extreme imbalances between the economic sectors, the promotion of ecologically effective production and consumption standards and the satisfaction of basic human needs. The environmental one mainly refers to respecting the limits of the ecosystem (the natural and organic environment) aiming at preserving its stable productive base, guaranteeing the protection and the quality of the natural resources (atmosphere, earth, oceans, seas, coasts) so that no overexploitation or deterioration of their quality occurs and the protection of biodiversity. The social one mainly refers to guaranteeing equality within and among generations (combating any form of discrimination), to social integration and cohesion (dealing with any kind of exclusion), to the political participation, to social mobility and to the respect of cultural diversity. It is obvious that unemployment is a threat to the core of the social dimension of sustainability, given that it does not ensure the equality within and among the generations and at the same time it affects social integration and cohesion.

Those three basic components are inextricably linked to one another, meaning that all three of them are necessary preconditions of sustainability but none of them is able to achieve it by itself. That is each one is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of sustainability. This derives from analyzing the concept of viable or sustainable development itself, as a development that covers the needs of the current generation without restricting or putting the strain on the possibilities of future generations to cover their own needs². Each generation that does not secure at least the same economic, environmental and social conditions it inherited from the previous one for the next one, clearly violates the basic preconditions of viability or sustainability. It is also noted that viability is a dynamic concept, given that even if an economy satisfies the criterion of viability in the present, it is possible that it may not satisfy it in the future, especially if its economic activity increases significantly in relation to the basis of its natural capital (Dasgupta, 2007, p. 5).

At this point it should be noted that the acceptance of the three aforementioned components of sustainability rose important questions of restrictions or "morale" of development that the traditional theory of economic growth, but also the economic policy followed by the governments, generally ignored in the past³. The governments of the various countries, either developing but also developed ones, pursued economic growth without restrictions or limits. Gradually it started to be recognized that the unrestricted increase of the GDP can overturn the balance of relations between humans and environment and thus the patterns of economic policy followed should be altered, mainly with the integration of environmental dimensions in all aspects of this policy, but especially in the fields of agriculture, energy and transports, which are connected with very important environmental consequences.

Thus, it is recognized, that the viability or sustainability is not guaranteed in the long-run if the three dimensions are not appeased at the same time and in a balanced way, given that economic, environmental but also social factors may restrict the possibilities of future generations to satisfy their own needs. Even though the multidimensional character of viability of development has long

ago been noted and has been recognized in the above three fundamental components in general, particular emphasis has been given up to today by the relevant research and academic literature to the investigation of the economic and environmental dimensions of sustainability. The recent global economic crisis in Greece and the debt crisis that followed, in the case of Greece, the unprecedented unemployment with which both of these crises were combined as a result of the policies to address them both but the latter in particular, however, come to underline the importance of social development as a necessary condition of long-run sustainability of economic growth.

Regarding the relations between sustainability and employment, it is useful to mention that, in the framework of the European Strategy for Sustainable Development, 10 sectors or themes of sustainability have been specified, defining the general directions of policy for the sustainable growth, with the corresponding 11 headline indicators. These sectors are: socioeconomic development, sustainable consumption and production, social integration, demographic change, natural resources, global partnership and good governance. In parallel with that, the operational objectives and targets for each sector, as well as actions or explanatory variables, which are connected to the respective indicators⁴, have been specified. In the sector or theme of socioeconomic development, three operational objectives and targets have been identified, one of which is employment, with the respective employment rate indicator (Vavouras, 2013, pp. 522-523). Thus, the connection between sustainable development and employment is institutionally recognized on a European Union (E.U.) level.

This analysis is drafted in the framework of these relations between sustainability and employment, the basic proposition of which is that a high level of economic wellbeing is unsustainable in the long-run if it does not go hand in hand with a high level of employment, which constitutes a precondition of guaranteeing social development and social cohesion in particular. This is the key condition of sustainability of economic growth, which constitutes the most reliable mechanism of coping with economic and social crises in the long term. The improvement of economic growth that is not in harmony with a high level of employment, does not guarantee its long-run sustainability, as it will be connected with a high level of inequality within and among the generations and insufficient social integration and cohesion.

1.2 Discussing unemployment and its regional dimensions-A review

In the last years and in particular after the 2008-2009 global recession the issue of unemployment has taken huge dimensions worldwide and it is already apparent that it will be one of the largest social scourges of the 21st century. Of course, it is highlighted from the start that both recession and unemployment do not affect all the economies in the same way. There are economies where these problems have a larger intensity and time extent in comparison to the other ones.

The forecasts about the dimension of unemployment were pessimistic by a large number of researchers since the end of the 20th century. Since 1995, J. Rifkin foresaw that in the future nothing will remind of today's conditions in the labor market (Rifkin, 1995). Traditional policies, such as the existing professional training programs, did not seem to be effective in guaranteeing employment; neither did economic growth seem to contribute significantly in the decrease of unemployment (Meadows, 1996). An important issue during that period was examining the factors that lead modern economies to the expansion of the problem of unemployment. Structural factors that modern societies face, such as the transition to the information society, the internationalization of economy and the use of new technologies are considered to contribute immensely to the increase of unemployment.

The rapid growth of the tertiary sector (tertiarization) of the international economy was considered a key parameter of international developments (Buigues and Sapir, 1993). Indeed, in the framework of this transition to the sovereignty of services, their internationalization and their development as driving forces of growth, large structural changes in the economy of the countries took place and employment shrunk.

Furthermore, those who considered the worldwide trend of internationalization of the economy an important factor for determining the regional employment seem to have been verified, given that the development of internal markets, the liberalization of international trade, the continuous expansion of transnational organizations etc. gave new roles to the regions of the world with uncontrollable consequences to employment. This development was in favor of the already developed areas, which have the possibility to adapt to new conditions in a faster pace.

Technological transitions contribute to drastic changes of the productive sectors that led to the development up to now. The businesses that wanted to escape the crisis applied new technologies in the production process and searched for new products and markets. This procedure steadily led to the abandonment of productive factors that were used in the past and even areas where they were established. This policy steadily led to re-establishment procedures, thus to abandoning areas and transfer to other ones. So, we were led to long-run unemployment in a structural way, from which mainly the youth, women and whoever is educationally disadvantaged are affected the most, as had been foreseen by researchers towards the end of the 20th century (Lyon, 1994, pp. 65-85).

On a regional level, as it is natural, the areas which lose their comparative advantages in the new conditions that are being shaped are affected the most. In general, the introduction of technology rather decreases employment, despite the new professions that are created. In order to maintain the development in those areas, the labor force should adapt to the new requirements of the labor market, which are mainly of a higher level. The impacts of the new technology to employment are mainly defined by the following procedures:

1. Robotic production line.
2. New industrial relations.
3. Working at home (telematics).

The introduction of the "chip" to the production creates machines that have tremendous possibilities of substituting human labor. Furthermore, the construction of expert systems on the constructions in other productive sectors as well, restricts the need of using specialized and scientific labor force to half. Finally, the possibility of working from home, through the development of networks, when its mass implementation will be completely possible, creates huge changes to employment and devalues a series of professions (such as transports etc.). The impact of telematics to employment depends to a great extent on the size and the composition of the labor force that in the end will be placed between this system of work and its expansion varies between the European countries (Rontos, et al., 2014).

The answer, referring to the grade in which technology affects regional employment internationally is a tough one and depends on various factors, some of which are mentioned hereunder:

1. Growth rates. If the growth rates are high, the negative impacts will be smaller.
2. The rates of new population groups entering the labor market (women, secondary education graduates etc.)

3. The degree and rate of entering of the new technology. It is considered certain that old technology industries will be affected first by automatism and the consequences will be more severe (Lyon, 1994).

The European crisis of 2008 accelerated the impact of the aforementioned factors and became even more negative in countries and regions where the economy had not adapted to the oncoming structural changes, verifying the interpretations and predictions above.

1.3 Establishing the target of the paper

The relation of national to regional unemployment has been a topic that has been widely discussed in international literature (Black and Slatter, 1975, Clark, 1978). Under the new structural changes that were mentioned above, the research of the disparities between regional and national unemployment obtains new interest. It is attempted to investigate this relation with the help of quantitative methods, such as the Box – Jenkins techniques, OLS regression, etc. (Johnson, 1979). From the quantitative analysis it is derived that it is strongly questioned if a national policy of full employment would seriously affect regions that already have high unemployment rates in a positive way, and, after all, many disadvantaged regions cannot achieve the national standards of full employment (Clark, 1979).

The differentiations between national and regional unemployment trends also lead to differentiations in policy that should be implemented in dealing with the special problems of regions and towns with local development strategies but also with viable and sustainable development.

These issues are being researched regarding Greece, in such a way so that useful conclusions can be provided for the regional policy and the policy of sustainable development in the direction of reducing unemployment and minimizing the effect of structural changes that take place internationally today and which shape the 21st century's society and economy, too.

In particular, in this paper the development of unemployment in Greece will be investigated on a national and regional level, as well as the relation between regional and national unemployment and, finally, the modern means for a more effective regional – local employment policy will be mentioned, which should be implemented in Greece. We regard that this analysis cannot be but the core of the sustainable development strategy of the Greek country.

2. Methodology and data

In order to investigate the relation between regional and national unemployment, the simple linear regression was used and the national unemployment rate served as explanatory variable and the respective rate of each region of the country as a dependent variable. In total 13 linear functions were drawn up with primary data covering the 1998-2013 period.

The general form of the models for each region i is as follows:

$$Y_i = a_i + b_i X + e,$$

where:

Y_i = unemployment in region i (unemployment rate)

X = national unemployment (unemployment rate)

a_i, b_i = regression coefficients

e = residuals

The results of the above implementation are analyzed in the following way. The coefficients b_i show the sensitivity of the regional-local unemployment in the respective changes on a national level. If $b_i = 1$, then a change by one point in the national unemployment leads to an equal change in the area i . If $b_i < 1$, this shows that a change in national unemployment causes a smaller change in the area i . If $b_i > 1$, then the area i reacts more intensely to national changes. Thus, the coefficient b_i shows the relevant sensitivity / fragility of the regional – local unemployment to the respective national one. Regarding the constant term a_i the interpretation of the values it receives is as follows. If $a_i = 0$, then there is no accumulation of unemployment in area i , in relation to the national situation. If $a_i \neq 0$, then in $a_i > 0$, there is an accumulation of unemployment in the area and even above the average, whereas if $a_i < 0$, then local unemployment is accumulated below the average level.

It should be noted that the ascertainment that national unemployment series are actually not independent from the respective regional – local numbers constitutes a basic critique of the aforementioned methodology, so that the particular regression equations should be used. This is particularly true when the latter have a large participation in the national series, thus, when it is about a large town/region in comparison to the national number. It is actually considered that national economic cycles are affected by the respective regional ones (Chisholm, Frey and Hagget, 1971).

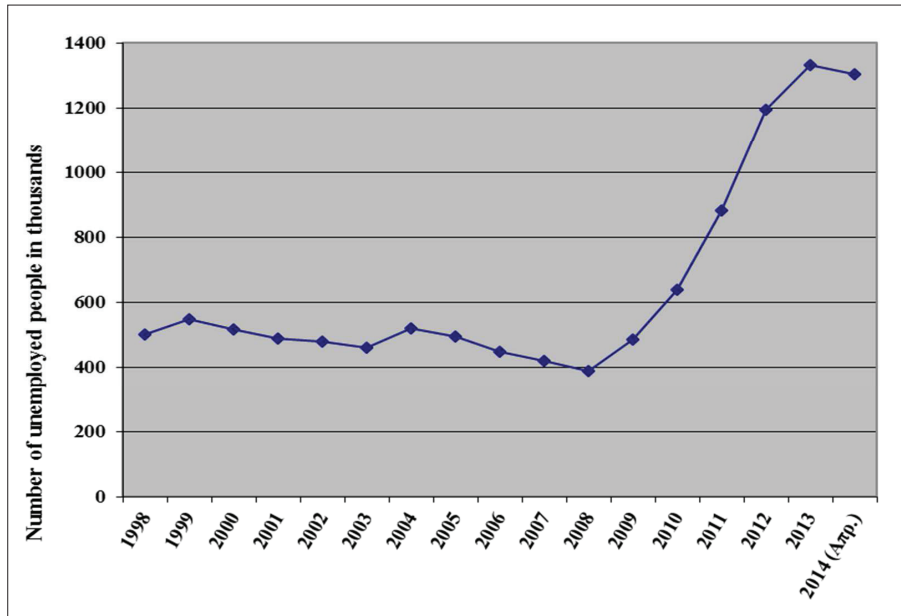
However, the aforementioned restrictions have not been taken into account in later relevant works. The national trend is still taken as an independent coefficient separately for each region, because this method provides useful information about the trends in the regional deviations of unemployment. In any event though, the usefulness of this model in detecting the relations between national and local/regional economies is important, as will be proven hereinafter.

The primary data on labor force and unemployment, with which the unemployment rate was drafted [(unemployed / labor force) x 100] up to the other employment data that are mentioned in this paper, are derived from the Labor Force Survey, of the D' quarter of the years 1998-2013 that is conducted by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) (former ESYE).

3. The development and the determining factors of unemployment in Greece in the last decades

In absolute measures the number of the unemployed in Greece during the 1998-2013 period increased from 519.000 people in 1998 to 1.363.100 in 2013. The unemployment rate in Greece in the year 2013 approached 27.50% of the total labor force and was the highest in the EU⁵. This rate even presented a continuous and a rapid rise during the 2009-2013 period during which it almost tripled in size (from 9.6% of the labor force of 2009 to 27.5% in 2013). Since 2014 a small drop in the country's unemployment rate is observed. The unemployment rate for the youth is particularly high, whereas for the younger aged 15-19 and 20-24 it reached 71.2% in 2013 and 54.8% of the respective labor force. Apart from its high level, the indicator of those ages is increasing in the particular period that is being examined. In figure 1 the development of unemployment in Greece is portrayed on an average annual basis for the 1998-2014 period. The data regarding 2014 refer to the month of April.

Figure 1: The development of unemployment in Greece in an average annual basis during the 1998-2014 period



Source: Eurostat.

To the 27.5% unemployment rate that was estimated for the year 2013 by the Labor Force Survey carried out by ELSTAT, the hidden unemployment, discouraged unemployment⁶, as well as underemployment that is hidden in categories of employees, such as unpaid assistants who help the family business and self-employed people without staff should be added too. The aforementioned categories include to a large extent underemployed people, usually women, and in many cases people who are practically unemployed, even though they are counted among the employed, in statistical terms. These categories constitute 30.32% of the working population, whereas the salaried employees are only 63.12% of them, a structure that shows a more general problem of the Greek economic reality, from which many difficulties arise regarding the carrying out of a more effective economic policy.

At this point it should be commented on that the effect of the structural factors, that according to what was mentioned in the introduction of the paper, are mainly the transition towards the post-industrial society, the internationalization of the economy and the technology, on the unemployment in Greece.

The effect of the first factor that is the transition from the dominance of industry to a society of services on the unemployment in Greece during the last decades seems to be important, as the concentration of the main volume of unemployed people in manufacturing, is obvious (Rontos, 1996 and 1997). The structural changes, foreseen by other researchers too, will hit countries such as Greece that have not been properly prepared for this transition towards a society of services (Buigues and Sapir, 1993).

The effect of the second factor on the unemployment in Greece, that is the tendency towards the internationalization of the global economy and the reallocation of the distribution of the worldwide or global economic activity, which is combined with the first factor too (tertiarization of the economy), has not been sufficiently investigated and it is also not possible to make exact forecasts. However, it is apparent that according to a previous analysis, Greece has comparative advantages in the wider European area, in the field of tourism due to its culture, its spiritual and historical legacy, its natural beauty and its recreation potential, facts that it should utilize (Rontos, 1995).

Then there is the third factor, namely technology. Its impact on unemployment even in Greece seems to devalue the traditional professions or at best drastically reduces the working jobs. By a special qualitative analysis for Greece, the results of which have been announced, (Rontos, 1997), it derives that according to a linear multivariable model with an important total interpretative ability ($ADJ R^2 = 0,81$), only the intensity rate of the new population group entering the labor market has an effect on the development of unemployment. On the contrary, the level of economic development and the rate of technology input do not seem to effect at a statistically significant level. This conclusion, of course, should be considered as an initial indicator of the interpretative ability of the factors that define the effect of technology on unemployment. Further and recent quantitative research of the issue is required so that some other factors can be taken into consideration too, to take into account the time lag in the variables etc.

4. Investigating the relation between national and regional unemployment in Greece

The country's regions present, exactly like the national measure, increasing trends in unemployment over time but differentiate considerably regarding the size of their rate compared to each other and in relation to national unemployment as well.

The regression analysis of the national on the regional unemployment shows interesting relations and confirms the regional differentiations in Greece regarding the issue being examined. The analytical results of the application of the linear regression functions for each region are presented in Table 1 and the evaluation of the models derived from this analysis in Table 2.

Table 1: Results of regression analysis for investigating the effect of national unemployment on regional unemployment 1998 - 2013

REGIONS	Coefficient Estimation				
	a	b	R2	Adj R2	DW
EASTERN MACEDONIA – THRACE	2,772 (t= 3,300) (p= 0,005)	0,807 (t= 13,834) (p= 0,000)	0,932	0,927	1,340
CENTRAL MACEDONIA	-0,808 (t= -1,629) (p= 0,126)	1,119 (t= 32,475) (p= 0,000)	0,987	0,986	1,148
WESTERN MACEDONIA	5,212 (t= 4,813) (p= 0,000)	0,920 (t= 12,233) (p= 0,000)	0,914	0,908	1,104
EPIRUS	2,639 (t= 4,525) (p= 0,000)	0,884 (t= 21,827) (p= 0,000)	0,971	0,969	1,839
THESSALY	2,144 (t= 2,922) (p= 0,011)	0,849 (t= 16,656) (p= 0,000)	0,952	0,949	0,831
IONIAN ISLANDS	6,802 (t= 4,509) (p= 0,000)	0,458 (t= 4,371) (p= 0,001)	0,577	0,547	1,506
WESTERN GREECE	0,263 (t= 0,358) (p= 0,726)	1,008 (t= 19,745) (p= 0,000)	0,965	0,963	1,759
CENTRAL GREECE & EUBOEA	0,739 (t= 1,215) (p= 0,244)	1,058 (t= 25,038) (p= 0,000)	0,978	0,977	1,876
ATTICA	-1,805 (t= -4,537) (p= 0,000)	1,120 (t= 40,545) (p= 0,000)	0,992	0,991	1,189
PELOPONNESE	0,353 (t= 0,597) (p= 0,560)	0,798 (t= 19,430) (p= 0,000)	0,964	0,962	1,212
NORTH AEGEAN	0,404 (t= 0,406) (p= 0,691)	0,765 (t= 11,060) (p= 0,000)	0,897	0,890	1,426
SOUTH AEGEAN	5,495 (t= 3,163) (p= 0,007)	0,542 (t= 4,489) (p= 0,001)	0,590	0,561	1,667
CRETE	-1,276 (t= -1,869) (p= 0,083)	0,939 (t= 19,794) (p= 0,000)	0,966	0,963	1,408

Table 2: Evaluation of linear relation between regional-national unemployment

REGIONS	TOTAL EXPLANATORY ABILITY OF NATIONAL ON REGIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS		AUTOCORRELATION IN THE RESIDUALS
		a	b	
EASTERN MACEDONIA THRACE	Extremely large	**	***	There is no negative autocorrelation. No conclusions are drawn about positive autocorrelation
CENTRAL MACEDONIA	Extremely large	***		There is no negative autocorrelation. No conclusions are drawn about positive autocorrelation
WESTERN MACEDONIA	Extremely large	***	***	There is no negative autocorrelation. No conclusions are drawn about positive autocorrelation
EPIRUS	Extremely large	***	***	There is no autocorrelation
THESSALY	Extremely large	**	***	There is positive autocorrelation
IONIAN ISLANDS	Moderate	***	***	There is no autocorrelation
WESTERN GREECE	Extremely large		***	There is no autocorrelation
CENTRAL GREECE & EUBOEA	Extremely large		***	There is no autocorrelation
ATTICA	Extremely large	***	***	There is no negative autocorrelation. No conclusions are drawn about positive autocorrelation
PELOPONNESE	Extremely large		***	There is no negative autocorrelation. No conclusions are drawn about positive autocorrelation
NORTH AEGEAN	Large		***	There is no autocorrelation
SOUTH AEGEAN	Moderate	**	***	There is no autocorrelation
CRETE	Extremely large	Uncertainty	***	There is no autocorrelation

SCALE OF TOTAL INTERPRETATIVE ABILITY: Moderate: $0,5 < AdjR2 < 0,7$, Large: $0,7 < AdjR2 < 0,9$, Extremely large: $AdjR2 > 0,9$

*** Level of statistical significance $\alpha = 0.001$,

** level of statistical importance $\alpha = 0.01$ and

* level of statistical importance $\alpha = 0.05$

First of all, for almost all of the regions, the total explanatory ability of the national on the regional unemployment is very large for all the regions apart from the Ionian Islands and the

South Aegean that show moderate levels ($0.5 < ADJ R^2 < 0.6$). The R^2 coefficient in this application shows the grade in which national unemployment explains the variation of each region's unemployment. A basic finding which also constitutes a success for the model of investigating the relation between national and regional unemployment is that all regions present statistically significant b coefficients'. The constant a term does not present statistical significance in equations of 5 regions (Table 1) which means that we have to keep some reservations to our conclusions that have been extracted from them. Statistical significance is still meaningful even in our case where we do not take a mere sample but all the country's regions. Finally, in only one region (Thessaly) there is a clear indication of autocorrelation, a fact that shows a successful application in that aspect, as the existence of an autocorrelation constitutes the basic critique in the implementation of the models for identifying the effects of national unemployment on the regional one (Clark, 1979).

Based on the angular coefficient b of each function conclusions are derived regarding the vulnerability/sensitivity of the regional-local unemployment to the national changes.

The regions that react more intensely to the national trends regarding unemployment ($b > 1$) are the following, based on the analysis (Table 3):

- Central Macedonia ($b = 1.119$)
- Attica ($b = 1.128$)

On the contrary, the regional changes in unemployment are smaller than the national ones for the regions ($b < 1$):

- Eastern Macedonia ($b = 0.807$)
- Western Macedonia ($b = 0.920$)
- Epirus ($b = 0.884$)
- Thessaly ($b = 0.849$)
- Ionian Islands ($b = 0.458$)
- Peloponnese ($b = 0.798$)
- North Aegean ($b = 0.765$)
- South Aegean ($b = 0.542$)
- Crete ($b = 0.939$)

Finally, according to the analysis in the regions of Western Greece and Central Greece and Euboea unemployment follows the national trends ($= 1$, $b = 1.008$ και $b = 1.058$).

Table 3: Sensitivity grade (reaction) of regional unemployment to the national changes

Large ($1 < b < 2$)	Moderate $ b = 1$ *	Small $ b < 1$
Central Macedonia, Attica	Western Greece, Central Greece and Euboea	Eastern Macedonia, Western Macedonia, Epirus, Ionian Islands, Peloponnese, North Aegean, South Aegean, Crete Thessaly

*A change in the regional unemployment by 1 point causes an equal change to national unemployment.

According to the value of the constant coefficient a , the regions are grouped in the following categories. Western Greece ($a = 0.263$), Peloponnese ($a = 0.353$) and North Aegean ($a = 0.404$) which do not present a large concentration of unemployed people in relation to the national levels ($a \approx 0$). The regions of Eastern Macedonia ($a = 2.774$), Western Macedonia ($a = 5.212$), Epirus ($a = 2.639$), Thessaly ($a = 2.144$), the Ionian Islands ($a = 6.802$), South Aegean ($a = 5.495$) and Central Greece ($a = 0.739$) present a higher accumulation of unemployed people than the national average ($a > 0$), whereas the other regions also present such an accumulation but in levels lower than the average (Central Macedonia $a = -0.808$, Attica $a = -1.805$, Crete $a = -1.276$) (Table 4).

Table 4: Accumulation grade of unemployment in the Regions in relation to the national levels

There is no accumulation ($a \approx 0$)	Small accumulation ($a < 0$)	Large accumulation ($a > 0$)
Western Greece, Peloponnese, North Aegean	Central Macedonia, Attica, Crete	Eastern Macedonia, Western Macedonia, Epirus Ionian Islands, South Aegean, Central Greece Thessaly

5. The characteristics of the regions and the implementation of a modern regional employment policy

The regions of Central Macedonia and Attica constitute the ones that react intensely to the national changes of unemployment. These regions, being metropolitan that accumulate a large part of the country's population and economic activity in secondary and tertiary sector, are affected immensely by the de-industrialization and the other structural changes that take place in Greece and internationally resulting in high numbers of unemployment. For each national policy measure, mainly with structural character, that affects employment, the immense consequences that will be presented in the aforementioned regions and shall increase unemployment even faster should be taken into account. However, in national policies that boost employment the regions in question have the privilege to be benefited more. The recent financial crisis in Greece but particularly the debt crisis that followed and the measures taken, particularly in order to confront the latter, also caused intense differentiations to the regional labor markets.

The mainland central regions of Western Greece and Central Greece follow the national changes regarding unemployment that is they react less intense than the previous metropolitan regions, a fact that should also be taken into account during carrying out employment policy or taking new measures that affect unemployment.

In the other regions of the country, unemployment reacts less to the national changes. Firstly, the island regions, due to their isolation, their prevalent orientation towards agriculture (Ionian Islands) or tourism (South Aegean), the restricted high technology sector, the lack of a satisfactory telecommunications network and the lack of dynamic urban centers. The Peloponnese, even though it is not an island, presents the same characteristics and intense intra-regional differentiations to the detriment of the prefectures that are situated in the southern part

of the region. Eastern Macedonia and Thrace also have the characteristics of regions being at the border and various socio-economic problems, whereas Epirus presents structural problems so that it cannot follow the national developmental trends. In this period, however, of huge increase of unemployment in Greece, the relative inaction of those regions to the national trends, constitute a protective element for the further increase of unemployment.

However, any policy to exit the crisis should take the relative inaction of these regions in question into account, a fact that entails the possible ineffectiveness of carrying out a unified central employment policy in them. The development of infrastructures in a regional and intra-regional level, the implementation of special local and sectoral programs and the emphasis on vocational training – basic education, will contribute to the approach of the basic developmental parameters of these regions, at least in a national framework.

It is typical that all the above regions, apart from those of the South Aegean and Crete, are characterized by a relatively low growth rate. After all, most of them present, according to the results of the regression, a large accumulation of unemployed people in relation to the national numbers. However it should be noted that Western Macedonia and Crete present a coefficient b , slightly smaller than 1, thus they practically almost follow the national trends. The first one because it does not present a large grade of isolation and is geographically and organically near Thessaloniki and the second one because it's economic activity is mainly exports, it has local developmental advantages (important urban centers, technology, dynamic farming etc.) and in general present characteristics of a successful endogenous development.

As a general ascertainment however, from the empirical results of this application the different reaction of the regions to the national changes should be mentioned, with relative inaction being the main characteristic mainly of the isolated and developmentally disadvantaged regions of Greece. The study confirms the fragmentation of the labor markets between the various areas of the country and urges the establishment of a specialized regional employment policy instead of carrying it out centrally and unified, which rather adds to instead of reducing regional inequalities.

Indeed, the ascertainment of indications that concern the mild up to intense differentiation of regional unemployment in relation to the respective national one, also defines the direction the policy should take that might possibly provide solutions to the mass unemployment that the Greek and the global society experiences on a daily basis. Traditional policies that adopt the strategy of "top-bottom development" do not seem to face the problem of unemployment, that continues to grow and leads to important and dynamic parts of society to social exclusion (from work). It is also noted, that the solutions merely "to put out the fire" without them being rational in order for employment to increase, such as recruitment in the public sector etc. are no longer possible due to the need for a restrictive policy and simultaneously due to the introduction of technology in the public sector.

Furthermore, the policy for combating unemployment through training programs and other social policy measures does not seem to give solutions if those measures are designed on a national level. For these reasons and given that carrying out employment policy is nowadays identified with the creation of new job positions, the trend for a decentralized system is created, which will deal with the disturbance of the balance at its source, meaning the place each local balance is created, of course always taking into account the national and international factors.

The effect of the institutional and economic changes on the regional unemployment can also be seen when comparing the results of this application to a respective one conducted a decade

ago for the 1988-99 period (Rontos, 2004), that is before Greece entered the EMU and the budgetary discipline of the 2009-14 period with large consequences to the economic recession and the huge explosion of unemployment.

The following can be mentioned as the most meaningful conclusions from the comparison of the two applications:

- The regions of Western Macedonia, Eastern Macedonia & Thrace, Epirus and Central Greece are inactivated regarding their reaction to national unemployment in the resent application.
- Attica is now one of the two regions that react intensely to the national trends as opposed to the previous periods.
- Central Macedonia remains in both periods among the regions with an intense reaction to the national trends.
- During the first application the inaction of the three regions (Attica, Western Greece, and Crete) to national trends from the older application, lately expands to as many as 9 regions, as has already been presented in this analysis.
- A large accumulation of unemployed people, in relation to the national number is presented by an important number of regions, as we saw in the latest period, whereas in the application in the 90's, such an accumulation was only presented by the regions of Attica and Western Greece.

Those differentiations (and others) between the two periods should be analyzed in depth, but at this point we estimate that we can draw the following clear conclusions: The differentiation of policies during the recent period (entering the EMU, implementing measures of violent monetary adaptation during the crisis, guardianship by the EU and the IMF when carrying out policy) not only deepened the problems of unemployment by this boom but also enhanced the regional disparities, fragmented and isolated the labor market on a regional level even more and generalized the accumulation of unemployed people in a large number of regions, so that the regional image of unemployment turns out to be more problematic but also more complicated than ever.

6. Conclusions and policy recommendations

The problem of unemployment constitutes one of the most important problems of modern societies that hit the core of sustainable development strategy. Entering information society, the internationalization of economy and the continuous technological input magnify the problem of unemployment. On a regional level, the effects of the aforementioned factors differ from area to area and hit the areas that cannot easily adapt to the new conditions more. The different grade in which the regions are hit also leads to the need to differentiate the employment policy that should be implemented by regions, that is, a regional employment policy should be carried out.

Thus, investigating the relation between national and regional employment, by applying linear regression models, also contributes to carrying out a rational regional employment policy, as it detects the degree of response of regional unemployment to the changes in national unemployment, as well as to the effective application of an integrated strategy for sustainable development.

In particular, regarding unemployment, from the results of the application in the country's regions, three basic groups are detected. Those that follow the changes in national

unemployment, those who are more sensitive to national changes and those that respond less intensely to the national trends. These groups of regions present common economic and geographical characteristics that interpret those different reactions to the national changes but are also interpreted by them to a great extent.

The particularities of the regions and the independence or the differentiation of the development of their unemployment in relation to the national trends, renders it necessary to draw up a regional – local development strategy with “bottom-up development” as a main choice and the “local employment initiatives” as basic means. This regional-local development strategy should constitute a main pillar of national sustainable development strategy.

Notes

1. See par. 8 of the Declaration of Sustainable Development Policy, Johannesburg 2002, in Gr. Tsaltas (edit.), 2003. See also United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2002. Regarding the analysis of the three basic components of sustainable development, see in Vavouras, 2013, pp. 513-514.
2. “Development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs”. World Commission on Environment (Brundtland Commission) Report, 1987, p. 3.
3. For the analysis of the relations between growth and development, see among others in Vavouras, 2011, pp. 27-28.
4. See Eurostat, *Sustainable Development Indicators*, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/sdi>
5. Spain followed with 26.1%, whereas the average unemployment rate for EU was 10.8%.
6. Hidden unemployment is when it is possible to reduce the number of employees without reducing production levels that is to the point where the marginal productivity of labor equals zero. Discouraged unemployment is constituted of dispirited work which means people at a working age that would like to enter the labor force if they considered the opportunities offered in the labor market were favorable. See Vavouras, 2013, pp. 382-383.

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Ευγενία Π. Μπιτσάνη

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑΚΗ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗ

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Ο πολιτισμός αποτελεί την ισχυρότερη ένδειξη προόδου και ευημερίας των σύγχρονων κοινωνιών, καθώς συνδέεται με τον ελεύθερο χρόνο και την ελεύθερη δημιουργία. Οι εθνικοί και τοπικοί πολιτισμοί είναι οι συγκεκριμένες μορφές εμφάνισης του πολιτισμού σε χρόνο και τόπο. Ενσωματώνουν τις ιστορικές, εθνικές, γλωσσικές, θρησκευτικές παραδόσεις, τις κοινωνικές και οικονομικές σχέσεις, τη γεωγραφία, το κλίμα και γενικότερα το χώρο όπου λαμβάνει χώρα η πολιτισμική δημιουργία. Έτσι, η ίδια η διαδικασία δημιουργίας και απόλαυσης πολιτισμικών αγαθών, από τη φύση της, ταυτίζεται με τη διαφορετικότητα, την ποικιλότητα και την ετερομορφία. Οι τοπικές κοινωνίες, σε όλες τις μορφές τους (κοινότητα, πόλη, περιφέρεια), είναι συνεπώς οι φυσικοί φορείς διαχείρισης της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς και δημιουργίας. Ο τοπικός πολιτισμός αναδεικνύεται σε προνομιακό πεδίο άσκησης τοπικής ή περιφερειακής πολιτιστικής πολιτικής. Όμως πώς ασκείται αυτή η πολιτική από τις τοπικές κοινωνίες; Ποια πεδία πρέπει να προσεχθούν ιδιαίτερα; Πώς εξασφαλίζεται η χρηματοδότηση;

Το παρόν βιβλίο είναι σχεδιασμένο για να ικανοποιήσει κατ' αρχήν τις ανάγκες διδασκαλίας των φοιτητών που ενδιαφέρονται για την πολιτική επί του πολιτισμού. Συνδυάζει το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο με την πρακτική εμπειρία, όπως προκύπτει από την εφαρμογή πολιτιστικών πολιτικών σε άλλες χώρες, στην Ευρώπη και την Ελλάδα. Παράλληλα, δίνει απαντήσεις σε συγκεκριμένα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν οι πολιτικοί (βουλευτές, δήμαρχοι), οι τεχνοκράτες σχεδιαστές πολιτικής και οι υπεύθυνοι των τοπικών κοινωνιών ή των πολιτισμικών οργανισμών.

Είναι βέβαιο ότι όσοι ενδιαφέρονται και ασχολούνται με την πολιτιστική πολιτική, την περιφερειακή ανάπτυξη και τις πόλεις, θα βρουν σε αυτό το βιβλίο ένα πρώτης τάξεως βοήθημα για το δύσκολο έργο τους.

Civility and Citizenship. A study for the island of Lesbos, Greece

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Kostas Rontos, *University of the Aegean*

Πολιτικές νοοτροπίες και πολιτειακή συνείδηση στο νησί της Λέσβου

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to examine the condition of the civil and civic perception of the common good, and the attitudes toward the public sphere in the Greek islands of the Northern Aegean. In particular, we wish to examine whether they constitute a region of particular political-cultural characteristics. Based upon the findings of a previous study (Marangudakis, Rontos, and Xenitidou 2013), we examine the moral self in a political framework: Following Alexander and Smith, Triandis, and Ramfos we examine the quality of specific moral attributes and value preferences vis-à-vis aspects of modern and pre-modern mentality, as well as the value- and mean- orientation of their purposeful action.

KEY WORDS: Moral self, collective self, individualist self, cultural patterns

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ο σκοπός αυτού του άρθρου είναι η εξέταση της πολιτικής και της πολιτειακής αντίληψης του δημόσιου αγαθού, και οι στάσεις των πολιτών έναντι της δημόσιας σφαίρας στο νησί της Λέσβου. Συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζεται κατά πόσον αποτελούν μια περιοχή με ιδιαίτερη πολιτικά-πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά. Βασιζόμενοι σε μία προηγούμενη πανελλαδική μελέτη (Marangudakis, Rontos, και Xenitidou 2013), εξετάζουμε τον ηθικό εαυτό ως συστατικό στοιχείο του πολιτικού: Ακολουθώντας τις έρευνες των Alexander και Smith, του Triandis, και του Ράμφου εξετάζουμε την ποιότητα των συγκεκριμένων ηθικών ιδιοτήτων και των αξιακών προτιμήσεων έναντι πτυχών της σύγχρονης και της προ-νεωτερικής νοοτροπίας, καθώς και τον αξιακό και τον εργαλειακό προσανατολισμό της εμπρόθετης δράσης τους.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Ηθικός εαυτός, συλλογικός και ατομοκεντρικός εαυτός, πολιτισμικά πρότυπα

Theoretical Considerations

Morality has recently made a forceful comeback in mainstream sociology as a legitimate, if not a crucial subject of civil society and civic responsibility. Following the work of Taylor, Alexander (1996, 2006), Alexander and Smith (1993), Harrison and Huntington (2001), Szokolczi and Füstös (1998), Fukuyama (1995), Taylor (1992) and Eisenstadt (2001), we examine a series of issues that concern the individual predisposition toward the civil sphere. Our first step is

to examine such a predisposition toward individualistic vs. collectivist moral stands. Whereas individualism and collectivism are often treated as constituting two distinct cultural patterns, Triandis (1998) suggested that there are many kinds of individualism and collectivism. Following Triandis we contend that the most important attributes that distinguish among different kinds of individualism and collectivism are the relative emphases on horizontal and vertical social relationships. Generally speaking, horizontal patterns assume that one self is more or less like every other self. By contrast, vertical patterns consist of hierarchies, and one self is different from other selves.

In detail, and according to Triandis, the ways in which these relative emphases combine with individualism and collectivism produce four distinct patterns: Horizontal Individualism (HI), Vertical Individualism (VI), Horizontal Collectivism (HC), and Vertical Collectivism (VC). More specifically, in HI, people want to be unique and distinct from groups; in VI, people often want to become distinguished and acquire status; in HC, people see themselves as being similar to others but they do not submit easily to authority; in VC people emphasize the integrity of the in-group, are willing to sacrifice their personal goals for the sake of in-group goals, and support competitions of their in-groups with out-groups. If in-group authorities wish them to act in ways that benefit the in-group but are extremely distasteful to them, they submit to the will of these authorities.

In a previous application of Triandis' test on a Greek population sample, the pattern that emerged was as follows: Horizontal Collectivism came first being followed by Vertical Collectivism, Horizontal Individualism and Vertical Individualism. It suggested that Collectivism is the dominant pattern of social behavior with Individualism being the residual one. Furthermore, it suggested that while our sample sifts from authoritarian modes of social interaction to voluntary associations, the collective mode remains strong (Marangudakis, Rontos and Xenitidou, 2013, p.13).

Furthermore, we wish to examine the perception of the common good, and of the public good. To say that someone adheres to collective or individualist goals and morals, or that someone is willing to sacrifice him/herself for the common good, or someone is willing to sacrifice everyone else for his/her interests, does not tell us a lot about their perception of political institutions, and their role into the framework of political life. For this reason, and to measure the perception people have about political (democratic) institutions and the boundaries of the society/group they feel they belong to, we use a second set of questions/items to examine the quality of the various combinations that the Triandis test will detect.

In a previous application of the same set of items, five discourses emerged. According to their significance, the first one was the *phobic* discourse made of the items that denote concern for the "foreigners", belief in the miraculous intervention of God and the understanding of the political domain as a process of "demanding". The second most important discourse was the *righteous* one. It matches the principles of the bi-polar individual of the Orthodox theological principles who combines righteousness with an inner, emotional, sense of justice irrespective of the consequence. The third one, the *populist* discourse brings together the typical elements of populism and its moral principles. The fourth discourse, the *egoist* one, exemplifies the identification of the moral good with the personal benefit irrespective of the law. Last the *leveling* discourse resembles more a herding mentality rather than of a people in power: someone who is willing to give up his/her individual rights as long as he/she retains his/hers essential similarity to the next individual (ibid.p.15).

Data and methods

Tool, field work, Sampling method and methods of analysis

The data produced by contacting a specific survey in the island in concern.

The questionnaire, consisting of 58 closed type questions and statements, was filled in by a selected sample of the population of Lesbos Island the period January-April 2012. Qualified postgraduate students were employed as enumerators. A quota sampling method was employed and a total of 353 persons were finally selected.

Descriptive statistics and Factor Analysis were employed to produce the following results. Fifteen items from the Triantis test was used measured in a scale from 1 (disagree) to 10 (agree). The same scale of 1-10 was used on seventeen items measuring the civil consciousness. As far as the implementation of Factor Analysis is concerned, the statistical measure Kaiser-Meyer Olkin (K.M.O.) of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity were calculated. Principal components analysis was employed to extract the number of factors, with Eigenvalues > 1 taken as a criterion, which was verified by Scree Plot. Conducting factors rotation the maximum likelihood method was used as extraction method and Varimax with Kaiser Normalization as rotation method.

Results

Sample description

From the total sample of 353 individuals 56.9% are women and 43.1% are men. The mean average age of the sample is 32 years old. More specifically, 38.5% of the sample belong to the age group of 16-24, 24.8% in the age group of 25-34, 19.0% in the age group of 35-44, 11.7% in the age group 45-54, 5.0% in the age group 55-64 and 1.2% in the age group of 65 and above. The educational level of the sample is high as well, The 53.8% holds a university or technical college degree, the 30.8% holds a high school diploma and 7.4% has a postgraduate degree. Only 1.1% of the sample did not finish primary school, while 3.4% has primary school baccalaureate and 3.4% has high school baccalaureate.

It is important to mention that 28.3% of the sample works as routine non-manual employees, higher grade-lower grade, 17% works as lower-grade professionals, administrators, officials, higher-grade technicians, 10% are students and 9.1% works as skilled manual workers, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. At very low rates we see people working as farmers and as other workers in primary production (5.9%), small proprietors, artisans with employees - without employees, farmers and smallholders (4.8%), lower - grade technicians and supervisors of manual workers (2%), people working in higher-grade professionals, administrators, officials and managers (0.3%), people who are not working (unemployed 3.1%), retired (2%), household (2.8%) (13.9% did not answer this question). The monthly income of 38.1% of the sample range up to 500 €, 37.5% from 500 € to 1.000 €, 16.3% from 1.000 € to 1.500 €, while a very small percentage of the sample has a monthly income more than 1.500 € (1.500 € - 2.000 €: 3,1%, 2.000 € - 3.000 €: 1,7%, 3.000 € - 5.000 €: 1,6%).

Triantis test statistical analysis

First of all mean value and Std of the 15 items included in the test are shown in table 1. Items 18.15, 18.4 and 18.14 seem to have the highest mean agreement, while 18.8 and 18.6 have the lowest mean agreement of the sample.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Trianis test items			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Analysis N
18_2. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others	7,7105	2,10734	342
18_3. I often do «my own thing»	6,7807	2,18402	342
18_4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me	8,1725	1,90909	342
18_5. It is important that I do my job better than others	7,2602	2,23793	342
18_6. Winning is everything	4,7661	2,60007	342
18_7. Competition is the law of nature	6,5877	2,38081	342
18_8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused	4,2982	2,52238	342
18_9.If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud	7,9766	2,04051	342
18_10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me	7,2018	2,16143	342
18_11.To me, pleasure is spending time with others	8,1550	1,92284	342
18_12. I feel good when I cooperate with others	7,7135	2,06771	342
18_13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible	5,6608	2,67642	342
18_14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	8,0585	2,17209	342
18_15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	8,3509	1,97038	342
18_16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups	7,3158	2,12228	342

Factor Analysis was used to detect the internal relations and structures among the variables of the Triantis test, by grouping and reducing their number.

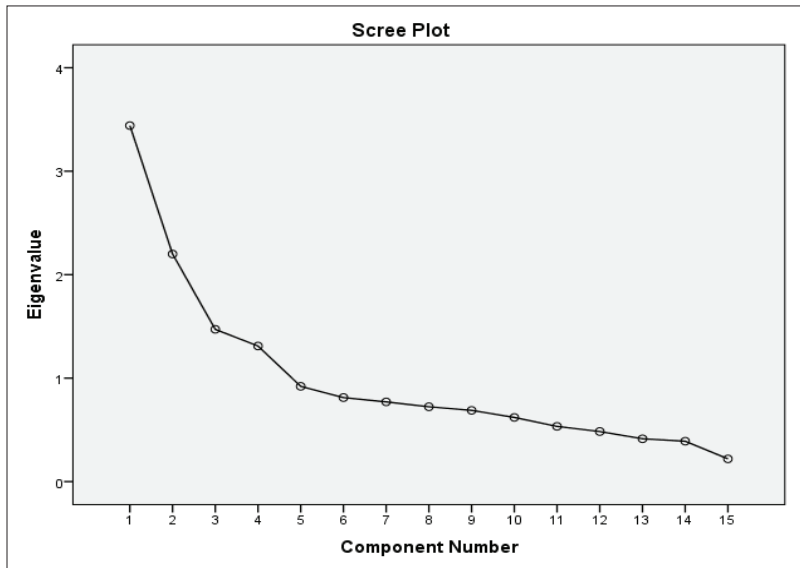
In order to ensure the indigenous correlations, the statistical measure Kaiser-Mayer Olkin (K.M.O.) was used, which indicates the data suitability, the existence of adequate endogenous correlations and the adequacy of the sample, ranging in 0.743. At the same time, Bartlett's Test Sphericity=1252.445, df=105, p=0.00 verifying the possibility of variable correlation, by using factor analysis (Table 2).

Table2
KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		0.734
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1252,445
	df	105
	Sig.	0.000

Principal Components Analysis was employed to extract the number of factors, with Eigenvalues>1 taken as a criterion for selecting the factors. Four factors were selected by the method (Table 3) which was verified by Scree Plot (Figure 1). Conducting factors rotation the maximum likelihood the method was used. According to the Goodness of fit Test, Chi-Square is=96.533, df=51 and p=0.000Sig.

Figure 1



It is important to note, that the four Factors occurred show that the total variance initially explained by the model is 56.153% and 43,847% loss (Table 3).In the final model the variance explained is reduced to 41.7 (Table4). The contribution of each factor to the variance explanation is also seen in the table 4.

Table 3

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,441	22,941	22,941	3,441	22,941	22,941
2	2,200	14,665	37,606	2,200	14,665	37,606
3	1,472	9,810	47,416	1,472	9,810	47,416
4	1,311	8,737	56,153	1,311	8,737	56,153
5	,921	6,137	62,290			
6	,812	5,413	67,704			
7	,771	5,137	72,841			
8	,723	4,822	77,663			
9	,689	4,592	82,254			
10	,620	4,134	86,388			
11	,534	3,558	89,946			
12	,484	3,226	93,172			
13	,414	2,760	95,932			
14	,390	2,603	98,535			
15	,220	1,465	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Specifically, the results from the use of the Varimax Rotation with Kaiser Normalization method, in which the basic hypothesis is that the factors that occur are independent with each other, are analyzed below (Table 5).

Table 4

Total Variance Finally Explained									
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,441	22,941	22,941	2,780	18,533	18,533	1,936	12,908	12,908
2	2,200	14,665	37,606	1,592	10,614	29,146	1,822	12,145	25,054
3	1,472	9,810	47,416	1,174	7,824	36,970	1,312	8,744	33,798
4	1,311	8,737	56,153	,717	4,778	41,748	1,192	7,950	41,748

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

First Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «I feel good when I cooperate with others»(0.693), «To me, pleasure is spending time with others»(0.667),«The well-being of my coworkers is important to me»(0.664),«If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud» (0.598). All variables have very high loads, which fluctuate more than 0.6.

Second Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables « It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want» (0.836), «Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required» (0.820), « It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups» (0.360), «Parents and children must stay together as much as possible» (0.352). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Third Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables«I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others»(0.534), «My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me»(0.491),«I often do «my own thing»»(0.439). It's clearly that the first two variables have very high loads as opposed to the last one.

Fourth Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables«When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused»(0.703), «Winning is everything»(0.630), «Competition is the law of nature »(0.408), «It is important that I do my job better than others»(0.340). It's evident from the variables loads that the first two variables show the higher contribution than the two last one.

Table5
Rotated Factor Matrixa

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
18_2. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others	0.054	0.080	-0.084	0.534
18_3. I often do «my own thing»	-0.002	-0.057	0.259	0.439
18_4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me	0.146	0.108	0.116	0.491
18_5. It is important that I do my job better than others	0.049	0.180	0.340	0.485
18_6. Winning is everything	-0.022	-0.012	0.630	0.190
18_7. Competition is the law of nature	0.139	0.159	0.408	0.193
18_8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused	-0.239	0.065	0.703	-0.065
18_9. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud	0.598	0.080	-0.094	0.206
18_10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me	0.664	0.040	-0.102	0.107
18_11. To me, pleasure is spending time with others	0.667	0.199	0.045	-0.026
18_12. I feel good when I cooperate with others	0.693	0.258	0.042	0.036
18_13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible	0.076	0.352	0.113	-0.023

18_14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	0.153	0.836	0.035	0.231
18_15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	0.118	0.820	-0.087	0.229
18_16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups	0.257	0.360	0.077	-0.016

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.^a

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

To check the reliability of the 14 variables of the test, Cronbach's "Alpha" statistic was computed equal to 0.717, recommended quite good internal consistency.

Civil consciousness test analysis

The mean value and Std of the 17 items included in the test are shown in table 6. Items 20.2, 20.7 and 20.8 seem to have the highest mean agreement, while 20.11, 20.5 and 20.17 have the lowest mean agreement of the sample.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Analysis N
20_1. I am ready to fight for what I believe is right, even by breaking the Law	6,3653	2,51090	334
20_2. Physical violence by no means belongs to social life	7,6916	2,83014	334
20_3. "Justice" is more important that "individual rights"	5,8353	2,61891	334
20_4. The role of the politicians is to adhere to my demands	5,7814	3,01500	334
20_5. Before my personal profit I do not consider the Law	3,3623	2,40443	334
20_6. I sense the world more with my feelings rather than my intellect	6,0569	2,62348	334
20_7. If I consider something to be right I support it irrespective of the consequences	7,0629	2,29222	334
20_8. At the end of the day I am responsible for what happens to me	7,5509	2,45233	334
20_9. The foreigners are jealous and conspire against us	4,2156	3,00874	334
20_10. The interest of the people is above institutions and laws	6,3443	2,77451	334
20_11. I believe that the stars affect people's life	3,0030	2,42299	334
20_12. Between individual freedoms and social equality, I prefer social equality	5,9222	2,36464	334
20_13. I feel that my life is controlled by dark networks	4,0629	2,93763	334

20_14. When the people truly get the power, it would be a matter of time to solve the most important problems	5,0808	2,62170	334
20_15. I believe in the miraculous intervention of God in the world	5,6527	3,07841	334
20_16. The foreigners impose a threat to our national identity	4,8772	3,11635	334
20_17. In general I trust my fellow citizens irrespective of how well I know them personally	3,6677	2,18932	334

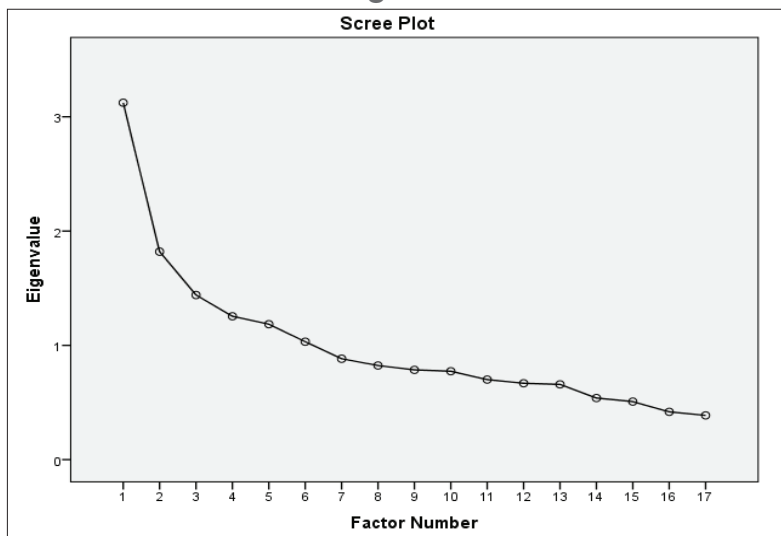
Factor analysis was used again for the civil consciousness testanalysis. In order to ensure the indigenous correlations, the statistical measure Kaiser-Mayer Olkin (K.M.O.) was used, which indicates the data suitability, the existence of adequate endogenous correlations and the adequacy of the sample, ranging in 0.702. At the same time, Bartlett's Test Sphericity =842.086, df=136, p=0.00 verifying the possibility of variable correlation, by using factor analysis (Table 7).

Table 7

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,702
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	842,086
	df	136
	Sig.	,000

Principal Components Analysis was employed to extract the number of factors, with Eigenvalues>1 taken as a criterion for selecting the factors. Five factors were selected by the method (Table 8) which was verified by Scree Plot (Figure 2). In fact sixth factor did not selected as Eigenvalue for it was almost 1. Conducting factors rotation the maximum likelihood method was used. According to the Goodness of fit Test, Chi-Square is = 87,148, df = 61 and p = 0.016 Sig.

Figure 2



It is important to note, that the five Factors occurred show the total variance initially explained by the model is 51,90% and 48,10% loss (Table 8). In the final model the variance explained is reduced to 35.42% (Table 9). The contribution of each factor to the variance explanation is also seen in the table9.

Table 8

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,123	18,370	18,370	3,123	18,370	18,370
2	1,820	10,705	29,075	1,820	10,705	29,075
3	1,441	8,474	37,550	1,441	8,474	37,550
4	1,254	7,379	44,929	1,254	7,379	44,929
5	1,185	6,972	51,901	1,185	6,972	51,901
6	1,032	6,072	57,973			
7	,883	5,193	63,165			
8	,823	4,843	68,009			
9	,785	4,620	72,629			
10	,774	4,551	77,179			
11	,700	4,119	81,298			
12	,669	3,932	85,230			
13	,659	3,874	89,104			
14	,539	3,169	92,273			
15	,508	2,987	95,260			
16	,418	2,461	97,722			
17	,387	2,278	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Specifically, the results from the use of the Varimax Rotation with Kaiser Normalization method, in which the basic hypothesis is that the factors that occur are independent with each other, are analyzed below (Table 9).

Table 9

Total Variance finally Explained									
Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,123	18,370	18,370	1,335	7,850	7,850	1,634	9,609	9,609
2	1,820	10,705	29,075	2,260	13,296	21,146	1,201	7,066	16,675
3	1,441	8,474	37,550	1,166	6,857	28,004	1,173	6,898	23,573

4	1,254	7,379	44,929	,624	3,668	31,672	1,099	6,466	30,039
5	1,185	6,972	51,901	,637	3,750	35,422	,915	5,383	35,422

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

First Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «The foreigners impose a threat to our national identity» (0.797), «The foreigners are jealous and conspire against us» (0.685), «I feel that my life is controlled by dark networks» (0.382), «I believe in the miraculous intervention of God in the world»(0.379). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Second Factor: The higher loading value is been shown to the following variable «If I consider something to be right I support it irrespective of the consequences» (0.685), «I am ready to fight for what I believe is right, even by breaking the Law» (0.518), «At the end of the day I am responsible for what happens to me» (0. 419), «I sense the world more with my feelings rather than my intellect» (0. 340). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Third Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «When the people truly get the power, it would be a matter of time to solve the most important problems» (0.489), «The interest of the people is above institutions and laws» (0.489), «In general I trust my fellow citizens irrespective of how well I know them personally» (0.226). It's evident from the variables loads that the first two variables show the higher contribution than the last one.

Fourth Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «Before my personal profit I do not consider the Law» (0.940), «The role of the politicians is to adhere to my demands» (0.318), I believe that the stars affect people's life (0.222). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Fifth Factor: The higher loading values are been shown to the following variables «"Justice" is more important that "individual rights"» (0.486), «Between individual freedoms and social equality, I prefer social equality» (0.340), «Physical violence by no means belongs to social life» (0.330). The two last one variables have the smallest loads.

Table 10

Rotated Factor Matrix					
	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
20_1. I am ready to fight for what I believe is right, even by breaking the Law	,006	,004	,518	,163	-,118
20_2. Physical violence by no means belongs to social life	,028	-,132	,081	-,019	,330
20_3. "Justice" is more important that "individual rights"	,057	,273	-,084	,078	,486
20_4.The role of the politicians is to adhere to my demands	,264	,318	-,073	,265	,125
20_5. Before my personal profit I do not consider the Law	,095	,940	,176	,090	-,260
20_6. I sense the world more with my feelings rather than my intellect	,089	,120	,340	,188	,309
20_7. If I consider something to be right I support it irrespective of the consequences	-,061	-,025	,685	,071	,085

20_8. At the end of the day I am responsible for what happens to me	,065	,046	,419	,033	,262
20_9.The foreigners are jealous and conspire against us	,685	,180	,071	,062	,100
20_10.The interest of the people is above institutions and laws	,230	,046	,241	,489	,081
20_11.I believe that the stars affect people's life	,183	,222	-,027	,002	,152
20_12.Between individual freedoms and social equality, I prefer social equality	,047	-,032	,065	,107	,340
20_13.I feel that my life is controlled by dark networks	,382	-,009	-,023	,195	-,027
20_14.When the people truly get the power, it would be a matter of time to solve the most important problems	,225	-,006	,127	,764	,074
20_15.I believe in the miraculous intervention of God in the world	,379	,076	,039	,134	,347
20_16.The foreigners impose a threat to our national identity	,797	,046	,014	,035	,078
20_17. In general I trust my fellow citizens irrespective of how well I know them personally	-,040	,120	,092	,226	,115

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.a

a. Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

Discussion and Conclusions

First of all we should mention that the above four factors resulted by factor analysis on Triantis test represent Hierarchical Individualism, Hierarchical Collectivism Vertical Collectivism and Vertical Individualism, as suggested by him.

The results of Factor Analysis on Civil Consciousness Test indicate that there are particular selective affinities amongst these items, suggesting five ideal-types of discourses and moral hypergoods: the "phobic" (F1), the "righteous" (F2), the "populist" (F3), the "egoist" (F4), and the "leveling" (F5).

The *phobic* discourse (F1) certainly is centered on the "foreigners" yet, believing in the miraculous intervention of God and the understanding of the political domain as a process of "demanding" unfolds a comprehensive cognitive model: It suggests an enclosed moral self fearful of external "intrusions" to its life-world, wrapped in traditional religiosity and a simplistic idea of politics as a demanding-serving process. The belief in the miraculous intervention of God is the most intriguing item as it suggests not only traditional non-reflective religiosity, but also a more basic cognitive predisposition toward the immanent world: the *dues ex machina* principle of solving perplexed issues in a "magic" way, a way that involves little personal effort. This is the moral stand of a traditional self, entrenched in kinship and locality. Significantly enough, it is the discourse most likely to be structured by those who identify themselves with the far right (but not exclusively so).

The *righteous* discourse (F2) is an intriguing and most interesting combination of items. In its core lies the responsible and pacifist person which we consider, theoretical speaking, to be the foundations of a proper civil persona. Yet, it incorporates two more items that could be

described as ambivalent, to say the least: self-righteousness and emotiveness. This latter blend of internal conviction and of filtering moral judgment by emotions suggests a highly personal sense of justice. This discourse matches the principles of the bi-polar individual of the Orthodox theological principles who combines righteousness with an inner, emotional, sense of justice irrespective of the consequence.

The *populist* discourse (F3) brings together the typical elements of populism and its moral principles. It is based on apocalyptic notions of good and evil, insecurity, and illegitimacy. This discourse is more secular and humanistic than the phobic one as it is neither xenophobic nor with supernatural associations, yet, we could consider it as an offshoot of the same moral discourse: it exemplifies the imagistic notion of the good and the just in equally entrenched ways. But while the phobic one is backward looking wishing for a routine life pattern, the populist one looks forward to a revolutionary "miraculous" and final resolution of the tensions of modern life. Interestingly enough, in this populist discourse we also find being included the item concerning "trust of fellow citizens"(20_17). But, taking into account the context, this is not the civil trust of fellow citizens; instead, it is an abstract trust of the "people" who are seen as a community of transcendental worth.

The forth, *egoist* discourse (F4) is the more straightforward one. It exemplifies the identification of the moral good with the personal benefit irrespective of the law. In this discourse moral hypergoods, personal gains, and illegal behavior are mixed to produce a highly unstable mixture of anomic action. It indicates that naked egoism is not acceptable even for the egoist. It must be connected with some moral good, thus the connection of personal gain with justice; but not without cost: it isolates the actor from other hypergoods. And it is the discourse more likely to be preferred by people who identify their political preferences as far right or far left.

Last, the *leveling* discourse (F5). It appears as the most ideological (collectivism above individuality) but it is not even remotely connected to any other item that would add to the discourse a sense of purposeful moral intention. Isolated from other connotating items, the discourse projects a moral picture that resembles more a herding mentality rather than of a people in power: someone who is willing to give up his/her individual rights as long as he/she retains his/hers essential similarity to the next individual.

The statistical analysis suggests low levels of civil consciousness in the Lesvos island, much like the results of the previous study that were examining Greece as a whole (Marangudakis M., Rontos K. and Xenitidou M., 2013). This low levels of civil consciousness is reflected in the absence of a cluster of variables that gathers together the values of an ideal-type western civility. Instead, the clusters on the Factor's Analysis Scores, that resulted from the civil consciousness test, reflect two crucial matters of civil morality: First, a high percentage of respondents do not take account of the law when it comes to issues of justice; here, the personal 'feeling' of justice clearly predominates. Second, 'people' is considered to be an entity above and beyond institutional arrangements of power, and of rule of law. Though our previous results are confirmed, more analysis on the sources of such low levels of civil consciousness is necessary.

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Confronting homelessness in Greece during at time of crisis

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Οι πολιτικές για την αντιμετώπιση της έλλειψης στέγης στην Ελλάδα την περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης

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ABSTRACT

This article attempts to examine the policies for confronting homelessness in Greece during the crisis. The thesis proposed is that, regardless of the signs of a significant deterioration in the problem of homelessness, a range of policies has been developed that focus on the management of its most extreme and publicly visible manifestations. Social interventions are inadequate, fragmented, repressive in their nature, and with a strong emphasis on charity. This can be seen in the emphasis given to developing emergency services centered on in-kind provisions. The main burden of implementing these services is mainly borne by civil society, with extensive non-state fund-raising to support its activities. This fact entails wider connotations for the “new” form of social policy that is emerging.

KEY WORDS: Social Policy, Homelessness, Greece, Crisis

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το άρθρο επιχειρεί να εξετάσει τις πολιτικές για την αντιμετώπιση της έλλειψης στέγης στην Ελλάδα στα χρόνια της κρίσης. Η υπόθεση εργασίας επάνω στην οποία βασίζεται είναι ότι, παρά τις ενδείξεις για σημαντική επιδείνωση του προβλήματος, μέχρι στιγμής αναπτύσσεται ένα φάσμα πολιτικών που επικεντρώνεται στη διαχείριση των πιο ακραίων και δημόσια ορατών εκφάνσεων του. Οι κοινωνικές παρεμβάσεις είναι κατακερματισμένες, με κατασταλτικό πνεύμα και έντονα στοιχεία φιλανθρωπίας. Κάτι που γίνεται αντιληπτό με την έμφαση που παρέχεται στην ανάπτυξη υπηρεσιών έκτακτης ανάγκης με επίκεντρο τις παροχές σε είδος. Το κύριο βάρος στην υλοποίηση αυτών των υπηρεσιών επωμίζεται η Κοινωνία των Πολιτών με εκτεταμένη την άντληση μη κρατικών πόρων για τις δράσεις της. Γεγονός που εμπεριέχει ευρύτερες συνδηλώσεις για τη ‘νέα’ μορφή της κοινωνικής πολιτικής που κυοφορείται.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Κοινωνική Πολιτική, Έλλειψη Στέγης, Άστεγοι, Ελλάδα, Κρίση

1. Introduction

Homelessness¹ constitutes perhaps the most extreme and painful form of social exclusion. It is a social phenomenon which is characterized by a significant heterogeneity as regards attempts to understand it. For this reason, it has garnered the attention of several scientific disciplines, such as housing studies (indicatively Torgensen 1987, Kemeny 1995, Malpass and Murie 1999) and cultural studies (Archard 1979, Somerville 2013). Paradoxically, however, homelessness has been studied very little in the context of social policy.

Through a reading of the international bibliography, four types of services can be detected for dealing with homelessness. The first type is the stage of prevention policies. The second is the stage of implementing emergency services. The third type is policies for transitional shelter. Finally, the fourth type concerns housing and social inclusion. The goal of this article is to examine to which of these types best match the policies implemented in Greece. A more detailed presentation of these services will then be attempted.

Policies for preventing homelessness include interventions that aim to keep those threatened by housing exclusion in decent housing conditions (Burt and Pearson 2005:3). Planning and organizing an effective framework of prevention policies is, in all respects, the ideal choice. This is because homelessness exacerbates the social problems that have led to such a situation (Buckner 2004) and increases the costs of social inclusion policies. The threat of housing exclusion may stem from a varied array of social risks, and for this reason the adoption of a multi-dimensional range of prevention measures is deemed necessary.

Such measures could be housing benefits (Shinn et al 2001) or programmes to combat fuel poverty (electricity and heating subsidies). Social support and empowerment services are also included in this category for those at risk of housing exclusion but still remaining in their residences (Tsemberis and Eisenberg 2000). Furthermore, mediation services to prevent eviction are included at this stage, as well as the existence of a framework of institutional protection of primary residences from estate auctions² (Burt and Pearson 2005).

Emergency services are addressed to people who have lost their homes. The tendency in Europe over the past decades has favoured the development of similar services (Fitzpatrick 2014:611). These are services that focus on covering the immediate subsistence and health needs of the homeless in emergency situations. For this reason, these services require an immediate administrative response, as well as a network of effective coordination and complementarity.

These kinds of structures and services could be part of traditional forms of protection, such as dormitories, the operation of which has recently usually been performed by civil society³ (Busch-Geertsema and Sahlin 2007:75). Moreover, in recent times we can observe the growth of day centres for the homeless. These centres constitute an important point of access to in-kind provisions such as food, clothing, medicines, items of personal hygiene, blankets, etc. (Johnsen et. al. 2005). Finally, these services include the traditional practices of religious and charitable institutions for the destitute,⁴ such as social food rations (Glasser 1988).

The structures and services of transitional accommodation are differentiated from those with emergency needs, as they are oriented towards the housing reintegration of the homeless individual. Recent research has shown that long-term stays in transitional accommodation play an important part in achieving a smooth housing reintegration process (Sahlin 2013:305).

Types of transitional housing could be social hostels or social apartments with rent subsidies, and water, heating and electricity subsidies. At the same time, an individualized approach to social services is deemed necessary to solve the particular social problems that each homeless person faces (Crane et.al. 2011). At this stage, and to this purpose, a series of interventions are attempted in order to ensure successful autonomous living. Such services are those that support the treatment of mental health and addiction problems, the development of skills in household and budget management, and possible debt alleviation for debts that the homeless person has accumulated. These interventions may also include efforts to connect these services with training and employment policies (Crane et.al. 2012:26-7).

The final stage, that of housing inclusion, should not simply be comprised of a one-dimensional set of policies aiming solely at a return to housing. On the contrary, this stage requires an attempt to solve most of the causes that led to the loss of one's home. The dominant discourse of European networks and organizations focuses on the necessity to assist people who are outside the labour market, by improving their employment strategies, etc. (indicatively, FEANTSA 2009:3).

However, efforts at real inclusion presuppose interventions with broader implications to ensure the access of the homeless individual to in-kind and monetary provisions. Similar kinds of policies could be offering supported employment, psychosocial support services, the mediation of social services to deal with the specific social problems of a homeless individual, and education and training policies aiming at enhancing his or her professional skills.

The linear way in which the above typology is presented, however, does not correspond fully to the real world. The policies are formed under special conditions and pressures that derive from external and endogenous factors, a fact that highlights the dynamic character of such issues. Academic studies have highlighted the specifics shaping the political process, in particular for the range of public policy interventions (indicative Easton 1965, Edelman 1977, Lindblom 1980), as well as the different institutional levels and dimensions where the people who take action influence the policy-making process.

Martin Bulmer's study (1986) attempts to examine the role of the social sciences in the formation of social policy. Citing Lindblom's rational model (1980) as well as group theory, it highlights the central role of active and pressure teams in forming policy. While reclaiming Pinker's study (1971), it also marks the importance of the role of values in the choice to become involved with particular issues (Bulmer 1986:8-14).

Other parameters that affect the formation of the policy process in social policy have also been formulated. Banting (1979, 1986) recognizes the importance of individual policy-makers as well as the institutional factors and the administrative system in forming social policies. In the first case, the changes come from modifications in attitudes and perceptions of the central decision makers. In the second case, the political parties, bureaucratic structures and interest groups construct an institutional area that filters ideas and attempts to transform them into policies (Banting 1986:42, 48).

It can therefore be seen that the planning and implementation of social policies is a multidimensional and complex issue that depends on specific factors. These include the values that favour involvement with a particular social problem, institutional factors, the power of lobbies, internal actors, as well as the weight of their influence in the formulation and implementation of social policy. These can either promote or prevent a social intervention.

Returning to the typology presented earlier, it is interesting to examine which types of services best match the policies that have been developed in Greece during the economic crisis. The impact of the crisis on the urban environment, and more specifically on issues relating to homelessness, has been a subject of interest in the international bibliography. The analysis of the consequences of the crisis of the post-war welfare state is characteristic, as is the predominance of neoliberalism in reinforcing the restructuring of social policy. Examples include Great Britain during Margret Thatcher's premiership and the USA during the administration of Ronald Reagan. In these instances, cuts in social expenditure led to the emergence of new marginalized groups and the appearance of new groups of homeless (Savage 2005).

Over the past five years in Greece, the consequences of the economic crisis have led to reasonable suspicions of a broader change in the social situation and, by extension, a significant worsening of the problem of homelessness. The limited literature (Sapounakis 1998, Arapoglou 2002, Arapoglou and Gounis 2015) shows that the policies for homelessness in Greece focus on emergency services. The thesis examined here, therefore, is that in the case of Greece, during a period of deterioration as regards a major social problem, a policy spectrum has developed that aims to deal with this problem's most extreme and visible manifestations. The examination of the validity of the above claim is attempted below in two different ways.

The first uses quantitative data to understand the dimensions of the problem today and to giving an overview of the main institutional initiatives for combating homelessness over the last five years. The second way is to present the results of field research carried out at relevant organizations working with homelessness in the Attica Prefecture. Specifically, the views of organizations representing all political levels were collected using qualitative research methods (indicatively, Mason 2002). For this reason, the construction of a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions was chosen (Kyriazi 2006:127, MacDonald and Headlam 2009:41). The research population was divided into three distinct sub-categories: central organizations, local organizations, and civil society organizations. Based on these remarks, 21 interviews were conducted (see Annex): eight interviews with representatives of state organizations, five with representatives of municipal social services, and eight interviews with civil society representatives.

This article is structured as follows: in the following section, the context of policies for tackling homelessness in Greece is presented. More specifically, the evidence indicating a significant worsening of the problem is highlighted, as are the characteristics of the social interventions during the past five years. In the third section, the findings of the field research, conducted among the bodies responsible for each intervention stage mentioned in the introduction, are analysed. In the final section, conclusions are drawn regarding the types of services for addressing homelessness implemented in Greece.

2. Evidence for the worsening of the problem of homelessness and characteristics of the policies used to tackle it over the past five years

2.1 Homelessness in Greece and evidence for its worsening during the economic crisis

Combating homelessness has never been a social policy priority in Greece for a number of reasons that go beyond the aim of the present article. Despite Constitutional guarantees for the protection of housing (Article 21, paragraph 4 of the Constitution), social protection of the homeless has remained over time in the realm of charities and religious organisations, with weak and fragmented interventions (Arapoglou 2004b). This situation was facilitated by the absence of an official definition concerning who is considered to be homeless, as well as valid data that can reflect the real dimensions of the problem (Arapoglou 2004a:103). The emergence of the homeless as a distinct social group took place no earlier than the 1990s, a phenomenon that in public discourse was interpreted as the result of the massive migration flows (MPHASIS 2009:5).

The main target groups during the 1990s were refugees, the "repatriates" from the Pontus region, and the Roma. There were a few deinstitutionalization programs as well, for mentally

ill people, which also included housing care, as well as some hosting facilities for minors and the elderly (Sapounakis 1998:10-14). Therefore, the visible features of homelessness during this period could be said to be significantly great for European levels (Arapoglou 2002:261), despite the prevailing perceptions that the opposite was the case. Moreover, misleading impressions also prevailed for the housing conditions of poor households as well (Emmanuel 1996:287). The visibility of the homeless in public was conspicuous. However, interventions remained weak both in terms of welfare policies, as well as at the level of the development of a social housing policy. Therefore, the lack of both governmental social policy and specific targeting for the homeless population led to a fragmented and piecemeal network of protection focusing on the activity of the church, the local authorities and NGOs (Sapounakis 1997:16, Arapoglou 2002:195).

During the economic crisis a series of developments has taken place that give rise to strong suspicions that, based on the relevant data, the problem has today significantly worsened. This has resulted in the need for increased initiatives at a central level. Unfortunately, we can only refer to well-founded indications, as there have been no research attempts to measure the actual dimensions of the problem.⁵ For this reason, this issue will be approached through indirect but indicative quantitative data.

Important data can be drawn from social indicators that appear "favourable" for an increase in the phenomenon of homelessness. Issues such as poverty and social exclusion, and unemployment, specifically long-term unemployment, are fundamental structural factors that contribute to the occurrence or aggravation of homelessness.

Based on Eurostat data (Eurostat 2015a), in 2013 Greece was third from last in terms of levels of poverty and social exclusion in the EU-28. Behind Greece are Romania and Bulgaria, two countries that traditionally display exacerbated social inequalities. It can be seen that Greece displays, comparatively to other countries, lower levels of severe material deprivation. However, it can also be ascertained that it has the highest poverty rates, a more economics-based concept, in the EU-28. These rates are higher even than those for Romania and Bulgaria, which appear in the last positions concerning total percentages. This phenomenon can also be observed in the three other countries that form the grid of Southern European welfare regime types, and could be attributed to the extended informal/family network of social reproduction and social protection.

The evidence for the worsening of the phenomenon of homelessness is also enhanced by examining the variance in the levels of poverty and social exclusion risk in Greece during the last decade. Here, an obvious expansion of these problems can be ascertained from the beginning of the crisis onward. Over the horizon of a decade, more specifically, it has been shown that the risk of poverty and social exclusion has increased by almost 7% (Eurostat 2015b).

Another central dimension is levels of unemployment. The parameter of unemployment, let alone long-term unemployment, constitutes an important factor in homelessness. Relevant measurements indicate that in 2013 Greece was the country with the largest problem by far on both of these issues. More specifically, percentages of general unemployment rates obviously exceed 25%. Together with Spain, Greece is ten percentage points ahead of the third country, Croatia. However, the most substantial aspect concerns the percentages of long-term unemployment. The long-term unemployment rate in Greece is almost 20%. These percentages are four times higher than the EU-28 average, which stands at 5% (Eurostat 2015c).

More specific quantitative dimensions of the issue of homelessness are available on a micro-scale, stemming from the research efforts of voluntary organizations and local organizations.⁶ From the findings of these studies, it can be argued that the problem of homelessness has

significantly worsened. Structural factors prevail as the causes of loss of home.⁷ According to these arguments, people in these situations have ended up homeless due to unemployment and adverse economic circumstances (Katsadoros et al 2013:206).

The academic research by Arapoglou and Gounis also comes to similar conclusions. Their findings indicate an increase in the obvious forms of homelessness and an extensive increase in hidden forms of poverty, and of inadequate and precarious housing. According to the researchers' calculations, approximately 9,100 people experienced some of the visible forms of homelessness in the greater metropolitan area of Athens during 2013. The number of the roofless homeless over the same year is calculated to have ranged from 1,200-2,360. Likewise 15,435 people are estimated as belonging to the second category of the ETHOS typology, the houseless. Finally, based on the evidence of the national census of 2011, it is estimated that approximately 7,950 live in non-conventional dwellings and another 13,651 people in dwellings unfit for habitation (Arapoglou and Gounis 2014).

2.2 Characteristics of policies for combating homelessness during the past five years

Based on the above indirect data, the evidence suggests that the phenomena of homelessness during the period of the crisis are very likely to have shifted in a more negative direction. As such, an examination of the measures with which social policy has attempted to combat this serious social problem is deemed necessary. However, there has not been thus far a comprehensive strategy to combat homelessness, other than sporadic interventions that directly or indirectly relate to its individual dimensions.

A first horizontal set of measures can be traced in the provisions of the first Economic Adjustment Programme and refers to the development of emergency intervention measures for the social consequences of fiscal consolidation measures. A characteristic measure in this example is the creation of the "National Network of Immediate Social Intervention" which put into operation the "Social Structures of Immediate Poverty Relief", with municipalities and NGOs as implementing bodies (Ministry of Labour, 2012). Also, a significant source of funding comes from the programmes of major charitable institutions (Stamatis 2012:10, Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014:40). The philosophy of these programmes included targeted actions for the homeless population, such as day centres, dormitories, social pharmacies, etc. These actions are implemented by NGOs.

A second round of initiatives can be dated to around 2012. These initiatives were included within the framework of the Social Investment Package, which included a special reference to the issue of homeless individuals. Within this framework, the Ministry of Labour moved towards the institutional recognition of the homeless as a Vulnerable Social Group (Article 29, Law 4052/2012). The legal recognition was accompanied by a definition of homelessness. This fact confirms all the aforementioned indications concerning that the problem of homelessness had been seriously exacerbated. The adoption of the definition of the FEANTSA (2006) ETHOS typology can be credited as one of the positive aspects of the law. Non-attribution of homeless status to migrants that do not possess legal residence permits or to asylum seekers is one of the negative aspects of the law.

Instead, therefore, of adopting a comprehensive strategy, in 2013 the New Democracy government announced the distribution of the dividend of the primary surplus to vulnerable

social groups, by providing benefits and services amounting to 450 million euro. The voting of the relevant omnibus bill (Hellenic Parliament 2014, Subparagraph A.2) targeted aid to the homeless with actions amounting to 20 million euro. The Housing and Reintegration Programme, which is still in progress, was announced. It claims to seek the transition from a framework of policies centred on emergency housing to a wider spectrum of autonomous housing solutions.⁸

The content of the programme appears to be oriented in a more correct direction, compared to the past. And this is because, in theory, it supports the transition from a fragmented framework of emergency need services to social policies that promote the transition to autonomous housing with a social inclusion prospect. However, its quantitative efficacy remains unknown, and will remain so if attempts at measurement of the real dimensions of the problem today are not made. In the meantime, a number of issues have been raised in a critical light. Such objections refer to non-official practices during certain points of the implementation. Indicatively, a large part of the budget is intended for the provision of food that will be distributed by the Church. Moreover, the duration of the programme seems rather short, while a broader philosophy for the programme, its priorities and its particular structure are generally absent (Arapoglou and Gounis 2014:40-1).

Two final measures that also focus on the homeless population aim at mitigating the consequences of the humanitarian crisis. The first aims at facilitating the access of uninsured citizens to health services (Ministry of Health 2014).⁹ The second is related to the pilot implementation of a minimum guaranteed income.¹⁰ The adoption of this measure was decided with the ultimate aim of reforming the fragmented and particularly ineffective social expenditures of the social protection system in Greece (Lalioti 2014:39).

This activity in the field of social policy, which seems to start with the outbreak of the crisis, does not seem thus far to be sufficient for dealing with the increasing problem of homelessness. On the contrary, the social policy measures that have been adopted have a strong managerial character. A model of emergency need for the governance of the social crisis has arisen (Arapoglou and Gounis 2015). This model has been produced by the combination of a distinct shift towards a social policy implemented by civil society, which is dependant on funding from charitable institutions and private businesses, with a preference for the provision of in-kind services (Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014, Arapoglou and Gounis 2015). Therefore, there is reasonable suspicion that, at a time when a serious problem of poverty and social exclusion is worsening, social policy measures are reduced to simply relieving its most extreme and publicly visible aspects. Moreover, this is being done through the implementation of measures by non-state organisations. Below, an attempt will be made to prove this claim empirically.

3. Findings of field research

A few useful findings emerged from the research regarding the range and adequacy of the social policy for homelessness. There is an emphasis on emergency need services, where the dominance of NGOs is verified. On the other hand, prevention services and structures of transitional housing and social inclusion have not been adequately developed. Each of these findings will be independently analysed.

The interviews suggest the absence of a coherent network of prevention measures for the protection of housing. The only exception is the so-called "Katseli Law", which protects over-indebted borrowers from the foreclosure of their primary residence. Today's social policy

framework does not provide prevention policies and, as a result, all those individuals who are at risk of housing exclusion remain without support. Besides the “Katseli Law”, there are a few interventions of a limited scope by NGOs, which can be included in the prevention stage. These focus on developing social housing programmes or mediation services to solve economic and social problems. These kinds of programmes seem to have a promising prospect, but have not thus far been promoted at a central political level.

Question: So, do you also implement programmes at the prevention level?

Answer: The social housing programme is of preventive character. It gives the opportunity for financial support. That is, we repay certain bills, and we also provide the opportunity for employment counselling. The programme lasts from three to six months. But, it always adapts to the needs and specificities of each family. Through the programme, economic regulation and financial support for rent or housing loans is provided as well as financial support for utility bills and coupons for purchasing food products from super-markets. (Interview 16: Interview with an NGO Social Scientist, Responsible for Actions on Homeless Issues)

At the same time, pressing conditions that lead to housing loss are exerted by a further two separate aspects. The first aspect concerns the abolition of the Workers’ Housing Organization and the gap in protection that it has left behind. The second aspect is related to the repeated attempts to revoke the “Katseli Law”. Subsequently, not only is it not being promoted, but developments over the past few years have weakened it even further.

Question: You said with absolute clarity that the Workers’ Housing Organisation did not include the protection of the homeless in its fields of intervention. However, do you think that its abolition could have had an effect on the increase in the number of homeless individuals?

Answer: Absolutely! It may not have supported homeless people among its beneficiaries, but if many of its beneficiaries did not have access to housing from the Workers’ Housing Organization, then they would have been potentially homeless. Look, I think that people that used to work or who were fired or are now unemployed have a huge problem dealing now with their housing needs. If we thus consider that some of these groups were housed thanks to the support of one of the organization’s programmes, then certainly the complete abolition of social housing programs in Greece, will therefore lead to potentially homeless individuals. (Interview 7: Interview with a Social Scientist from the Workers’ Housing Organization)

I would like to say that the discussion that is taking place around the suspension of primary residence foreclosures is very important. This should concern us and it is definitely connected. That is, if tomorrow primary residences “go under the hammer”, then we will have a problem. There is an explosive bomb right now. Some will have the possibility to rent a house, if their house is taken from them. Some will have the possibility to be hosted by their family or friends, which is a hidden form of homelessness. But, others will remain homeless; and they are not a few in number, if the bomb of over-indebted households explodes. I hope that this bad thing will not happen. (Interview 1: Interview with a Staff Member of the Social Welfare and Solidarity Department of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Welfare)

The above excerpts suggest two main dimensions that relate to serious responsibilities or omissions from a social policy perspective. First of all, the absence of a structured prevention framework is noted, in combination with different in-kind and in-cash services. At this stage, measures that promote prevention are not only not being promoted but, on the contrary, the abolition of organizations like the Workers' Housing Organization is another addition to the unfavourable landscape of the crisis, given that this organization indirectly seemed to favour prevention. At the same time, the efforts to withdraw the protection of primary residences from foreclosure is likely to lead to a greater exacerbation of the problem.

Perhaps the most fundamental issue that is illustrated by the field research is the emphasis that is placed on emergency need services. Throughout the interviews there is an acceptance of the predominance of a form of protection with a "repressive" spirit. The actions that exist are mainly centred on publicly visible manifestations of homelessness. This is, without a doubt, the "recycling" of an extreme social problem, especially at a time when there are signs of its worrying increase.

Question: What do you think of the present protection framework for the homeless?

Answer: There is no framework. There are relief type services. Soup kitchens, etc. These are services of a charitable type. And there are also no prospects for these people. No social policy, nor a European policy has been implemented for the issue of the homeless. There is no funding, no registration, and no policies for the homeless, to put it in a nutshell. At a time when the number of people on the streets is increasing, we have a decrease in the measures to protect them. Also, at a time when mental health problems are increasing, we are facing a reduction of funding for mental health. (Interview 15: Interview with an NGO Social Scientist, Responsible for Actions on Homeless Issues)

In addition to the emphasis that is laid on emergency need services, the way in which they are implemented is also of great importance. The absence of a state social policy leaves ample room for the involvement of NGOs. In recent years, NGOs have borne the responsibility for more and more critical tasks. This can be seen from the interviews, where it is apparent that a series of basic human needs are covered thanks to the actions of NGOs. The main points of intervention are meeting the daily needs of individual survival (food, clothing, hygiene) as well as the provision of services (medical care and provision of medication).

Question: How would you evaluate the spirit of all these measures?

Answer: The model applied is as follows: The state is withdrawing from the implementation of social policy by saying 'let NGOs do all the dirty work'. The state is not facing up to its responsibilities and is not helping NGOs. It gives them a small payment in advance, the programmes begin and then it leaves them unpaid and exposed. This is the dominant state policy now. It wants NGOs doing all the work with no money. But this constitutes a withdrawal. Because NGOs could be an example, a good practice, but NGOs cannot perform overall interventions. Only the state can perform overall interventions. There is also another issue. Services are transferred to the local level. The responsibility for the homeless is transferred to the local administration. While the local administration faces a huge financial problem, it cannot hire personnel and its existing services are shrinking due to excessively increased responsibilities, so how can the municipalities cope, for example, with only one social worker? They do not have the ability to do so because this is how it was planned. You transfer powers while at the same time emasculating! (Interview 14: Interview with a Representative of the Housing Rights Network)

The first dimension concerns the provision of everyday goods that are necessary for the survival of the homeless. The research concludes that the main responsibility for the provision of basic necessities is borne by the municipalities, the Church and NGOs. Actions are being developed to provide food, clothing, hygiene and medical care. Day Centres for the Homeless are also included in this domain, and these have been created by certain NGOs. At these Centres, homeless people can obtain everyday food products such as coffee, tea or a snack, and personal care items, while at the same time psychosocial support services and counselling can be provided to them, as well as healthcare.

In terms of feeding and clothing, the Church, the municipality and NGOs undertake on a daily basis the provision of social food rations. Periodically, they also collect items of clothing and footwear. All the above services derive from voluntary contributions by citizens or the sponsorship of private businesses, and the state is not involved in either their planning or funding. This results in a situation where homeless individuals find themselves in a relationship of everyday dependency on the above organizations, in order to fulfil their basic personal subsistence needs. Homeless individuals are in daily contact and interact with these organisations, and as a result any problem they face is dealt with in terms of charity.

The second main dimension concerns the substitution of health services by NGOs, because of the exclusions resulting from health policies in the years of the crisis. The interviews suggest that almost the entirety of the homeless population is using health services that are provided by NGOs and solidarity initiatives. These services include medical examinations and the administration of medicines. A parallel world is developing in the field of health protection, which is expanding very rapidly as it seeks to cover the multiple gaps that are left by the state healthcare system.

The above points make obvious the signs of an almost complete substitution of state social services by non-state organisations. This is manifested in its most usual form by NGOs, as the main vehicle in cooperation with institutions like the Church and the municipalities. Also, in recent years solidarity initiatives have been particularly developed by activists.

Perhaps the most negative message deriving from the field research comes from services with an inclusionary character. The structures of transitional accommodation are characterized by quantitative and qualitative inadequacy, while the absence of any systematic planning of social inclusion policies is obvious. Transitional housing is mostly reduced to an obsolete grid of social hostels. These services are devoid of any inclusionary logic, as they do not connect the accommodation offered with social inclusion policies. The functioning of the hostels, without the existence of broader inclusion policies, must be considered as an action without a social end.

The overall absence of a set of policies aiming at social inclusion is another important gap that characterizes today's situation. The answers suggest that there is no targeted inclusion framework for the homeless. The only initiatives that could be consistent with some elements of an inclusionary logic are, once again, those undertaken by NGOs. These actions are associated with social economy ventures. Both cases are measures with a limited popularity, which seek to provide minimum income support to the homeless. In no case, in fact, could they be considered as effective measures of inclusion, but more as a form of basic support.

We have created this collective also so as to provide certain reintegration measures for the homeless. This is why if you simply left them standing there they will never be able to take part in normal life again. A person's energy should not be lost. With this programme they collect paper that is subsequently sent for recycling. To be precise, I am

referring to people without substance abuse and mental health issues. I am referring to the new homeless individuals because of unemployment. It is very important that they participate professionally and at the level of social participation. And the streets are doing the opposite. The longer they stay on the streets, the more the game is lost. We cannot move on without participation and reintegration. (Interview 15: Interview with a Social Scientist member of an NGO, Responsible for Actions on Homeless Issues)

The landscape of transitional accommodation and social inclusion policies is characterized by serious shortcomings. The few interventions are subject to a managerial spirit. Such efforts are not deemed desirable in any case. However, a basic condition for a realistic inclusionary perspective is their inclusion in a wider grid of policies that will guarantee an income and provision of psychosocial services of empowerment, and secure them a steady residence for a respectable period of time.

4. Conclusions

The lack of will for the implementation of policies to tackle homelessness at the central level remains in social policy terms, creating large gaps, despite significant signs of the exacerbation of the problem. Attempts to cover these gaps are mainly undertaken by civil society, from actions at the social level to funding from sponsorships and corporate social responsibility practises. Addressing the issue in terms of the lack of decisions at a macro-level, results in philanthropy being cemented as a core philosophy in combating the issue.

Alongside this, as mentioned in the Introduction, a crucial role is played by actors at the micro-level. This is of great importance for tackling homelessness, as it is a problem that needs a personalised approach. The interviews have shown that those working with NGOs internalize the discourse of a failure to respond at the central level, due to the crisis. In this sense, they endorse the lack of alternatives to a degree – something that partially contributes to legitimizing the notion of the emergency services as the only option.

Combating homelessness in Greece is, therefore, subject to the provision of services for emergency needs. Measures of a “fire-fighting” character continue to prevail, despite the signs of a worrying aggravation of the problem. Social policy for the homeless is implemented through a repressive approach, as was established through an analytical examination of its services. More specifically, there are no traces of a powerful framework of prevention policies that could deter the manifestation of many negative aspects of the problem. On the contrary, the few prevention measures have been weakened by the crisis.

A limited mobility can be observed in the field of emergency need services. Measures such as dormitories, social food rations, Daily Homeless Reception Centres, and social solidarity clinics and pharmacies have made their appearance in recent years. Municipalities or NGOs are responsible for their operation. Despite the importance of the existence of similar kinds of services, it appears that this is where the activities end. Today, the character of the policies is one-dimensionally limited to the management of the most extreme – and publicly visible – symptoms of the problem and not to a regulatory framework that would serve to prevent or to combat homelessness in its entirety. Some of the few interventions aim to maintain the homeless person in a condition of basic survival, such as the in-kind provisions that serve his or her everyday needs. This, without a doubt, represents a logic of “recycling” an extreme social problem.

Within the structures of transitional housing, the remnants of the old system of social hostels is not sufficient. These structures appear to function more like “human warehouses”, as no attempt has been made to integrate them into a framework of social inclusion policies. In this way, all homeless individuals that are accommodated in transitional housing, other than housing protection, are not necessarily ensured access to a structured range of policies that will lead to their permanent transition to a normal residence. The absence of social inclusion policies is the other side of the coin. The findings of the research did not suggest the existence of any targeted measures for the homeless population. This situation significantly limits any prospects for reintegration for individuals who face situations of extreme social exclusion.

The emergence of a model for the emergency management of homelessness can be observed, in particular a series of actions that are mainly implemented by non-governmental bodies. The quantitative expansion of the pre-crisis framework is also observable, as are the charity benefits and the emergence of new services with a similar philosophy. At the same time, the depletion of the scarce preventive measures that existed is also visible (for example abolition of the Workers Housing Organization, and pressure to permit the foreclosure of primary residences). A policy along these lines cannot achieve the prevention or eradication of the root causes of the problem and is instead limited to a charitable type of management of the extreme and publicly visible manifestations of homelessness. It is a policy that sometimes puts human survival itself in danger.

The findings of the research offer the opportunity for further considerations. Do the developments as a whole require a new strategy? A new model for managing social problems in Greece? Will, from now on, the answers to social policy intersect with the paths taken by civil society? Or, more specifically, when a phenomenon of extreme exclusion, such as the lack of shelter, intensifies, are the choices of social policy to rely on solutions supported by NGOs and the private sector? Is this a new form of social policy, which is becoming fully moulded through policies to combat homelessness?

Notes

1. This article adopts the approach definition of the ETHOS typology of FEANTSA (2006). According to this, the homeless are not only defined as people who live on the street or who are accommodated in social facilities, but also those who are at threat of housing exclusion, such as people living in precarious housing conditions and in unsuitable accommodation.
2. The house foreclosures issue, although it is a “hot topic” in Greek society after the recent legislative changes, is not discussed in this article.
3. The activity of civil society is neither uniform nor concrete. It is characterized by different political, cultural and religious perceptions, which are reflected, in the present case, by the practices and means of intervention for the protection of the homeless. The result of these differentiations is to distinguish between different ‘discourses of philanthropy’ for emergency need services (Cloke et. al. 2005). This has also been noted for the Greek case (Arapoglou 2004a). For an in-depth analysis of the particular characteristics of civil society in Greece, see Sotiropoulos (2004). For its transformations during the economic crisis see Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014).
4. Of particular interest are ethnographic studies that research the wider implications of social food rations in homeless individuals’ everyday lives (indicatively see Laven and Brown 1985 and Glasser 1988).

5. With the exception of an attempt to quantitatively approach the problem, such as in the research of Arapoglou and Gounis (2014).
6. For a more detailed presentation see Kourachanis (2015:184-7), where the results of research by the NGOs Klimaka (2012) and KYADA (2013) are described.
7. More specifically, according to KYADA (2013) 53% of the people questioned declare that they became homeless due to a lack of financial resources, while the corresponding NGO gives 47.1%.
8. Its specific objectives were: "firstly, the immediate transition to autonomous forms of living through the provision of housing and social care services, and secondly, the reintegration into the social fabric by the provision of employment integration services". Pursuing this rationale through this programme, the "access to support leasing schemes, in parallel to the total or partial covering of the cost of public services and utilities bills or other subsistence needs" will be attempted. The programme will have a total budget of 9,400,000 euro and is intended to benefit approximately 800 homeless individuals belonging to the following target groups: families and individuals that are hosted in Social Hostels for the Homeless or Night shelters or make use of the services of the Open Day Centres for the Homeless, families and individuals that have been documented as homeless by the social services of the municipalities, women that are hosted in Hostels for Women Victims of Violence, persons that are hosted in Child Protection Structures, who are 18 years of age and not students (Social Security and Solidarity Department 2014:3-4).
9. The objective of short-stay cover that the proposed card offered cannot be considered as sufficient for addressing the problem.
10. The implementation of the Minimum Guaranteed Income programme has been criticised for its expected lack of efficacy by some of the scholarly literature. This argument claims that the policies that are being implemented by the Minimum Guaranteed Income programme do not guarantee the improvement of the efficacy of social protection systems by mitigating the manifestations of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion. On the contrary, they may lead to a transformation of the social protection system in the context of liberal regimes that appear less effective in dealing with these social problems and in promoting general social welfare (Papatheodorou 2014).

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Annex

Interviews with Organizations

Interview 1: Interview with a Staff Member of the Department Of Social Welfare and Solidarity of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Welfare.

Interview 2: Interview with a Staff Member of the Department Of Social Welfare and Solidarity of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Welfare.

Interview 3: Interview with a Staff Member of the Department Of Social Welfare and Solidarity of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Welfare.

Interview 4: Interview with a Staff Member of the Department of Development of Health Units of the Ministry of Health

Interview 5: Interview with a Staff Member of the Department of Primary Health Care of the Ministry of Health

Interview 6: Interview with an Administrative Staff of the Special Service of Coordination and Monitoring of Actions of the European Social Fund

Interview 7: Interview with a Special Scientist of the Workers' Housing Organization.

Interview 8: Interview with a Social Scientist of the National Center for Social Solidarity

Interview 9: Interview with a Staff Member of a Municipality's Social Service

Interview 10: Interview with a Staff Member of a Municipality's Center for the Homeless

Interview 11: Interview with a Social Worker of a Municipal Social Service

Interview 12: Interview with a Social Worker of a Municipal Social Service

Interview 13: Interview with a Social Worker of a Municipal Social Service

Interview 14: Interview with a Representative of the Housing Rights Network

Interview 15: Interview with an NGO's Social Scientist, Responsible for Actions on Homeless Issues

Interview 16: Interview with an NGO's Social Scientist, Responsible for Actions on Homeless Issues

Interview 17: Interview with an NGO's Social Worker, Responsible for the Functioning of a Day Center for the Homeless

Interview 18: Interview with a Social Worker of an NGO

Interview 19: Interview with a Social Worker of an NGO

Interview 20: Interview with a Representative of the Archbishopric of Athens

Interview 21: Interview with a Representative of an NGO, Responsible for the Circulation of a Street Magazine

Biographical Notes

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**Γιώργος Σταμέλος,
Ανδρέας Βασιλόπουλος**

**ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΘΗΣΗΣ
ΣΤΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ
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Το βιβλίο αυτό ασχολείται με τις πολιτικές διά βίου μάθησης στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση (ΕΕ) από το 2000 και μετά. Προσπαθεί να αποτυπώσει, να αναλύσει και να ερμηνεύσει τόσο την παραγωγή και διάχυση της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής στην ΕΕ όσο και την υποδοχή της σε μια χώρα όπως η Ελλάδα, η οποία δεν παράγει πολιτική αλλά και δεν είναι παθητικός δέκτης πολιτικής. Στο δεύτερο μέρος, οι έρευνες πεδίου που παρατίθενται αποδεικνύουν τα πολλαπλά φίλτραρίσματα, τις αποσιωπήσεις, τις παρερμηνείες (ίσως και διαστρεβλώσεις) που αυτές οι πολιτικές υπόκεινται πριν φτάσουν (αν φτάσουν και όπως φτάσουν) στο ελληνικό συγκείμενο.

Immigrants and Greece: Pensions at crossroads

An analysis of the people who claim a part of their pension from the Greek Social Security System and a calculation of the respective liability

Georgios Symeonidis, Board Member, Hellenic Actuarial Authority

Introduction

Greek people have witnessed a massive current of immigration in the last ten years. People from all over the world reach Greece looking for work and better living conditions. There are a few reasons which explain this influx.

To begin with, Greece is at the crossroad of three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. Thus, people who come from underdeveloped and developing countries have easier access to the European continent through Greece, by land or sea. Their ultimate goal, based on statistics, is to stay for a few years and then move on to Central and West Europe or immediately do so.

Furthermore, Greece is part of the European Union and therefore abides by the EU legislation which respects and protects people who are willing to work in any EU state or who are refugees from any warzone or totalitarian regimes.

Tradition also plays its part. Greek people have always been friendly and hospitable. They have always welcomed foreigners and this can be traced back to the Greek Mythology. Zeus was the protector of foreigners and the act of treating them kindly was considered a virtue. Even now, with the financial crisis looming above Greece and a few people having strong feelings against foreigners the vast majority of the Greek people empathize with and support people from other countries trying to earn a living in Greece.

Finally, certain conditions help immigration to Greece flourish. Greece has had a tradition in agriculture, but lately people working on land are becoming fewer and fewer. Hence, when certain types of crops have to be planted or collected, seasonal workers are needed from abroad. Since this type of work, along with others, does not need special skills it is easier for people to land in Greece and provide the work in need. Other examples are the nursing of people of the third age and housekeeping.

1. Analysis of types of immigrants by legal status

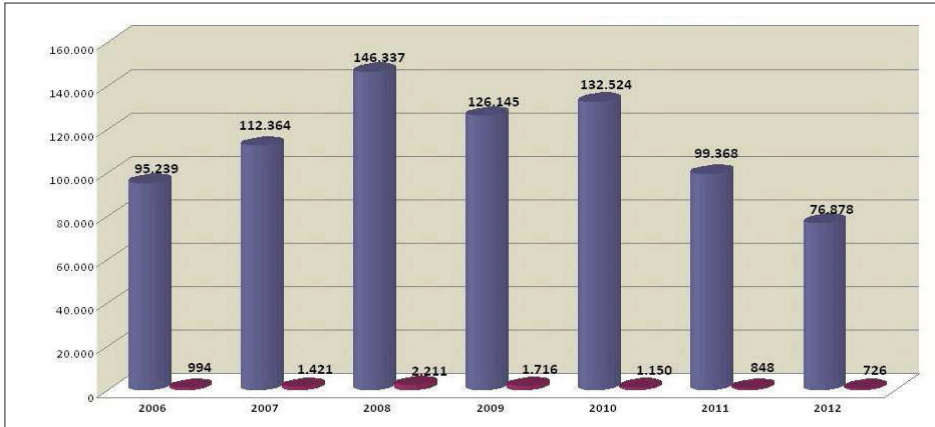
As mentioned before, a lot of people reach the Greek border yearly. As expected, not all of them fulfill the criteria for migration or have legitimate permits.

Unfortunately, the hundreds of islands and islets, the thousands of kilometers of coastline and the land connection to four other countries (Albania, FYROM, Bulgaria, Turkey) provides for illegal entrance with a very low risk of getting caught. Thus, most of the people setting foot on Greek territory do so illegally. This phenomenon has become very acute in the past few years.

More specifically, in the years 2006 through 2012 hundreds of thousands of people tried to cross the Greek borders illegally and were arrested. In the following diagram, provided by

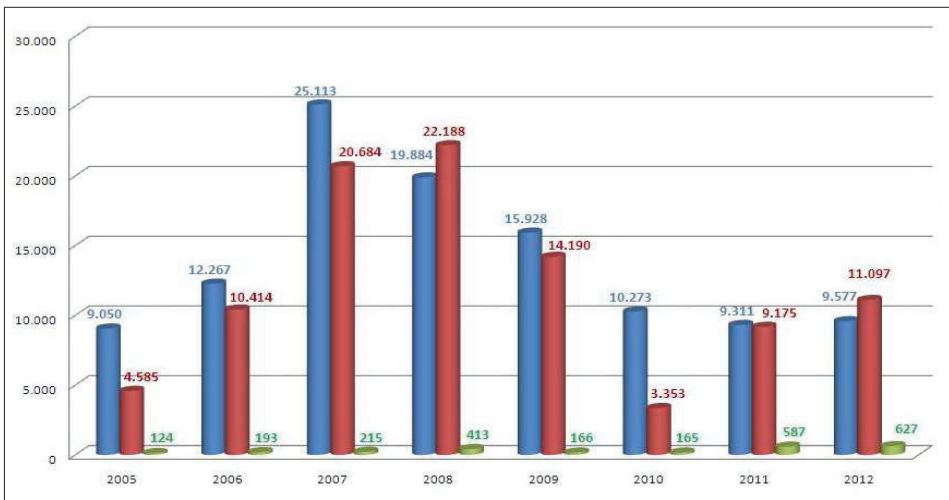
the Hellenic Police, one can see how many people have been arrested per year and how many traffickers were also arrested.

Graph 1: Arrested illegal immigrants and traffickers by police and marine authorities for the years 2006 through 2012



Furthermore, a lot of people come to Greece and ask for political or other asylum. Of these, only some are accepted and can be seen below in green color.

Graph 2: Applications for International Protection, rejections and International Protection numbers for the years 2005 through 2012

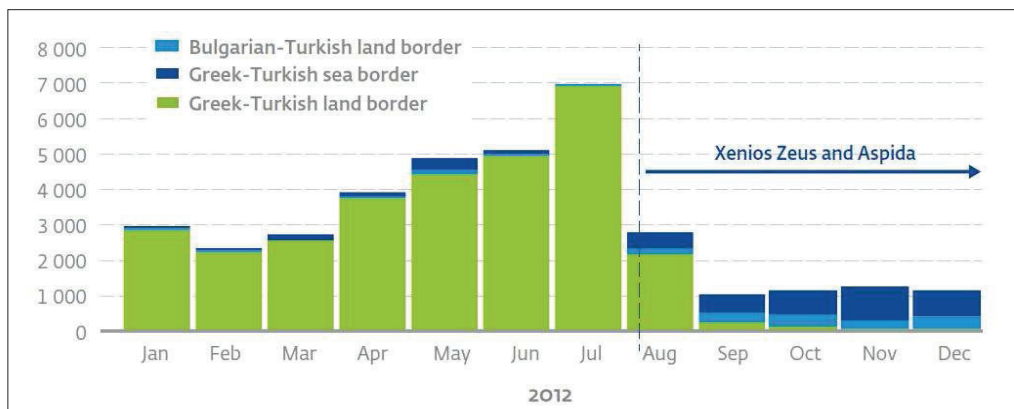


Note: includes applications from previous years

It is worth mentioning that before the 2008 recession authorities anticipated that more people would decide to permanently stay in Greece but since then, most of them are trying to move to stronger economies, like the central or northern Europe.

An effort has been made in the last year to curtail the influx of illegal immigrants, implementing stronger controls (code named Xenios Zeus and Aspida) especially at the Greek-Turkish borders. This can be witnessed when looking at the graph below, which has been issued by FRONTEX in its 2013 Annual Risk Analysis:

Graph 3: Results of the implementation of the Xenios Zeus and Aspida operations



2. Analysis of the people contributing to the pension system

Focusing on the people who are registered with the authorities, many of them declare their working status and start working legitimately and contributing to the Greek Social Security pension system (GSSS), vesting pension rights. This also helps legal immigrants renew their permits. Most of them contribute to the social security fund for employees, as is expected. Since reliable and complete data is available for this fund only at this point, and the majority of people coming to work in Greece register as employees, this paper will deal exclusively with the latter.

Comparing the data of the insured with the data of the people who legitimately reside in Greece from the Ministry of Interior, we see that only 59% of the people are registered as employees. If we take into account another percentage in agriculture and self-employment it is still evident that a lot of people live in Greece without working or declaring work.

2a. Analysis by country of origin

Coming back to the social security fund for employees, it is really interesting that people contributing from almost every corner of the world can be found. Citizens of most countries on the other side of the planet even in the far end of the earth when compared to Greece work there and contribute to the system. In the following map, the countries from which citizens have come to Greece and provide work there can be seen:

Graph 4: Active employees working in Greece, indicating countries of origin



The total number of insured employees from abroad in 2011 is 347.693.

As is expected, some of the countries provide most of the people while others only very few. Thus, it is deemed meaningful to look at the 20 countries with the people working in our country.

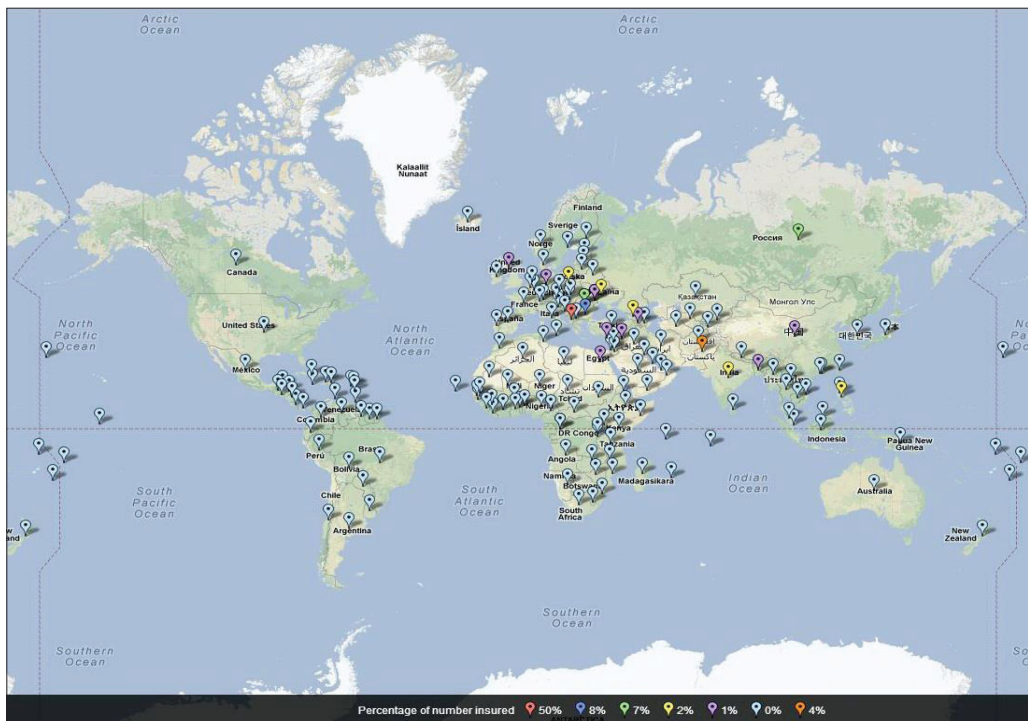
Table 1

Greece - Employees from third countries in 2011				
	Countrycode	Number of insured in the year 2011	Country	Percentage of number insured
1	AL	172.389	ALBANIA	50%
2	BG	28.184	BULGARIA	8%
3	RO	23.126	ROMANIA	7%
4	RU	22.764	RUSSIAN FEDERATION	7%
5	PK	15.567	PAKISTAN	4%
6	GE	8.223	GEORGIA	2%
7	PH	7.063	PHILIPPINES	2%
8	PL	6.223	POLAND	2%
9	UA	6.168	UKRAINE	2%
10	IN	5.517	INDIA	2%

11	EG	5.096	EGYPT	1%
12	BD	4.996	BANGLADESH	1%
13	GB	3.524	UNITED KINGDOM	1%
14	SY	3.138	SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	1%
15	MD	3.135	REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	1%
16	DE	2.342	GERMANY	1%
17	CY	2.242	CYPRUS	1%
18	CN	2.026	CHINA	1%
19	AM	1.880	ARMENIA	1%
20	YU	1.655	FORMER YUGOSLAVIA	0,5%

Looking at a map of the percentages based on country of origin of the employees working in Greece, one can get a better idea of the existent situation:

Graph 5: Percentages of employees working in Greece by country of origin



As we can see, a lot of people have come to work in Greece from neighboring countries, but some of them come from far away, most of the time indicating a pattern of the way people decide to move to another country.

2b. Analysis by annual insurable earnings

Further on, when analyzing from the perspective of the highest and lowest annual insurable earnings, things are quite different. People that earn more come from countries with stronger economies as is expected. It is worth noting here that the earnings are calculated on the days of contribution of each group, not the full year (300 working days).

Table 2

Greece - Employees from other countries in 2011 by highest annual insurable earnings					
	Country code	Number of insured in the year 2011	Country	Percentage of number insured	Average Annual insurable earnings
127	SG	8	SINGAPORE	0%	31.131,27
75	KR	73	SOUTH KOREA	0%	28.368,16
124	LU	8	LUXEMBOURG	0%	28.268,05
76	JP	69	JAPAN	0%	25.001,58
136	IS	6	ICELAND	0%	23.635,65
116	MT	10	MALTA	0%	20.568,23
159	BN	1	BRUNEI DARUSSALAM	0%	20.524,98
168	SR	1	SURINAME	0%	18.720,85
113	MY	12	MALAYSIA	0%	18.531,11
73	AR	76	ARGENTINA	0%	18.185,71
22	FR	1.416	FRANCE	0%	16.900,09
156	TD	2	CHAD	0%	16.558,08
123	HT	8	HAITI	0%	16.431,59
30	US	656	UNITED STATES	0%	16.279,14
17	CY	2.242	CYPRUS	1%	16.277,20
63	PT	113	PORTUGAL	0%	16.236,41
103	NZ	24	NEW ZEALAND	0%	15.442,40
152	TW	3	TAIWAN	0%	14.846,37
153	YE	3	YEMEN	0%	14.285,24
164	KN	1	SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS	0%	14.132,67

2c. Analysis by average working days

As regards the average working days in 2011, with 300 being the maximum, the table shows again quite a variety. We can see that people from the Philippines, one of the most popular groups of foreign employees in Greece, tend to work more than other popular groups – or more correctly declare more of their work.

Table 3

Greece - Employees from other countries in 2011 by average working days					
	Country code	Number of insured in the year 2011	Country	Percentage of number insured	Average days of contribution in 2011
154	BZ	2	BELIZE	0%	300
164	KN	1	SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS	0%	300
168	SR	1	SURINAME	0%	300
163	KI	1	KIRIBATI	0%	283
153	YE	3	YEMEN	0%	281
143	CV	4	CAPE VERDE	0%	278
156	TD	2	CHAD	0%	273
165	LS	1	LESOTHO	0%	272
130	NI	7	NICARAGUA	0%	260
132	ZW	7	ZIMBABWE	0%	255
152	TW	3	TAIWAN	0%	247
105	NP	21	NEPAL	0%	241
123	HT	8	HAITI	0%	235
138	BJ	5	BENIN	0%	234
7	PH	7.063	PHILIPPINES	2%	231
115	PA	11	PANAMA	0%	230
145	KW	4	KUWAIT	0%	227
75	KR	73	SOUTH KOREA	0%	227
131	TM	7	TURKMENISTAN	0%	225
113	MY	12	MALAYSIA	0%	224

2d. Analysis by vested rights

Finally, in the table below we can see the people that have vested most rights at the end of 2011:

Table 4

Greece - Employees from other countries in 2011 by total working days					
	Country code	Number of insured in the year 2011	Country	Percentage of number insured	Total working days at the end of 2011
168	SR	1	SURINAME	0%	5.434
123	HT	8	HAITI	0%	3.523
141	MZ	5	MOZAMBIQUE	0%	3.225
156	TD	2	CHAD	0%	2.973

Greece - Employees from other countries in 2011 by total working days					
	Country code	Number of insured in the year 2011	Country	Percentage of number insured	Total working days at the end of 2011
165	LS	1	LESOTHO	0%	2.709
161	JM	1	JAMAICA	0%	2.706
130	NI	7	NICARAGUA	0%	2.588
153	YE	3	YEMEN	0%	2.540
132	ZW	7	ZIMBABWE	0%	2.425
10	IN	5.517	INDIA	2%	2.362
138	BJ	5	BENIN	0%	2.362
87	VN	56	VIETNAM	0%	2.352
154	BZ	2	BELIZE	0%	2.341
170	TJ	1	TAJIKISTAN	0%	2.294
91	CD	42	CONGO	0%	2.286
107	AE	17	UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	0%	2.244
121	SC	9	SEYCHELLES	0%	2.158
166	MW	1	MALAWI	0%	2.102
143	CV	4	CAPE VERDE	0%	2.075
4	RU	22.764	RUSSIAN FEDERATION	7%	2.062

With the minimum amount of working days being 4.500 for retirement, it is evident that some of these people are already really close to getting a pension from the GSSS. Again, patterns can be recognized like the ones for the Indian and Russian groups. In these groups, people have been contributing more and are most probably willing to stay in Greece until they retire with full pension rights.

3. Analysis of foreign workers receiving a pension from the Greek Public Pension System

As far as people already receiving a pension or a part of their pension from Greece is concerned, those are a lot less than the ones contributing at the moment, since the system is still maturing as regards foreign employees. While there are actives from 173 countries, 347.693 in number, there are pensioners from only 95 countries and 10.225 in total number. This is reasonable as people from abroad have not yet massively retired through the GSSS. That means, for foreigners the GSSS is yet immature.

Table 5

Greece - Pensioners from other countries in 2012					
	Country Code	Number of insured in the year 2011	Country	Total Retired Until 2012	New retirees 2012
2	BG	28.184	BULGARIA	1809	434
1	AL	172.389	ALBANIA	1559	357
24	TR	1.014	TURKEY	784	33
17	CY	2.242	CYPRUS	444	82
16	DE	2.342	GERMANY	252	67
13	GB	3.524	UNITED KINGDOM	237	50
52	AU	195	AUSTRALIA	232	67
30	US	656	UNITED STATES	205	53
50	CA	223	CANADA	188	43
8	PL	6.223	POLAND	150	36
3	RO	23.126	ROMANIA	125	43
21	IT	1.450	ITALY	124	14
4	RU	22.764	RUSSIAN FEDERATION	121	47
11	EG	5.096	EGYPT	100	20
22	FR	1.416	FRANCE	91	21
5	PK	15.567	PAKISTAN	78	20
6	GE	8.223	GEORGIA	77	15
9	UA	6.168	UKRAINE	68	13
28	NL	759	NETHERLANDS	43	15
19	AM	1.880	ARMENIA	41	5

We can deduce from the table above that the countries whose citizens get awarded most pensions are mainstream since they refer to the past international relationships with Greece. Traditionally, neighboring countries like Albania and Bulgaria have had people working in Greece and hence, it is logical that most pensions are issued to citizens of those countries.

The new trends, like the increased number of people originating from Pakistan, are evident but not yet dominant.

4. Some important implications

Two things are worth mentioning in order to complete the knowledge one gets for people from other countries working in Greece. Firstly, a paradox concerning people registered in the fund for employees. When a foreigner is hired by someone in Greece, the latter is in charge of declaring him to the fund and depositing the contributions. The legitimacy of the foreigner's status in Greece, however, is not looked into from within the fund. Thus, there is the paradox of

some people vesting rights in the GSSS while at the same time residing in Greece illegally. The fund would of course be obliged to pay up their accrued contributions or a part of their pension if and when it is issued in Greece (in case they become legitimate) or in another country, which makes the problem even bigger.

Secondly, since people from neighboring countries have had vested rights in the GSSS, there have been cases when pensions were issued to people who were believed to have been staying in Greece. Thus, these people had been receiving a pension higher than the one which was in line with their contributions because of legislation which states that whenever the awarded pension is less than a minimum amount, the minimum amount is given. Hence, an outflow of excessive pension amounts was given to foreigners when compared to their accrued contributions and new legislation was passed in 2010 so that any amount given in the form of an extra bonus from the GSSS is only paid to people residing in Greece for their respective working career only.

5. Calculation of the liability of the Greek Social Security System

Having analyzed the above, one would look into the amount of money which the Greek Social Security System (GSSS) needs in order to cover the vested rights of the employees who originate from other countries. In order to do that, a few assumptions have to be made.

To begin with, it has to be taken for granted that every one of the insured will finally retire and will claim the already vested part of their pension from the GSSS. Retirement does not have to occur in Greece only. If the country of origin has a pact with the Greek Government concerning pensions, then the GSSS will pay the part of the pension accrued in Greece to the Social Security System of the former. An analysis of the retirement legislation is not given because it would perplex the reader without providing more information since the assumption is made that these people are going to finally retire and claim the exact vested right so far.

Secondly, the annual replacement rate used will be 2%, which refers to years vested before 1/1/2013 for people first insured after 1/1/1993 in the GSSS, according to legislation. Finally, the average annual insurable earnings are used, without taking into consideration the three seasonal payments (Christmas, Easter and annual leave payments). Thus, each country is represented by the average income of all its employees. Also, the average earnings are calculated on a yearly basis, regardless of the amount of days of contribution of the people in each case. Respectively, the average years of contribution are used for each country.

Having finalized the data necessary, the formula which is used for the pension calculation of one person of each country is:

Accrual rate X Average Annual Insurable Earnings X Average Years of contribution

Hence, for all people in the group/country the above has to be multiplied by the amount of employees originating from the respective country as well as the deferred annuity factor, calculated based on the EVK2000 at 1,5% interest rate. Finally, a discount factor has to be used, along with a mortality factor, using the average age of the group, so that the respective amount applies to the end of 2011. The interest rate used is 1,5%, which is the estimated difference between the expected rates of return (2,5%) and the expected inflation (1%).

Proceeding to the calculation, the resulting amount of money is 3.006.445.825€.

This is the reserve that would cover the retirement obligation of Greece in the theoretical case where all the immigrants working in Greece would immediately retire claiming from the GSSS at their 67th year of age only the part of their pension already vested.

More realistically, it is the amount of money that the GSSS should set aside – if it were not a Pay-As-You-Go pension system – for all the vested rights of foreign employees. These exact employees may further contribute to the GSSS or may move to another country or their country of origin and use legislation which encourages portability in order to retire. In any case, the aforementioned amount is the reserve which will fund the already vested rights.

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Greek Social Security fund for employees

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Hellenic Ministry of Interior

Hellenic Press

Frontex (<http://www.frontex.europa.eu/>)

Graph 4 can be better viewed at: <http://batchgeo.com/map/1b0be99d36047b5e5df3331c50298b5c>

Graph 5 can be better viewed at: <http://batchgeo.com/map/c9ee0af243140f38684e02714b74240c>

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Biographical Notes

George Symeonidis is a Board Member of the Hellenic Actuarial Authority, which monitors pension expenditure in Greece yearly through actuarial analysis. In the past, he has independently produced actuarial valuations for several Greek funds. He follows the Ageing Working Group, the EU subgroup which monitors age related spending in the long-term. Since 2006, he has collaborated closely with the International Labor Organization and has been trained on the ILO model in Geneva. His education includes Pure and Applied Mathematics at a graduate and postgraduate level as well as certified knowledge of Economics used in actuarial valuations. He issues a paper on the Greek Pension System and its recent reform process every year. Address: Hellenic Actuarial Authority, Stadiou 29, Athens, 10110, Greece. Email: g.simeonidis@eaa.gr, george.simeonidis@gmail.com

Επιστημονική Εταιρεία Κοινωνικής Πολιτικής

ΕΛΕΝΗ ΠΡΟΚΟΥ
(επιμέλεια)

**Κοινωνικές
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των Πολιτικών
στην Ανώτατη
Εκπαίδευση:
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ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ
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Το παρόν βιβλίο εξετάζει τις πολιτικές για την ανώτατη εκπαίδευση σε επίπεδο ευρωπαϊκής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής και σε επίπεδο επιμέρους περιοχών της Ευρώπης, τις τελευταίες τρεις δεκαετίες. Διερευνά τη μετατόπιση του ενδιαφέροντος από την «ισότητα εκπαιδευτικών ευκαιριών» στην «αποδοτικότητα» και τη «διασφάλιση της ποιότητας» της ανώτατης εκπαίδευσης, η οποία συνοδεύεται από την εξατομίκευση της ευθύνης για εκπαίδευση, τον περιορισμό των δαπανών, τη λογοδοσία, τη λειτουργία του κράτους-αξιολογητή, τις προσπάθειες για τη διαμόρφωση του «επιχειρηματικού» πανεπιστημίου που εξairει τη διαχείριση. Οι τάσεις ιδιωτικοποίησης αποτελούν επακόλουθο του φθίνοντος ενδιαφέροντος για το ζήτημα της ισότητας, καθώς τα κράτη πρόνοιας υποχωρούν και γίνονται ολοένα και πιο απρόθυμα να χρηματοδοτήσουν δημόσια ιδρύματα όπως είναι αυτά της ανώτατης εκπαίδευσης. Το βιβλίο φιλοδοξεί να συμβάλει στην κατανόηση της εξέλιξης των πολιτικών για την ανώτατη εκπαίδευση στην Ευρώπη και να θέσει το πλαίσιο προβληματισμού για περαιτέρω έρευνα γύρω από την κατεύθυνση των πολιτικών στο συγκεκριμένο πεδίο. Απευθύνεται σε όλα τα μέλη της ακαδημαϊκής κοινότητας και γενικότερα σε όσους ασχολούνται με την εκπαίδευση.

Ζαχαρίας Μαθός-Δεμαθός

Η ζωή και το έργο του

Έφυγε ξαφνικά από την ζωή, σε ηλικία 71 ετών, στις 4 Οκτωβρίου 2015 ο αγαπητός φίλος, πολύτιμος συνάδελφος, σπάνιος πανεπιστημιακός δάσκαλος και δημόσιος διανοούμενος Ζαχαρίας Δεμαθός. Ο Ζαχαρίας, ζεστός, φιλικός, αυθόρμητος με έντονη αίσθηση του χιούμορ και οξύτατη κρίση, ξεχώρισε για το πολύπλευρο, κριτικό και καθολικό πνεύμα του, την ουμανιστική του μόρφωση, τον οραματικό κοινωνικό του προβληματισμό. Διαπαιδαγόησε χιλιάδες φοιτητές στην κριτική σκέψη και συνέβαλε σημαντικά στην κοινωνική και οικονομική έρευνα συνδυάζοντας την πολιτική οικονομία και την οικονομική ιστορία. Δίδαξε Πολιτική Οικονομία, Μαρξιστική Θεωρία, Ιστορία, Κοινωνιολογία και Χωροταξία. Συμμετείχε ενεργά στον αντιδικτατορικό αγώνα στη Δυτική Ευρώπη και στο ελληνικό πανεπιστημιακό κίνημα την περίοδο 1975-1985.

Ο Ζαχαρίας γεννήθηκε το 1944 και αποφοίτησε από τη Γερμανική Σχολή το 1962. Το 1965 απέκτησε πτυχίο από την Σχολή Ηλεκτρολόγων Μηχανικών Πολυτεχνείου του Μονάχου, ενώ από το 1965 έως το 1970 σπούδασε στη Σχολή Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών Πανεπιστημίου της Χαϊδελβέργης από όπου απέκτησε και το Δίπλωμα του στην Οικονομία. Αμέσως μετά εργάστηκε ως Πανεπιστημιακός Βοηθός (διδασκαλία του μαθήματος «Οικονομική Θεωρία») στο Ινστιτούτο Alfred Weber του Πανεπιστημίου της Χαϊδελβέργης. Από το 1975 ως το 1977 εργάστηκε ως Πανεπιστημιακός Βοηθός στην Β' Έδρα Πολιτικής Οικονομίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Νομική Σχολή και από το 1977 ως το 1989 ήταν Επιστημονικός Βοηθός στον τομέα Πολιτικής Οικονομίας του Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου στην τότε Έδρα Θεωρητικής και Ιδιωτικής Οικονομίας και (από το 1982) στον Τομέα Πολιτικής Οικονομίας του Τμήματος Δημοσίας Διοικήσεως της ΠΑΣΠΕ. Το 1998 ανακηρύχθηκε Διδάκτωρ Τμήματος Οικονομικής και Περιφερειακής Ανάπτυξης Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου Πολιτικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών με τίτλο εργασίας «Θεωρίες της γαιοπροσόδου στους κλασικούς και στον Κ. Μαρξ ή η χρησιμότητα της γαιοπροσόδου για την κατανόηση ορισμένων ζητημάτων της πολιτικής οικονομίας». Το 1999 εξελέγη Λέκτορας στον Τομέα Πολιτικής Οικονομίας του Τμήματος Οικονομικής και Περιφερειακής Ανάπτυξης του Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου με γνωστικό αντικείμενο «Πολιτική Οικονομία με έμφαση στη διάσταση του χώρου». Το 2004 εξελέγη Επίκουρος Καθηγητής. Από το 1984 δίδαξε στο μεταπτυχιακό πρόγραμμα του Τμήματος Οικονομικής και Περιφερειακής Ανάπτυξης και από το 2002 στο μεταπτυχιακό πρόγραμμα του Τμήματος Πολιτικής Επιστήμης και Ιστορίας. Συνταξιοδοτήθηκε το 2011.

Ειδικό γνωστικό αντικείμενο που επεξεργάστηκε ο Ζαχαρίας Δεμαθός ήταν η Πολιτική Οικονομία του εδάφους και γενικότερα ζητήματα οικονομικής θεωρίας και πολιτικής οικονομίας. Τα επιστημονικά του ενδιαφέροντα εκτός από την οικονομική θεωρία και την πολιτική οικονομία επεκτείνονταν στην οικονομική ιστορία καθώς και σε ζητήματα που συνδέονται με την πολεοδομία, την χωροταξία, την περιφερειακή ανάπτυξη και την ευρωπαϊκή ολοκλήρωση. Συμμετείχε σε πολλά ερευνητικά προγράμματα και μελέτες με αντικείμενο την οικονομική, την περιφερειακή ανάπτυξη, την πολεοδομία, την χωροταξία και την απασχόληση και δίδαξε σε επιμορφωτικά σεμινάρια και στο ΕΚΔΔ αντικείμενα που συνδέονταν με τους τομείς δραστηριότητάς του. Από το 1994-2003 υπήρξε ειδικός συνεργάτης του ΥΠΕΘΟ σε ζητήματα περιφερειακής ανάπτυξης και ευρωπαϊκής χωροταξίας.

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Ο Ζαχαρίας Δεμαθάς σε στιγμές της Πανεπιστημιακής ζωής και της πολιτικής του δράσης στη Γερμανία

Τα λίγα λόγια που ακολουθούν για τη «γερμανική» περίοδο της νεανικής ζωής του Ζαχαρία είναι σπαράγματα από διηγήσεις και «κοινές» συναντήσεις φίλων και προσωπικές στιγμές σε καιρούς δύσκολους, ανεκτίμητα πολύτιμους καιρίους και παρόντες ακόμη, στη ροή του χρόνου.

Γνώρισα τον Ζαχαρία στο Παρίσι σε μια περίοδο σημαδιακή και για τον τόπο μας και για τον κάθε έναν μας ατομικά. Τα πρώτα χρόνια της Δικτατορίας, σε μέρες γεμάτες από «πληροφορίες», ελπίδες, ενθουσιώδη σχέδια, φόβους, σχόλια στα χειμαρρώδη και αντιφατικά νέα που έφθαναν. Τον γνώρισα σ' ένα σπίτι ελληνικό από εκείνα που άνοιγαν τις πόρτες τους για να στεγάσουν με νοσταλγία και φιλόξενα συναισθήματα, ενθουσιασμούς, κινήσεις, ανάγκες, εγχειρήματα συλλογικά ή μη και κάποτε παράτολμα και πολλές λύπες. Γύρω από ένα τραπέζι μεσημεριανό να αναλύει περίφροντις τα νέα από την Γερμανία και να καταθέτει τον χρόνο και τις βοήθειες που έφερνε.

Τότε ο *Αγώνας*, παρισιανό πολιτικό περιοδικό μεγάλης εμβέλειας, και τα προβλήματα σύνταξης, κυκλοφορίας και τεχνικής επεξεργασίας του, είχαν φέρει κοντά Έλληνες φοιτητές κυρίως από το Παρίσι και την Γερμανία και ιδιαίτερα σε θέματα τεχνικής βοήθειας είχαν κινητοποιήσει καλούς Γερμανούς φίλους. Ενδεικτικό του κλίματος συνεργασίας που υπήρξε είναι το πρώτο τεύχος, τυπωμένο ολοκληρωτικά στην Χαϊδελβέργη.

Τα χρόνια της Δικτατορίας έδωσαν μια νέα διάσταση σε ιδέες που θεωρούσαμε γνωστές και οικείες, όπως η ξενιτιά, η πατρίδα, η αλληλεγγύη, η φιλία, η διαφορετικότητα. Ρήσεις καθημερινές που στο ταξίδι τους ζητούσαν πια ένα καινούριο προορισμό.

Όσοι σαν εργαζόμενοι, σαν φοιτητές ή σαν πολιτικοί πρόσφυγες έζησαν την περίοδο της δικτατορίας μακριά από την Ελλάδα, ανάμεσα στις όποιες αλλαγές συνθηκών της ζωής τους, είχαν τη χαριστική συνθήκη οι περισσότεροι κάποιας προόδου και τη δυνατότητα μιας εσωτερικής αναδιάταξης σε πολλαπλά επίπεδα.

Ο Ζαχαρίας είχε φθάσει στη Γερμανία πριν τη Δικτατορία. Το θερινό εξάμηνο του 1965 είχε αρχίσει τις σπουδές του στην Οικονομική Σχολή του Πανεπιστημίου της Χαϊδελβέργης, ύστερα από μια μικρή διάρκεια φοίτησης στο Πολυτεχνείο του Μονάχου.

Η πανεπιστημιακή του ζωή άρχιζε με τις θετικές συνθήκες που τον είχαν χαριτοδοτήσει οι γυμνασιακές του σπουδές στην Γερμανική Σχολή Αθηνών.

Στο πλαίσιο του ουμανιστικού πνεύματος των σπουδών του είχε μια ολοκληρωμένη γνώση της γερμανικής γλώσσας, μια προσέγγιση γνωσιολογική και ευαίσθητη του γερμανικού πολιτισμού και οικειότητα στην κατανόηση και επικοινωνία της σύγχρονης γερμανικής πραγματικότητας. Αυτά τα στοιχεία του έδωσαν τη δυνατότητα να εκφράσει δίχως τα κενά της χωρικής προσαρμογή, την προσωπικότητά του, ανθρώπινα και επιστημονικά.

Η πηγαία συμπάθειά και το ενδιαφέρον του για τον άλλον τον προστάτευσαν από τα εφήμερα διαχωριστικά εμπόδια που συχνά επιβάλλουν οι δυσκολίες προσαρμογής και γρήγορα ήρθε ουσιαστικά κοντά με τους άλλους Έλληνες φοιτητές. Το σπίτι του στην κεντρική Hauptstrasse ήταν ένα πέρασμα φιλικό και ανοικτό για τη μικρή ελληνική κοινωνία, ιδιαίτερα γιατί ο Ζαχαρίας δέχονταν με ενθουσιασμό κάθε νέο φίλο αφού θεωρούσε δώρο κάθε νέο ανθρώπινο συναπάντημα.

Στην κινητικότητα των σχέσεων πολύτιμο ήταν το πανεπιστημιακό καφενείο Κακασμπούκνερ, που βρισκόταν σε μικρή απόσταση από το σπίτι του και εύκολα φιλοξενούσε τακτικά φευγαλέα περάσματά του για να πληροφορηθεί τα νέα και τα τυχόν προβλήματα του μικρού ελληνικού κόσμου και τις αφίξεις από την πατρίδα.

Οι δυσκολίες, οι ανάγκες και οι προσπάθειες των γύρω του στις οποίες ολόψυχα συμμετείχε, γέμιζαν την καθημερινότητά του με πολλές φροντίδες και σε σειρά κινήσεων θεραπευτικών με έμπρακτη την προσφορά και την αλληλοβοήθεια.

Ο Ζαχαρίας ζώντας το «εμείς» πολυδιάστατα, δεν μετρούσε τι μπορούσε να μοιρασθεί από το υστέρημα ή από το περίσσειμά του.

Τα δύσκολα εκείνα χρόνια η προσωπική ευμάρεια και το «εγώ» δεν πρόσφεραν μεγάλα ψυχικά ανταλλάγματα. Στις καρδιές είχε ριζώσει το δέντρο των ανθρώπων κι έρχονταν τα κλαδιά του και πλέκονταν και στήριζαν το ένα το άλλα.

Την ζωή του Ζαχαρία στην Χαϊδελβέργη σημάδεψαν ευτυχή συναπαντήματα και οι ιστορικές στιγμές της εποχής.

Η παρουσία του Νίκου Πετραλιά ήταν το ένα απ' αυτά. Πανεπιστημιακός με έντονη ενεργό πανεπιστημιακή παρουσία και επιστημονική αναγνώριση, κύριος συνεργάτης του Καθηγητού της Οικονομικής Θεωρίας Βαϊτσεκερ ο Νίκος Πετραλιάς ήταν γνωστός όχι μόνον για την επιστημονική του ευρυμάθεια, αλλά και για τις πολιτικά προοδευτικές του θέσεις. Η συνάντηση του Ζαχαρία με τον Νίκο Πετραλιά ήταν καθοριστικής σημασίας για τη ζωή του εκείνη τη στιγμή και πολύτιμη για τη ζωή και των δύο στη συνέχεια. Ο Ζαχαρίας καλός φοιτητής, φιλομαθής, προικισμένος με γνώσεις και αισθητήριο για την ελληνική ιστορία, στραμμένος σ' έναν προοδευτικό πολιτικό προβληματισμό βρήκε στον Νίκο Πετραλιά ένα στήριγμα που τα μάλα τον βοήθησε στην προοδευτική κατεύθυνση των μελετών του και της δράσης του και αποφασιστικά τον επηρέασε τόσο στην επιστημονική του συγκρότηση όσο και στη διαμόρφωση των πολιτικών προβληματισμών του.

Σ' αυτή την προσπάθεια της επιστημονικής του συγκρότησης ταυτόχρονα και παράλληλα με την πολιτική του δράση βρήκε τον Ζαχαρία η Δικτατορία του 1967. Σ' έναν επαναστατημένο φοι-

ητικό νεανικό κόσμο στα Γερμανικά Πανεπιστήμια και σ' έναν νέο πολιτικό προβληματισμό που σαρωτικά επέβαλε η είδηση της Δικτατορίας στην Ελλάδα. Ένα ρεύμα συμπαράστασης που ξύπνησε το φιλελληνικό πνεύμα σχεδόν σε όλες τις ευρωπαϊκές χώρες συνενώνοντας τους ευρωπαίους με τη σχεδόν ολοκληρωτική κινητοποίηση του ελληνικού στοιχείου.

Στη Γερμανία με πρωτοβουλία ενός μικρού κύκλου ελλήνων φοιτητών και με ουσιαστικό καθοδηγητή τον Νίκο Πετραλιά συγκροτήθηκε γρήγορα η αντιδικτατορική οργάνωση της πόλης της Χαϊδελβέργης. Με τις προσπάθειες κυρίως του Ζαχαρία η οργάνωση αυτή συνδέθηκε γρήγορα με άλλες ανάλογες οργανώσεις στο εξωτερικό και σε άλλες γερμανικές πόλεις με προεξέχοντα το σύλλογο εργατών στο γειτονικό Mannheim.

Ιδιαίτερες σχέσεις η οργάνωση της Χαϊδελβέργης είχε με την αντίστοιχη οργάνωση στο Παρίσι με κύριους καθοδηγητές τον Άγγελο Ελεφάντη και τον Νίκο Χατζηνικολάου.

Την περίοδο αυτή εκτός της ενδοελληνικής επικοινωνίας ο Ζαχαρίας πρωτοστατούσε στις οργανώσεις του γερμανικού φοιτητικού κινήματος και στα προβλήματα των Ελλήνων που μέσα από ποικίλες διαδρομές έφθαναν από την Ελλάδα στη Γερμανία.

Δεν θα επεκταθούμε στο κλίμα που επικρατούσε στις αντιδικτατορικές ελληνικές οργανώσεις. Θα θέλαμε μόνον να σημειώσουμε, ότι η κύρια δράση του αντιδικτατορικού αγώνα της Χαϊδελβέργης παρέκαμψε τις πολιτικές αντιπαράθεσεις που κυριαρχούσαν στους περισσότερους ελληνικούς συλλόγους και μεταξύ των εργατών στις κοινότητες των βιομηχανικών πόλεων, τις ατέρμονες πολιτικές συζητήσεις συχνά σε πνεύμα διαλυτικό και ανθενωτικό.

Η οργάνωση της Χαϊδελβέργης απέναντι σ' αυτό το κλίμα διατήρησε μια ιδιαίτερη αυτονομία. Ανέπτυξε δράσεις και πρωτοβουλίες που εντάσσονταν σε μια ευρύτερη αντίληψη του εργατικού κινήματος, ώστε να μην θεωρεί τις μαζικές οργανώσεις σαν ιμάντα μετάδοσης μια συγκεκριμένης πολιτικής γραμμής. Ήταν μια στάση-κατάκτηση των ιδεολογικών πολιτικών επεξεργασιών που επιχείρησε η ανανεωμένη πτέρυγα του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Εσωτερικού, που μετά το 1974 δεν είχε την απαραίτητη καθολική συνέχεια.

Η δράση των φοιτητών της Χαϊδελβέργης επικεντρώθηκε στην οργάνωση σεμιναρίων για την ελληνική λογοτεχνία και ιστορία και στην πρόταση αυτή υπήρξε και συμμετοχή και γόνιμη επεξεργασία θετικών ενεργών θέσεων. Στόχος ήταν η διαμόρφωση μιας αντιδικτατορικής συνείδησης σ' ένα κλίμα φιλικό και οικείο.

Η προσωπικότητα του Ζαχαρία ήταν ένας πραγματικός καταλύτης της προσπάθειας αυτής. Άτομο με υψηλή πνευματική καλλιέργεια, επιστημονική επάρκεια και ερευνητικό εύρος, ακαταπόντος μελετητής δεν απομάκρυνε το βλέμμα του από τους απεγνωσμένους και απομονωμένους Έλληνες στους σταθμούς των τρένων, τους δύσπιστους παλαιοκομματικούς, τους φίλερεις πολιτικούς καθοδηγητές στις ελληνικές κοινότητες, στους άνεργους και τους ανθρώπους της ανάγκης. Αναδείχθηκε έτσι μέσα από την έμφυτη «σοφή» πολυπρόσωπη παρουσία του, από τα κύρια στηρίγματα του φοιτητικού κινήματος. Ιδιαίτερα με τις συνεχείς μετακινήσεις του, ένα χαρισματικό επικοινωνιακό στηρίγμα συναίνεσης και δημιουργίας. Η σφραγίδα του τόσο χαρακτηριστική και καθοριστική πολλές φορές, για τους συλλόγους και τις κοινότητες, είναι ανεκτίμητη και λυπηρά δυσανάλογη με τη βαρύτητα της είναι η αποσιωποίησή της.

Βοηθητικός παράγοντας, όπως για κάθε θετική έκφραση και επιτυχία, ήταν σε μεγάλο βαθμό, το περιβάλλον κλίμα. Η κάποια προσέγγιση του κλίματος αυτού και η κατανόησή του μας φέρνει πιο κοντά στην αλήθεια των ανθρώπων που το μοιράστηκαν.

Η ιδιαιτερότητα των συνθηκών του 1968 είναι ένα τεράστιο γεγονός πέρα από τον μυθολογικό του χαρακτήρα, γιατί μας προσφέρει ένα απτό, πραγματικό και αποκαλυπτικό μήνυμα. Ότι οι άνθρωποι μπορούν να μεγαλουργήσουν και να ολοκληρωθούν όταν μπορέσουν να εκφραστούν και να δράσουν ελεύθερα.

Το 1968 μια θύελλα σάρωσε τον κόσμο. Ξεκίνησε από το Βιετνάμ, φύσηξε πάνω από την Ασία, πέρασε θάλασσες και βουνά για να φθάσει στην Ευρώπη και ακόμη πιο μακριά στο Μεξικό.

«Οι ξεσηκωμοί αμφισβήτησαν τις δομές της εξουσίας σε Βορρά και Νότο, σε Ανατολή και Δύση μεταδίδοντας τον πόθο της αλλαγής και φύτεψαν παντού την ελπίδα. Ένας ζωογόνος πολιτικός, πολιτιστικός και πνευματικός πυρετός θάμπωσε τον κόσμο. Ήταν σαν κάποιος να κοίταξε τη γύατα τον ουρανό και να τον βλέπει πλημμυρισμένο από κομήτες και πεφταστέρια.»

Ιστορικά η δεκαετία του '60 ήταν μια απάντηση στο ψυχροπολεμικό κλίμα της δεκαετίας που έσβηνε έχοντας δώσει τον τόνο στην μέση περίοδο του τελευταίου αιώνα. Πρωτόπειρα τα κινήματα μάθαιναν το ένα από το άλλο να διεκδικούν, να θωρακίζονται και να γιγαντώνονται εκεί όπου πρωτοεμφανίστηκαν. Στους δρόμους. Εκεί μετριόταν και η οργή και η ελπίδα.

Ο πόλεμος στο Βιετνάμ έδειξε περίτρανα τις ικανότητες των Βιετναμέζων για λαϊκή αντίσταση και συμπαρέσυρε έναν ολόκληρο κόσμο σε διαδηλώσεις συμπαράστασης. Στην Ιαπωνία τα Πανεπιστήμια αμφισβήτησαν τα πάντα. Η εξέγερση των ταπεινών του Πακιστάν απέναντι σε μια αμετακίνητη ελίτ, πνίγηκε στο αίμα, παρέσυρε όμως ταυτόχρονα έναν κόσμο αιώνων και διασπάστηκε.

Η εξέγερση των μαθητών και των φοιτητών στο Μεξικό τις παραμονές των Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων το 1968 μπορεί να τελείωσε με εκατοντάδες νεαρούς νεκρούς. Η μήνη τους όμως μέχρι σήμερα διεκδικεί τα αιτήματά τους και μιλά για μια γενιά που ηττήθηκε μεν, δεν υποχώρησε όμως σε ταπεινωτικά παζάρια.

Και στο Λονδίνο και στο Βερολίνο και στη Ρώμη ανάμεσα στις καταλήψεις και στις διαδηλώσεις αμετάθετα δηλώνεται η διεκδίκηση της ουτοπίας ενός δίκαιου κόσμου.

Για την Ευρώπη προπομποί του 1968 ήταν ο Ρούντι Ντίμπτσεκ, ο «κόκκινος ρούντι» του βερολινέζικου φοιτητικού κινήματος, ο αντιπρόσωπος της Γερμανικής Φοιτητικής Ένωσης SDS και κυρίαρχη μορφή της Εξωκοινοβουλευτικής Αριστεράς. Το μαχητικό κίνημα της Γερμανίας διαδήλωνε για το Βιετνάμ, για τα αποικιακά κινήματα, για τον Καπιταλισμό με όποιο πρόσωπο κι αν εμφανίζεται και τόλμησε, για πρώτη φορά να κοιτάξει το ναζιστικό παρελθόν της Γερμανίας. Η απάντηση που δεν δόθηκε ποτέ στο συγκεκριμένο ερώτημα ήρθε στις 11 Απριλίου του 1968 με μια σφαίρα που τραυμάτισε στο κεφάλι τον Ρούντι Ντίμπτσεκ βαριά και τον απενεργοποίησε μέχρι το θάνατό του το 1979.

Ανάχωμα η απουσία του ανέκοψε σιγά-σιγά τη μαχητική συνέχεια του βερολινέζικου κινήματος που με πολλά προβλήματα έκλεισε τελικά το 1990.

Λίγο μετά τον Απρίλη του 1968 και την αποχώρηση του Ντίμπτσεκ ήρθαν τα γεγονότα του Μαΐου στο Παρίσι. Τα γεγονότα είναι γνωστά στις ιστορικές αποτιμήσεις και στο πολλαπλό εικαστικό υλικό που τα έχει διασώσει. Το μήνυμά τους δεν πέρασε ποτέ. Πάντοτε καινούριο θα γεννιέται κάθε Μάη, όταν θα γεμίζουν λουλουδία τα αιωνόβια δένδρα στα Βουλευάρτα του παρισινού κέντρου.

Γιατί είναι ένα μέτρο για κάθε Άνοιξη.

Για τα όνειρα, για τις ουτοπίες για το εγώ και το εμείς, για το Δημόσιο και το Ιδιωτικό, για την καταξίωση του έρωτα της ζωής, για τη δημιουργική αλήθεια, για την ελευθερωτική ισότητα, για την αναζήτηση της ομορφιάς και της χαράς.

Αυτός ο απόηχος ίσως λιγότερο άμεσος σαν ήχος, κοιμάται σαν την Βασιλοπούλα του παραμυθιού που περιμένει ένα νεύμα για να ξαναγελάσει. Ό,τι έγινε σφράγισε ανεπανάληπτα τη σκέψη του 20ού αιώνα.

Διαβάζουμε σχετικά σ' ένα δημοσιευμένο αναστοχαστικό κείμενο για την εποχή. «Μια πολιτική έκρηξη ευφάνταστη σε σχήματα ελεύθερα από δεσμεύσεις της φόρμας, πλούσια σε πειραματισμούς άλλων εθνικών πολιτισμών ήταν τα μηνύματα του Μάη. Μια γιορτή χαράς και ουσιαστικής πολιτικοποίησης, όπου η βεβαιότητα της αποδοχής, η συμπληρωματικότητα των πολιτισμών, η χαρά της προσφοράς χάριζαν την μέθεξη μιας πραγματικότητας που δεν είχε τίποτε το ουτοπικό. Όλα ήταν παρόντα και όλα ήταν δυνατά.»

Οι σύντομες σκέψεις για την εποχή που ο Ζαχαρίας έζησε στο εξωτερικό θέλησαν να δώσουν κάποια στίγματα που κάνουν πιο οικείο τον κόσμο των πράξεων και των σκέψεών του. Ο κόσμος του φέρει τον αέρα αυτών των γεγονότων. Είναι ένα μέτρο αυτογνωσίας που ο Ζαχαρίας τίμησε αρέσασαν σαν πανεπιστημιακός δάσκαλος, σαν πνευματικός άνθρωπος, σαν δρον πολιτικό υποκείμενο και σαν καθημερινός περιπατητής αυτών των καιρών και φίλος.

Είναι βέβαιο ότι με χαρά θα διάβαζε τον Ταρίκ Αλί στο βιβλίο του *Έφοδος στον ουρανό* να λέει:

«Αρκετοί συνεχίζουμε να πιστεύουμε ότι η ζωή των ανθρώπων δεν μετριέται με την υλική τους περιουσία, αλλά με την ικανότητά τους να αλλάξουν τη ζωή των άλλων, των φτωχών, των μη προνομιούχων και ότι η οικονομία χρειάζεται να ανορθωθεί για τα συμφέροντα των πολλών.»

Και αν συνέχιζε να ξεφυλλίζει αγαπημένες του σελίδες ίσως θα συναντούσε τους εύστοχους στίχους ενός πολύ παλιού αμερικανού ποιητή:

«Το πραγματικό ζήτημα είναι η γενναιοψυχία
η ελπίδα που καρτερούσε
η φανερή και αληθινή επιθυμία
να δημιουργεί το καλό.
Τώρα σ' ένα άλλο Φθινόπωρο
η πάχνη πέφτει πάνω στην ελπίδα μας.
Τώρα στους παγερούς δρόμους
Ακούγονται το κυνηγητό και
η μακρόσυρτη βροντή του χρήματος.»

Με τον Νίκο Πετραλιά συναντήθηκαν και πάλι στο Πανεπιστήμιο. Στην Αθήνα, όταν όπως πολλοί γύρισαν στο κάλεσμα μιας ελπιδοφόρας αρχής. Από τα πολλά που έκαναν το πιο σπουδαίο είναι, ότι επιβεβαίωσαν ό,τι καλό κουβαλούσαν, άλλοτε με τη στάση τους, κάποτε με τις σιωπές τους και κύρια με το έργο τους σαν δάσκαλοι. Τους ευχαριστούμε θερμά.

Λίνα Παπαγαλάνη, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

Η συμβολή του Ζαχαρία Δεμαθά στην προαγωγή της οικονομικής ιστορίας

Με τη σύντομη αυτή εισήγηση-παρέμβαση θα προσπαθήσω να σκιαγραφήσω τις διόδους και τα σημεία, μέσω των οποίων ο αξέχαστος φίλος και συνάδελφος διήλθε το χώρο της οικονομικής ιστορίας αφήνοντας σημαντικές συμβολές, που η αξία τους δεν μπορεί να αποτιμηθεί σήμερα πλήρως αφού είναι αξεδιάλυτες με το όλον πολύπλευρο επιστημονικό του έργο. Υπηρετήσε την επιστήμη, τις κοινωνικές και ανθρώπινες αξίες με έναν πληθωρικό και ολικό λόγο και οι δικές μας επιμέρους αναφορές μπορεί να αναδεικνύουν ξεχωριστά προτερήματα και αρετές, αλλά σίγουρα περιορίζουν το πολύβουο και πολύχρωμο όλον της σκέψης και της δράσης του.

Ο Ζαχαρίας δεν ήταν ένας επαγγελματίας ιστορικός, σπούδασε οικονομική θεωρία στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Χαϊδελβέργης, αλλά γρήγορα καταπιάστηκε με ευρύτερα γνωστικά αντικείμενα, όπως η ιστορία και η κοινωνιολογία, ενώ ήταν και φανατικός ρέκτης της καλής λογοτεχνίας.

Ήταν η εποχή της άνοιξης των κοινωνικών επιστημών, όταν ενσωματώνονταν στους επιμέρους κλάδους τους νέες θεωρήσεις και εργαλεία ανάλυσης. Ο Ζαχαρίας επέστρεψε στην Ελλάδα έχοντας στις επιστημονικές αποσκευές του έναν πλούσιο κόσμο ιδεών, για να τις καλλιεργήσει, και ένα σύ-

νολο επιστημονικών εργαλείων, για να χρησιμοποιηθούν από πολλούς νέους Έλληνες επιστήμονες που ήδη καταπιάνονταν με την οικονομική ιστορία στη Γαλλία και την οικονομική ή τη γενικότερη ανθρωπολογία στην Αγγλία, ενώ απέναντι στις νεοκαπιταλιστικές θεωρήσεις αντιπαρέθεταν τώρα νέες ριζοσπαστικές, μαρξιστικές ιδέες.

Μετά τις πρώτες εκδόσεις βιβλίων οικονομικής ιστορίας στην Ελλάδα, στα μέσα της δεκαετίας του '70, που έφεραν μια νέα, ζωογόνα ανάπτυξη της επιστήμης απέναντι στην παλαιά συμβαντολογική ιστορία, θα αρχίσει ένα φιλόδοξο ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα εισαγωγής και επεξεργασίας των θέσεων της Γαλλικής Σχολής των Annales, κυρίως, αλλά και άλλων ρευμάτων οικονομικής ιστορίας, από την Επιτροπή Ιστορίας της Εθνικής Τράπεζας της Ελλάδος, με επικεφαλής τον εμπνευσμένο και ταλαντούχο ιστορικό Σπύρο Ασδραρά. Η αποτίμηση αυτής της προσπάθειας δεν έχει πλήρως εκφραστεί, παρά τις προσπάθειες κάποιων πρώτης αξιολόγησης σε σχετικά συμπόσια και συνέδρια για τη σύγχρονη ελληνική ιστοριογραφία.

Με τη συμμετοχή του Ζαχαρία στο ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα της Επιτροπής Ιστορίας της Εθνικής Τράπεζας ξεκίνησε και η εμπλοκή του με το γνωστικό αντικείμενο της οικονομικής ιστορίας. Το ως άνω ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα προώθησε την εκπόνηση μονογραφιών ή άλλων μεταπτυχιακών εργασιών που αφορούσαν θέματα οικονομικής και κοινωνικής ιστορίας σχετικά με την ίδρυση και λειτουργία των θεσμών στη διάρκεια του 19ου και του 20ού αιώνα και ιδιαίτερα με τα προβλήματα ανάπτυξης, οικονομικής πολιτικής και τραπεζικής διοικητικής, με επίκεντρο την ευρύτερη ιστορία της Εθνικής Τράπεζας της Ελλάδας, της οποίας η ιστορία για εκατό περίπου χρόνια είναι συνδεδεμένη σε μέγιστο βαθμό με την οικονομική και κοινωνική ζωή του νέου ελληνικού κράτους.

Ο Δεμαθάς συνέβαλε αποφασιστικά στην προαγωγή των επιστημονικών συζητήσεων που γίνονταν τακτικά στο πλαίσιο των παρουσιάσεων των εργασιών στα διάφορα στάδια της συγγραφής τους. Βαθμηδόν διαμόρφωσε έναν ιστορικό, επιστημονικό λόγο που διαπλεκόταν με τις προσφορές συγγενικών επιστημών και δεν επρόκειτο για έναν απλό επιστημονικό λόγο, αλλά για ένα υφάδι με το οποίο επιχειρούνταν η σύνδεση της θεωρίας με την πράξη, της επιστήμης με το «υπάρχειν» και το «πράττειν», των αντικειμενικών όρων της ζωής με τη γνώση και την πράξη σε μια αλληλεπίδραση και αλληλεξάρτηση, δηλαδή ήταν λόγος ανατρεπτικός και διαλεκτικός.

Στα πλαίσια αυτού του έργου ο Ζαχαρίας κατέδειξε και τις θέσεις του απέναντι στη νέα ιστορία, την ποσοτική ιστορία. Κράτησε την εισαγωγή της οικονομικής θεωρίας στο ιστορικό γίνεσθαι αλλά δεν επιχειρήσε να στήσει μια πυροβολαρχία ποσοτικών εργαλείων για να σκοτώσει ένα σπουργίτι.

Η ιδιαίτερη απασχόληση και οι προτιμήσεις του στο αναφερόμενο ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα ήταν οι έγγειες σχέσεις εκμετάλλευσης της γης στην Ελλάδα του 19ου και του 20ού αιώνα, η αγροτική μεταρρύθμιση και η νίκη της μικρής αγροτικής ιδιοκτησίας πάνω στη μεγάλη. Όλα αυτά προσεγγίζοντας πάντοτε συγκριτικά τις αλλαγές στον αγροτικό χώρο και τους τρόπους παραγωγής, τόσο στη Δυτική όσο και την Ανατολική Ευρώπη. Από εδώ δεν προκύπτουν απλώς μόνο η επίδραση και οι συνέπειες της νίκης της μικρής αγροτικής ιδιοκτησίας επί της βιομηχανίας, αλλά και πολλαπλά αποτελέσματα κοινωνικής πολιτικής και ήθους εργασίας. Ο Ζαχαρίας δεν ήταν θιασώτης μιας ιστορίας που απλώς τείνει να ανασυστήσει τον προηγούμενο βίο· επιζητούσε να βρει τις βαθύτερες σχέσεις ανάμεσα στο οικονομικό, το κοινωνικό και το πολιτικό στοιχείο.

Προνομιούχο πεδίο μελέτης του ήταν ο ελληνικός αγροτικός χώρος και τα αποτελέσματα των μεταρρυθμίσεων του 1871 και 1923. Με τη μελέτη της πρώτης μεταρρύθμισης ανέδειξε τους οικονομικούς στόχους και τις κοινωνικές αντιφάσεις που σημειώνονται αναφορικά με την ανάπτυξη του πολιτικού τομέα. Από εδώ επιχειρεί μια προέκταση στη μελέτη του, στον τρόπο ενσωμάτωσης της ελληνικής γεωργίας στις καπιταλιστικές σχέσεις και το δίπολο σταφίδα-σιτάρι γίνεται ένα ιδιαίτερο αντικείμενο μελέτης, στο βαθμό που συντελεί σε μια εμπορευματοποίηση των οικονομικών σχέσεων, άλλοτε με νόθο τρόπο, άλλοτε με θετικό και άλλοτε με αρνητικό.

Η δεύτερη μεγάλη αγροτική μεταρρύθμιση εκείνη του 1923 τον απασχόλησε κατά πρώτον για τις αναπτυσσόμενες σχέσεις μεταξύ υπαίθρου και αστικών κέντρων. Εδώ αναζήτησε, πέρα από τις προηγούμενες σχέσεις στη συνέχεια, τη σύνθεση των οικιστικών ιστών, όπως διαμορφώνονταν στη διάρκεια του μεσοπολέμου και τη μορφή που πήραν στη μεταπολεμική Ελλάδα. Η ιστορική του ματιά διακρινόταν για τους μεγάλους ορίζοντες και τις μεγάλες διάρκειες, όπως ακριβώς στις οικονομικές εξελίξεις διέκρινε τα μεγάλα διαστήματα αγορών: προστασίας, ελεύθερο ανταγωνισμού και τανάπαλι.

Ένας δεύτερος άξονας με τον οποίο συνδιαλέχθηκε ήταν η συγκρότηση του ελληνικού κράτους και η σπερέωση και οι μεταβολές του νομισματικού συστήματος. Αυτές οι σχέσεις νομίσματος και πίστωσης, που πολλές φορές εμπλέκονται με τις νομισματικές κρίσεις και που πάντα λύνονται με παρεμβάσεις τρίτων ξένων πολιτικοοικονομικών κέντρων, είναι κομβικές για τις μεταβαλλόμενες πολιτικές επιρροές.

Σε αυτή την αναζήτηση για την ερμηνεία των οικονομικών συμβάντων του παρελθόντος, για την ερμηνεία του παλαιότερου οικονομικού βίου, που ο Ζαχαρίας είχε ξεπεράσει και στην ερμηνεία των ανθρώπινων σχέσεων στο στάδιο της παραγωγής και της διαμονής στο χθες και το σήμερα, συνδιαλέχθηκε με άνεση ανάμεσα σε δύο χρόνους, το χθες και το σήμερα, διαβλέποντας ότι χρειάζεται μια νέα ανάγνωση, τόσο των Ελλήνων μαρξιστών ιστορικών όσο και των κλασικών κειμένων ιστορίας και πολιτικής που συνδέονται με παλαιότερους και νεότερους μαρξιστές.

Πίστευε στην ανάγκη να ξαναδούμε τα έργα των Γ. Κορδάτου, Ν. Ψυρούκη, Ν. Σβορώνου, Λ. Σταυριανού κ.ά., να εξετάσουμε πιο προσεκτικά τα ερμηνευτικά πλαίσια αλλά και τις αδύνατες πλευρές τους. Σε ένα κοινό μας άρθρο για τον Νίκο Σβορώνο «Το ερμηνευτικό πλαίσιο της επισκόπησης της ελληνικής ιστορίας» επιχειρήσαμε να επεκτείνουμε το περίγραμμα ιδεών του τελευταίου με την ενσωμάτωση μιας ειδικής περίπτωσης με αντικείμενο την καπιταλιστική εξέλιξη, το κράτος και την ιδιωτική ιδιοκτησία στη γη. Η όλη προσέγγιση ολοκληρώθηκε με τη διερεύνηση της μικρής γαιοκτησίας, καθοριστικό παράγοντα συγκρότησης της νεοελληνικής κοινωνίας και ταυτόχρονα περιοριστικό για τη βιομηχανία.

Μια άλλη αγαπημένη του απασχόληση ήταν η μεγάλη εξέλιξη της νησιώτικης οικονομίας, τόσο για τα ανατολικά όσο και για τα δυτικά νησιά της χώρας. Εδώ εμπλέκονται η θεωρία με την εμπειρία και τα οικογενειακά και προσωπικά του βιώματα.

Ξεφεύγοντας λίγο από τα στενά όρια της οικονομικής ιστορίας, θα ήθελα να σημειώσω ότι ο Ζαχαρίας αναζήτησε επίσης στοιχεία μιας θεωρίας οικονομικής ιστορίας και με νέα ανάγνωση των κλασικών μαρξιστικών έργων, αναζήτηση που γινόταν στο πλαίσιο ελεύθερου σεμιναρίου στο μεταπτυχιακό πρόγραμμα του Τμήματος Πολιτικής Επιστήμης και Ιστορίας του Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου. Σ' ένα μεγάλο βαθμό πίστευε ότι η οικονομική θεωρία και η οικονομική ιστορία έχουν το ίδιο αντικείμενο, πέρα από τη συγχρονικότητα και τη διαχρονικότητα, και ότι έχουν επίσης κάτι όμοιο, το στοιχείο της αφήγησης ώστε η αλληλεπίδρασή τους να είναι συνεχής και αέναη.

Τα δημοσιεύματα στα οποία ο Ζαχαρίας έχει εκθέσει τα πορίσματά του σε θέματα οικονομικής ιστορίας βρίσκονται σε διάφορα βιβλία, περιοδικά, συλλογικούς τόμους και πρακτικά επιστημονικών συνεδρίων. Η τελευταία του συνεισφορά ήταν η συμμετοχή του στο τρίτομο συλλογικό έργο *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κράτους*, έκδοση του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Ομίλου Πειραιώς, Αθήνα 2011.

Εν κατακλείδι, εάν κάποιος θα ήθελε να επισημάνει τη συμβολή του στην προαγωγή της οικονομικής ιστορίας, θα έλεγε ότι, σε καιρούς χαλεπούς μετά το 1989, όταν πολλοί πρώην υποστηρικτές της αρνούσαν και την ύπαρξη της ακόμη ως αυτοτελούς γνωστικού αντικειμένου, ήταν ο Δεμαθάς αυτός που ανανέωσε πολλές θέσεις της και παρήγαγε ένα ιδιαίτερο ερμηνευτικό πλαίσιο για την ανανέωσή της και την πιο δημιουργική ενσωμάτωση των μαρξιστικών θέσεων.

Η διατριβή του Ζαχαρία Δεμαθά «Θεωρίες της γαιοπροσόδου στους κλασικούς και στον Μαρξ ή Η χρησιμότητα της γαιοπροσόδου για την κατανόηση ορισμένων ζητημάτων της πολιτικής οικονομίας»

Εκ πρώτης όψεως ο τίτλος της διατριβής του Ζαχαρία Δεμαθά υπενθυμίζει τη γερμανική παιδεία του συγγραφέα της. Ένας υπέρτιτλος και ένας μακροσκελής διευκρινιστικός υπότιτλος, αποτελεί το χαρακτηριστικό γνώρισμα των διδακτορικών που εκπονήθηκαν στα γερμανικά πανεπιστήμια, τουλάχιστον ως το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 20^{ου} αιώνα. Όμως, ο Ζαχαρίας μεσολαβεί ανάμεσα στον υπέρτιτλο και τον υπότιτλο αυτό το μικρό διαζευκτικό «ή». Μια μικρή λέξη, η οποία δεν λειτουργεί απλώς διευκρινιστικά, αλλά πλήρως ανατρεπτικά: Η θεωρία της γαιοπροσόδου λειτουργεί, εν προκειμένω, ως άξονας διπλής κατεύθυνσης: προκύπτει από τη γενική θεωρία, αλλά και την διευκρινίζει και την τροποποιεί, εισάγοντας στη γενική θεωρία το ιστορικό στοιχείο, κοινωνικές σχέσεις, κοινωνικές συγκρούσεις και κοινωνικές συμμαχίες, διαδρομές επίλυσης των συγκρούσεων και μορφοποίησης των συμμαχιών. Η γενική θεωρία καθίσταται έτσι ενεργή, ικανή να ερμηνεύσει τη σύνθετη πραγματικότητα, όχι απλώς να διατυπώσει γενικούς και, υπό αίρεση πάντοτε στον Μαρξ, αναπότρεπτους νόμους.

Θα ήταν παράδοξο αν η διδακτορική διατριβή του Ζαχαρία Δεμαθά, ενός ανθρώπου εκ φύσεως ανήσυχου, διερευνητικού και βαθειά κοινωνικού, διαμόρφωνε τα κεντρικά της ερωτήματα, το θέμα της, σε απόσταση από το κλίμα της εποχής, τις συζητήσεις, τις ιδέες, τα βιβλία των πρώτων χρόνων της μεταπολίτευσης. Χωρίς να είναι εθνοκεντρικός – το αντίθετο, φέροντας την εμπειρία μιας ευρωπαϊκής παιδείας υψηλού επιπέδου, ο Ζαχαρίας προτίθεται να τη χρησιμοποιήσει για να συμμετάσχει στην εγχώρια διαμάχη. Και αυτό κάνει.

Είναι απαραίτητο για να κατανοήσουμε τη διατριβή του Ζαχαρία να την τοποθετήσουμε στο κοινωνικό της περιβάλλον, στα πρώτα της στάδια, πριν ακόμα πάρει τη μορφή του σχεδίου. Να την τοποθετήσουμε στο δεύτερο μισό της δεκαετίας του 1970, τα πρώτα χρόνια της μεταπολίτευσης, και να ανατρέξουμε στην ατμόσφαιρα των χρόνων εκείνων.

Πολιτική Οικονομία και Ιστορία. Η Οικονομική Επιστήμη, η πειθαρχία της οικονομικής, όπως άρεσε να λέει ο Ζαχαρίας από το discipline, προσπαθούσε να αποκτήσει ένα ριζοσπαστικό λόγο απεγκλωβιζόμενη από τα κοινότητα σχήματα της νεοκλασικής μικροοικονομικής και της κενυσιανίζουσας μακροοικονομικής. Οι οικονομολόγοι προσπαθούσαμε να κατανοήσουμε τον Μαρξ, μέσα από διαβάσματα των επιγόνων του και, σπανιότερα, μέσα από τα κείμενα του ίδιου. Η Πολιτική Οικονομία συστηματοποιημένη σε κρατικό δόγμα ερχόταν μέσα από τα χειρίδια της Ακαδημίας Επιστημών της ΕΣΣΔ, κατασκευάζοντας ένα βολικό, αλλά ασφικτικό, πλαίσιο. Από τη δογματική νεοκλασική θεώρηση στον δογματικό μαρξισμό, η μετάβαση ήταν ακαριαία, αλλά και εύκολη, οι θεωρητικές μεταστροφές είχαν γίνει της μόδας, αλλά ήταν ατελείς, σχεδόν καρικατούρες. Το ίδιο ακαριαία και εύκολη αποδείχθηκε είκοσι χρόνια αργότερα η αντίστροφη πορεία: οι «μαρξιστές» γνώρισαν την γοητεία της νεοκλασικής σκέψης. Αμάσπτος μαρξισμός, αμάσπη νεοκλασική σκέψη.

Στον χώρο της Ιστορίας συντελέστηκε μια ουσιαστικότερη μεταστροφή. Το αίτημα να πάψει η ιστορία να αποτελεί αφήγηση γραμμικών γεγονότων, προσωπικών κατορθωμάτων, άθλων και προδοσιών, μεγαλείου και ανικανότητας, αλλά να διερευνηθούν οι κοινωνικοί μηχανισμοί πίσω από τα γεγονότα. Να αναζητηθούν τα αίτια στις απρόσωπες, αντικειμενικές κοινωνικές διεργασίες. Να τοποθετηθούν εκ νέου τα συμβάντα, σε μια καλειδοσκοπική οπτική όπου οι κοινωνικές συνθήκες και η δυναμική τους κατείχαν τη δεσπόζουσα ερμηνευτική θέση. Τα ιστορικά αρχεία έγιναν προστά σε πολυάριθμους ιστορικούς και ερευνητές άλλων επιστημονικών χώρων, επιτρέποντας, αρχικά «μεγάλες αφηγήσεις», που έδωσαν σύντομα τη θέση τους σε επιμέρους και περιπτώσιολογικές έρευνες, απομακρυνόμενες ταχέως, όμως, από τη μεγάλη σύνθεση.

Υπήρχε, ωστόσο, μεταξύ Πολιτικής Οικονομίας και Ιστορίας ένας κοινός τόπος: Η προσπάθεια να κατανοηθεί ο ατελής μετασχηματισμός της ελληνικής κοινωνίας σε αστική, εκβιομηχανισμένη, κοινωνία. Οι επιλογές ήταν δύο: Να αποδοθεί η καθυστέρηση και η δυσπλασία της ελληνικής κοινωνίας στο ρόλο των «ξένων», του ξένου κεφαλαίου, του παγκόσμιου καπιταλισμού, ή να αναζητηθεί, κυρίως, σε εσωτερικά αίτια, σε εγχώριες διεργασίες, οι οποίες επέτρεψαν ή ενίσχυσαν τους «διεθνείς» παράγοντες. Από την μία η σχολή της εξάρτησης, από την άλλη απόπειρες ανάλυσης των κοινωνικών τάξεων και των συγκρούσεων.

Ο Ζαχαρίας τοποθετήθηκε ευθέως, αν και ποτέ ρητά, στη σχετική διαμάχη. Η Πολιτική Οικονομία έγινε το εργαλείο κατανόησης των ιστορικών μετασχηματισμών. Και η γη, η χρήση της γης και οι διαδικασίες ιδιοποίησής της, η προνομιακή πύλη εισόδου στην αναζήτηση της ιστορικής αλήθειας και στην κατανόηση των σύγχρονων εξελίξεων. Η αναγνώριση της σημασίας και του ρόλου της έγγραφης ιδιοκτησίας του επέτρεψε να κινείται με άνεση σε τρεις διακριτές πειθαρχίες, στην Πολιτική Οικονομία, στην Ιστορία και στην πολεοδομία και στην Περιφερειακή ή τοπική οικονομία, τις οικονομίες μικρής κλίμακας. Την Πολιτική Οικονομία ως εργαλείο ανάλυσης, την Ιστορία ως χώρο εφαρμογής του εργαλείου και κατανόησης των πορισμάτων του, την αστική ανάλυση ως εφαρμοσμένη πολιτική. Πιστεύω ότι αυτή είναι η θεμελιώδης ενότητα που διέπει το έργο του, έργο πολυσιδές και, σε μίαν επιπόλαιη ματιά, ανοργάνωτο.

Η ελληνική διανόηση έχει ακολουθήσει τον μεταπρατισμό της ελληνικής αστικής τάξης. Έμαθε να δουλεύει με επιστημονικές «αντιπροσωπείες», παραρτήματα των κύριων σχολών σκέψης, και να εναλλάσσει τις αντιπροσωπείες και τις θεωρίες σαν σημαίες ευκαιρίας. Ο Ζαχαρίας ήταν διαφορετικός. Η σκέψη και το έργο του ήταν ένας ποταμός με βαθειά και ορμητικά νερά. Ένας ποταμός που συγκέντρωνε στην κοίτη του άλλα ποτάμια, πλούσια και δυνατά, παραποτάμους με ισχυρή ύλη, ρυάκια που προσέθεταν γλαφυρότητα και ομορφιά. Οκτώ διακριτές πηγές – βιβλιογραφικές ομάδες έργων – επισημαίνει και επεξεργάζεται στη διδακτορική του διατριβή: Από τα κείμενα των κλασικών της Πολιτικής Οικονομίας και του Μαρξ, μέχρι σύγχρονα πολιτικά κείμενα «σε ύφος πολεμικής», όπως γράφει, από κείμενα οικονομικής ιστορίας μέχρι έργα κοινωνιολογίας, κοινωνικής ανθρωπολογίας και πολιτικής, από κείμενα περιστασιακά και έκκεντρα με το θέμα του μέχρι κείμενα ειδικά στην οικονομία του ορεινού χώρου και στην «παραγωγή στέγης» στον αστικό ιστό. Περάσματα σύνθετα και γοπητικά από το αφηρημένο στο συγκεκριμένο, από το γενικό στο ειδικό και περιπτώσιολογικό, αλλά πάντα με αναπομπή στο γενικό θεωρητικό πλαίσιο.

Τα θέματά του αυτά επεξεργάζεται συνεχώς για να εντάξει νέο υλικό, να τοποθετήσει σε διαφορετική βάση, να ανασκευάσει, να αμφισβητήσει και να ανανεώσει έννοιες και αναλύσεις, καθοδηγούμενος πάντα από την ανάλυση της γαιοπροσόδου.

Η γη, το έδαφος, εντάσσεται στην παραγωγική διαδικασία και παράγει, αλλά δεν παράγει μόνον προϊόντα με τη μορφή εμπορεύματος: παράγει εισοδήματα με τη μορφή της γαιοπροσόδου, απόλυτης και σχετικής, αποτέλεσμα της ατομικής ιδιοκτησίας, των διαφορών στις αποδόσεις

(σχετική I), αλλά και των επενδύσεων και της εργασίας που ενισχύει τις αποδόσεις (σχετική II). Η γαιοπρόσοδος από σχέση εκμετάλλευσης στη φεουδαρχία μετασχηματίζεται σε σχέση διανομής της υπεραξίας στον καπιταλισμό. Ο Ζαχαρίας ακολουθεί πιστά την ανάλυση του Μαρξ και επικεντρώνει τμήμα των εφαρμοσμένων αναλύσεων του στην «παραγόμενη γη», την γη των ορεινών περιοχών και το σύστημα οικισμού του αστικού χώρου μέσω της αντιπαροχής.

Η βαθειά γνώση της ιστορίας, οι πολλαπλές αναγνώσεις των μεγάλων ιστορικών μετασχηματισμών, αλλά και των ειδικών, επιμέρους, εθνικών και χωρικών, ιστορικών διεργασιών προφυλάσσει τον Ζαχαρία από την παγίδα της εθνικής ιδιαιτερότητας.

Ο Ζαχαρίας «αποκάλυψε» την κοινοτυπία που υποκρύπτει το σύστημα της αντιπαροχής, τη θεωρούμενη ελληνική πρωτοτυπία: Πρόκειται για ένα σύστημα εκτεταμένων εργολαβιών και υπεργολαβιών που βασίζεται στην εκμετάλλευση του ιδιωτικού και την ιδιοποίηση του δημόσιου χώρου. Με τον τρόπο αυτό η μικρή κλίμακας ιδιοκτησία που χαρακτηρίζει τον ελλαδικό χώρο της υπαίθρου από τις απαρχές του ελληνικού κράτους μετατοπίζεται και επεκτείνεται στον αστικό ιστό, ολοκληρώνοντας την μικροαστική συγκρότηση της κοινωνίας.

Αλλά ούτε το πελατειακό σύστημα αποτελεί ιδιαιτερότητα του ελληνικού πολιτικού συστήματος. Ο Ζαχαρίας ανατρέχει στις πολιτικές αναλύσεις του Μαρξ, στη 18^η Μηνυέρ, για να υποστηρίξει μια θέση που κι εγώ είχα υποστηρίξει στη δική μου διατριβή: Το πελατειακό σύστημα αποτελεί τον τρόπο οργάνωσης του πολιτικού στις κοινωνίες με ισχυρή παρουσία της απλής εμπορευματικής παραγωγής, των ανεξάρτητων παραγωγών εμπορευμάτων.

Μέσω των αναλύσεων αυτών ο Ζαχαρίας επιβεβαιώνει ένα ισχυρό ερμηνευτικό πλαίσιο: Η μικροαστική ελληνική κοινωνία αποκτά μια ισχυρή ευστάθεια, καθώς και οι δύο φορείς των καπιταλιστικών σχέσεων παραγωγής, οι κάτοχοι του κεφαλαίου και οι κάτοχοι της εργασιακής δύναμης, στρέφονται σε δραστηριότητες που συμβάλλουν στη διατήρηση της ιδιοκτησίας μικρής κλίμακας: Οι μιν στο χρηματικό-τραπεζικό κεφάλαιο και στο εμπόριο, οι δε στη διατήρηση της, φαντασικής έστω, σχετικής αυτονομίας του ελεύθερου παραγωγού εμπορευμάτων. Και οι εκάστοτε κρίσεις εκτονώνονται με την μετανάστευση, που επίσης συμβάλλει στην αναπαραγωγή των μικροαστικών στρωμάτων.

Τα τελευταία χρόνια ο Ζαχαρίας δούλεψε πάνω στις συνέπειες της τρέχουσας κρίσης. Τόσο στην εισήγησή του στο σεμινάριό μας, όσο και σ' εκείνη που έκανε στα πλαίσια του σεμιναρίου Ριζοσπαστικής Γεωγραφίας στο Χαροκόπειο υποστήριξε ότι η κρίση θέτει σ' αμφισβήτηση τις συνθήκες κοινωνικής ευστάθειας, τον κυρίαρχο τρόπο αναπαραγωγής της κοινωνίας. Οι μεταβολές, ριζικές και οδυνηρές, προέβλεπε ότι θα ήταν αναπόφευκτες. Η κατεύθυνσή τους, όμως, αμφίβολη.

Το έργο του Ζαχαρία δικαιώνεται και αποκτά τη σημασία του μέσα από τη διαδικασία της σημερινής κρίσης. Επαναφέροντας την προσοχή στην παραμελημένη έννοια της γαιοπρόσοδου μας επιτρέπει να κατανοήσουμε τη «φούσκα» των ακινήτων, τη σχέση μεταξύ χρηματιστηριακού – τραπεζικού κεφαλαίου και γης, τις σύγχρονες διαδικασίες «περιφράξεων» και τη μαζική εμφάνιση αστέγων στις μητροπόλεις, την ιδιοποίηση της αγροτικής γης, αλλά και το ρόλο της φορολόγησής της.

Ο Ζαχαρίας μας χάρισε την οδό, τον οδικό χάρτη. Αρκεί να σταθούμε ικανοί να τον βαδίσουμε, έστω και χωρίς τη φυσική του παρουσία.

Απόστολος Δεδουσόπουλος, Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο

δια-ΛΟΓΟΣ

ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

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2015

Δημήτρης Αθανασάκης
Κατελής Βίγκλας
Πέτρος Α. Γέμτος
Νένος Γεωργόπουλος
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Ιάκωβος Φαρσεδάκης

The 8th Global Forum on Migration and Development, 13-15 October 2015, Istanbul, Turkey

The “Plan B” Migration Governance

In the middle of the most serious humanitarian crisis, since the second World War, caused mainly by the Syrian turmoil and armed conflicts that compelled thousands of people to cross international borders, Turkey has organized and hosted the 8th Global Forum on Migration and Development.

The meeting took place in Istanbul last October (13-15/10), just after the terrorist attack in Ankara and on the eve of the Turkish presidential elections.

It worth's mentioning that today, Turkey shelters close to two million Syrians under temporary protection of whom some 250.000 live in accommodation centers while more than 660.000 people have left our east neighbor and crossed the sea borders arriving to the Greek islands in the Aegean. In October alone, Greece has received more than 200.000 refugees and migrants originating from Syria, Afghanistan, Irak, Pakistan and Somalia.

It is not surprising, given the situation in the region, that the overcatching theme of the meeting focused on “Strengthening Partnerships= Human Mobility for Sustainable Development”. As the title of the Forum and of the meeting show, the issue at stake of both is the migration-development nexus. The theme of the recent meeting signals recognition that international migration cannot be addressed effectively by any one country alone or by states without the cooperation of others stakeholders. It also emphasizes that mobility (migration) within the eight policy framework is a positive factor for development. The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMA) is an initiative of the UN Secretary General. It has been launched in 2007 and hosted by eight countries (chairs in office) in succession, namely Belgium, the Philippines, Greece, Mexico, Switzerland, Mauritius, Sweden and finally Turkey.

The GFMD is a state led, non-binding process for dialogue and cooperation among 140 countries all over the globe on issues of Migration and Development. As Peter Sutherland, the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General for International Migration pointed out in his forward in Stockholm, “the Forum created a safe space in witch stakeholders from around the world can gather, learn, deliberate and faster cooperation – far from the destructive distractions of domestic polities. It has allowed states to establish a common understanding of migration and to see clearly that many of the policies that states need to pursue are not ones that oppose the interests of migrants to the interest of states”.

The Forum has entered last year a new and exciting period, following the second UN High Level Dialogue, witch produced a declaration on migration and development that crystallized an agenda for action shared by the entire international community.

Through the common efforts, of governments and international organizations, in partnership with civil society (the GFMD Civil Society Days take place over two days immediately preceding the Forum Meeting), the GFMD has become a more effective broad multi-stakeholder platform for exchanging good practices and lessons learned on migration and development.

The 8th GFMD meeting in Istanbul had three main objectives:

- Enhancing migrant focused migration, incorporating a variety of perspectives on a migration management which gives the priority to the rights, dignity and well-being of migrants, including the views of civil society and migrants themselves.
- Recognising the development impact of migration in public policies, incorporating migration in discussion of development policy at all levels from the local to the global, up to and including the adoption of the post 2015 UN Development Agenda.
- Engaging relevant stakeholders in strengthening the linkages between migration and development, enabling the dialogue among states and abroad range of civil society actors, the private sector, international organizations and other stakeholders.

The meeting was organized through three Round Tables, each with two sessions. Three thematic meeting on cross-cutting issues were hold at the preparatory stage with a view to provide more evidence-based inputs into the final discussions.

The first Round Table dealt with:

- Partnerships to prompt inclusion and protect the human rights of all migrants in order to achieve the full benefits of migration.
- The reduction of the human and financial migration costs. Through cooperative approaches in order to achieve fair recruitment practises and lower remittance fees.

The second Round Table targeted at:

- Mainstreaming migration into planning at the sectorial level
- Making migration work post 2015=implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

On the second target will elaborate further on below since the 8th GFMD tried to analyze the place of migration in the SDGs to explore ways of achieving the migration related targets included in the post 2015 agenda as well as the possible contribution of the Forum to this effort.

The last Round Table explored the new and emerging issues in international migration and more precisely:

- The enhancement of human development and human security for forced migrants (refugees, people affected by natural and manmade disasters and environmental degradation) through international corporation on labor market access, educational opportunities, family reunification and other avenues of mobility as a triple win process witch can lead to burden sharing beyond traditional humanitarian approaches. With government budges under stress almost everywhere and particularly in refugee-hosting countries such as Greece, Turkey, Italy, Jordan and Lebanon it is clear that the traditional “care and maintenance” model for refugees and mixed flows, is unsustainable.
- Private sector-government partnership to support migrant diaspora entrepreneurship and job creation, with a focus on small and medium enterprises.

The three thematic meetings on cross-cutting issues explored respectively the place of migration in the post 2015 UN development agenda the role of communications in promoting widespread recognition of the benefits of migratuion, improving public perceptions of migrants, combating discrimination and promoting integration and last but no least the contribution of women migrants (48% of the worlds international migrants) to economic and social development in countries of origin and destination, addressing their specific needs.

Although of a first look, the third Round Table seems to be the most interesting one, at the present conjunction, we consider that the second one on Migration in the context of the 2030 Development Agend deserves a more detailed presentation since it touched upon the root causes

of migration and forced displacement of populations, namely poverty, increasing inequalities between and within states, discriminations and violation of human rights. The elimination found the fight against these phenomena which trigger massive movements of people are reflected across the Agenda 2030, including in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), related targets and eventually indicators.

Efforts have been made within Round Table 2.2. (R.T.) to identify possible planning at different levels and consequent actions for full and effective implantation of the migration – related and relevant targets in both the 2030 Agend and the relative Addis Ababa Action one. The latter has been adopted in July 2015 during the Third International Conference on Financing for Development and has provided additional food for thought to the RT2.2 discussions.

At this point, previous to the presentation of the SDGs and the discussions on the possible role of the GFMD in their follow up and review, we should stress that development can eliminate the root causes of migration in both source and receiving countries.

The Post 2015 Development Agenda comprises (17) seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), accompanied by targets and will be further elaborated through indicators focused on measurable outcomes:

1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere.
2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.
3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.
4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of nature and sanitation for all.
7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all.
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth full and productive employment and decent work for all.
9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation.
10. Reduce inequality within and among countries.
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive safe, resilient and sustainable.
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.
13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of forestal ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification and half and reverse land degradation and half biodiversity loss.
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development.

The RT 2.2, taking into consideration the Declaration that set the context and tone of the Agenda 2030, which stipulates that all states should ensure the human rights of all migrants and secure commitment to “leave no one behind”, has selected four migration related SDGs targets which countries should achieve. All countries should provide coherent and comprehensive

responses to migration challenges through mainstreaming migration into respective planning processes and instruments of development, such as national development plans, sustainable development strategies, relevant sectorial policies.

The list of migration related targets includes:

- Target 8.8 on labour rights and safe and secure working environment of all workers, including migrant workers, particular women migrants (bola).
- Target 10.7 on safe, orderly and regular migration including through well-managed migration policies.
- Target 10.c reducing cost of migrant remittances.
- Target 17.18 on data desegregation in relation to migratory status.

The specific target 8.8 focuses on promoting sustain aid inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.

As far as the 10.7 and 10.c specific targets are concerned, it would be worth nothing that are set within the wider context on addressing inequalities. These targets commit to improve migration governance through “planned and well managed migration policies” and to reduce costs of migrants’ remittances to lower than 3 percent of the amount remitted and also to eliminate the remittance corridors with costs higher than 5 percent.

The fourth specific target is set within the means of implementation of migration related targets, promoting interlinkpages across various targets and indication and informing decision makers on how they will mobilize resources to achieve the SDGs.

Indicators accompanying SDGs and targets are still under elaboration by the Inter-Agency Expert Groups, as mandated by the UN Statistical Commission. The Agency will set by mid 2016 a limited set of indicate global indicators while the wider set will be left for each country to develop through consultation, taking into account national realities, circumstances and priorities. Besides the process to develop a set of indicators establishing a functional architecture in witch progress can be assessed is also under discussion. At the global level, the High Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development will lead the follow-up and review of SDGs by facilitating the sharing of experiences and by promoting system –wide coherence and coordination of sustainable policies. The Post 2015 Development Agenda also provides for thematic reviews at the global level, supported by the Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC) and other intergovernmental fora.

At the regional level, it is proposed that States identify existing mechanisms and multistakeholder processes to engage in peer learning, corporation and discussion or shared targets.

A part of the above mentioned Migration related SDG targets, a number of migration relevant ones can be found out of the total 169n targets of SDGs.

The latter are indirectly interlinked with the root causes of migration (poverty, hunger health and education systems, unemployment child labour, climate related hazards and natural disasters) as well as with migrants integration in the host societies and their contribution to development (social, economic and political inclusion of all irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, religion, economic or other status, make cities and human settlements, peri urban and rental areas inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable promote peaceful and inclusive societies, encourage effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships etc).

We referred above to the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, the outcome of the Conference of the Financing for Development as a complementary document to the 2030 Agenda. The Agenda contains a number of commitments to realize the potential that migration and remittances hold for development, addressing as well the obstacles to flows of remittances, including banks withdrawing

services, mitigating the impact of money laundering and combating financing of terrorism.

The discussions of the RT 2.2 drawing on recent and on going developments on the issue of Migration and Development, trying to identify the possible role of the Global Forum in migration as its possible place to the institutional architecture of assessment.

The more obvious role that GFMD can play, emanates from its proper nature and its terms of reference, as a platform for sharing experiences and lessons learned on the progress made towards migration related SDG targets, the inclusion and the contribution of migrants in the attainment of SDGs (not felt behind).

Any other option for a more decisive involvement in the GFMD in thematic follow-up and review of migration related SDGs would require changes in its operating modalities and probably with its links with the UN System which for the moment are mediated through the special Representative of the UN secretary General Mr.Sutherland. The discussion has been opened and options have been put on the table for further consideration. Bangladesh, which is the new chair in office of the GFMD will carry out future discussions on the future of the Forum. What is of utmost importance is that the GFMD has survived the economic crisis and remains the most well placed International Forum to explore the Migration-Development nexus and to lead relevant discussions in the field.

The GFMD is above all a reminder to the international community, today more than ever since its establishment, that development remains the only effective and long-term solution for orderly migration out of choice and not out of need as it is the key for ending armed conflicts and the forced displacement of populations all over the world, including the elimination of radicalism and terrorism.

Athanasia Ioannou

Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reconstruction

International Society for Labour and Social Security Law (ISLSSL), XI European Regional Congress, Young Scholars Session – European Embryo, Dublin, 17-19 September 2014

The ISLSSL XI European Regional Congress was held in Ireland (Dublin) on September 2014 and in particular in the University College Dublin (UCD). The main focus of the discussion was put on the reforms in the field of labour law, while the reforms of social security law were examined to a smaller scale. The Young Scholars Meeting took place on the first day of the conference having as a coordinator Professor Stefano Bellomo. When the initiative of the Young Scholars' Session started, each national representative was requested to prepare a report to expose the impact of the economic crisis on the recent evolution of the National Labour Law systems in the European Countries (by the different sides of employment contract law, trade union law and collective bargaining and the social security law). The reports of each national group of young scholars of the European Embryo can be found on the website of the ISLSSL¹, the results of which were illustrated by the respective national representatives during the Session scheduled. The countries represented by the respective national teams were: Austria, Czech Republic, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland,

Italy, Netherlands, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain. Representatives of Israel and South Africa made also an appearance in the meeting at issue by making a brief meddling. Within this report, the attention has been chosen to be drawn to the countries the presentations of which included an analysis of social security law to a larger extent.

To begin with the Austrian representatives², they pointed out that the impact of the crisis in their country has already been diminished and specifically since 2011. Austrian legal system is oriented at the re-integrating and the re-strengthening of social partners. Noteworthy, the 95% of employment contracts fall under the collective sectoral agreements. As it was mentioned, health and accident insurance remain upright and minor changes in social security law can be identified. However, some measures are taken in this regard, such as the partial retirement. Enterprises which employ older workers have the opportunity to reduce their working hours whilst receiving financial support, so that the employees can work until they retire. The partial retirement allowance compensates the employer for the additional burden caused by the wage adjustment and by the payment of social security contributions (which are calculated on the basis of non-reduced working hours). Health and accident insurance were reported to remain upright, while a socialization of economic risks was mentioned to be the main trend recently in Austria.

The representatives of Czech Republic³ referred to the new law on public service which extended the scope of public service to persons being listed in the register of job seekers longer than two months. On top of many changes in the Czech pension law, there was recorded a pending reform of supplementary retirement insurance systems (the second pension reform phase of 2009). A third phase was also envisaged (the chance for an opt-out of the compulsory system on a larger scale) the new pension savings system has not gained importance. According to data from July 2013, only a small percentage decided to participate in the system of additional pension saving program, divided between 10 pension companies, which creates a product that is economically not self-sufficient. Instead, a mass participation is observed on the supplementary pension insurance scheme that has been partially amended and partially terminated by the reform. Almost the same pattern can be seen in the health care. Insurance regulatory fees (co-payments) paid for visiting a doctor or an emergency room and for a prescription shall be revoked by the end of this year. Nevertheless, the reform of supplementary retirement insurance scheme does not endanger the system of protection against aging as a whole. To the contrary, the annulment of regulatory fees means the closure of another additional source of income for health care providers. According to the Czech Republic's representative, ILO's international conventions, other international agreements covenants and EU rules have proven themselves to be very effective obstacle in Czech's desire to lessen solidarity throughout its social security schemes. In the speakers' view, the process of social stratification is continuing and once almost equal in every aspect of social life, Czech society follows western democracies while it is still searching for a new balance.

The French team⁴ focused on the Law adopted in 14.6.2013, the Act for securing employment ("Loi de sécurisation de l'emploi") providing for a new database for employees' representatives and the reduction of a company's social charges. The main axes of the reform attempted had to do with flexicurity and collective autonomy, as well as the combating of unfair social competition and the general obligation of healthcare coverage. The ideas of individual training accounts and the voluntary mobility periods have also developed.

The Greek representatives⁵, highlighted the major reforms of Greek labour and social security law posing in parallel questions about the evolution of Social Europe. In particular, Ioannis Skandalis started the presentation by making some critical remarks about the social

character of the European legal context which seems to stay back in view of the economic aspects and objectives. Dimitris Papadimitriou gave certain examples of the measures that have been introduced due to the crisis such as the Law 3899/2010 for the part-time employment and the Laws 3863/2010, 4024/2011 and 4046/2012 regarding the legal regime of dismissal, as well as the mandatory reduction of minimum wage imposed by Troika and the abolition of “mandatory” arbitration being the most characteristic change the Law 4046/2012 brought in the field of resolution of collective disputes. Anna Tsetoura pointed out that the key-word in social security reform has been sustainability and a trend towards a “financialization” of the social risks. She focused on the major reforms of the pension system that took place from 2010 to 2012, such as the successive reductions of the pension benefits sometimes retroactively, the stricter retirement conditions and the provisions for the new formulae for calculating pensions from 2015 onwards.

The national representative of Hungary⁶ was more analytical as far as social security is concerned. At the same time it referred to the erosion of social dialogue. In the new Hungarian Constitution (Fundamental Law) the right to social security is degraded to the level of an abstract state objective. Instead of the previous provision on the right to social protection, in the new Fundamental Law the state only “strives to provide social security”. While on the basis of the former Constitution the right to social services guaranteeing a minimum subsistence was enforceable in case of illness, old age, disability, orphanage or involuntarily unemployment, the new Fundamental Law eliminates the reference to the minimally required level of services. Until recently, Hungary had a relatively generous package of social protection benefits. Economic restrictions and budget cuts since 2007 have resulted in a cut in social protection benefits. The aims of the 2010 reform were budgetary saving and stimulation of employment. Furthermore, attending in public work is the basic condition if someone wants to receive social assistance, otherwise there will be no entitlement provided for any benefit from state finances. Private pensions were nationalized at the beginning of 2011, and the assets of the pension funds, among others, were used to cover the revenue shortfall in 2011. Early retirement options in the general pension regime were eliminated. Social benefit was linked to compulsory public work, while various benefits and pension-type supports (early or disability pensions) have been abolished or severely curtailed, with former beneficiaries being channeled into the same program.

The Irish representative⁷ mostly questioned the European social model while he parallelized the case of Ireland with that of Greece in terms of measures imposed by the Troika. He referred to the increase of migration of 16.9 % in 2011 and the nature of deprivation within the measures adopted leading to the so-called working poor, as well as the imposition of a pension levy having a tax character. He also presented the role of social partners as controversial posing the question whether they can lead to economic boom or they were marginalized and weakened. According to his opinion, there has been a frontal challenge to the norms underpinning the European social model.

The key-word in the Italian case has been also flexicurity. As mentioned by the Italian speakers⁸, their country had to deal with imbalances of social security inherited from the past, while it needed to be geared to a new public system structured on social integration and active ageing. The Italian team was very analytical as to the changes in social security starting by noting the attempt of the Monti’s Government to reform in depth welfare state with the aim of addressing its imbalances and cutting public spending. Fornero’s Law (Act n. 92/2012) rationalized and unified unemployment benefits, by creating a new allowance, called ASPI; however, it was not able to limit the scope and duration of salary integrations by concentrating them only on viable businesses, as it had been planned at the beginning. A pension reform took place in 2011

with the Decree Law n. 201/2011 having as a central element the strict relation between social contributions and working life. With the new rules it will be almost impossible in the future to retire before 60 years and in any case the retirement age and the amount of the pension are now strictly linked to social contributions paid and to life expectancies. Only a little was done though in the field of the basic income (Decree Law n. 5/2012). Cost savings were pursued through an immediate increase of the legal age of retirement (which has now reached 66), together with a severe reduction of the options of retiring at an earlier age. As a consequence, the immediate increase of a minimum age was at least 3 to 5 years (6 years in some cases) being slightly slower for female workers, who previously were subject to lower requirements⁹, while this recent reform also raised the contribution requirement. The new framework includes a general rule that links the numerical parameters to the official statistics regarding the expected lifespan of the Italian population. Every 2 years a decree will modify age and contribution requirements in measure equivalent to demographic changes registered by statistics. According to the speakers, Italy still faces formidable challenges in the field of social security: a) establishing a new PES (public employment service), more centralised and able to operate according to a European-style welfare to work approach; b) reducing the duration of salary integrations and banning their use to save businesses that are no longer viable; c) softening some asperities of the pension reform and developing an encompassing strategy of active ageing; d) introducing a safety net for the poor, especially for people whose unemployed benefit duration has elapsed.

In the field of Dutch social security, as it was noted by the Dutch representative¹⁰, one of the first crisis measures was the (re)introduction of part-time unemployment, while the Dutch Unemployment Act has been changed, to be effective as of January 1st 2016 onwards. The reform intends to enhance participation in paid employment by shortening periods of eligibility and tightening criteria defining suitable work. Shorter periods in the receipt of benefits are envisaged to be earned over a longer period. From January 1st, 2015, the Participation Act alongside the Act dealing with corrective measures in social assistance seeks to enhance the duty to participate even in unpaid employment. The central aim has been the excessive flexibility, while the recent legislative efforts as a whole activate individuals receiving social benefits or social assistance.

According to representatives of Poland¹¹, the economic crisis was accompanied by a crisis of social dialogue, while it coincided with a debate about the dramatically negative demographic trends in Poland. The social security issues were elaborated extensively. The first change was establishment of 'the paternity leave'. The right was introduced gradually by the act of 2008. The new in Polish legal system was a right to combine 'the additional maternity leave' with part-time employment (maximum half-time), while between handing an application and the end of 'the additional maternity leave' dismissal of an employee is prohibited. Revolutionary changes in parental rights were launched by the act of 2013. In general terms the total amount of parental rights with a decent social coverage was doubled. 'The parental leave' is addressed both to mothers and fathers, while the right can be exercised jointly. At the same time the act of 2013 has addressed 'the additional maternity leave' also to fathers (originally the entitlement as a rule was addressed to mothers) and it can be also shared by mother and father. As to the Old Age Pension Schemes Reform, the speakers noted that the changes a prerequisite of the presentation was the description of the social security system reform of 1998. The traditional continental European pay-as-you-go retirement system was combined with a fund method based on defined contribution principle and covered vast group of insured. The retirement system was divided into three pillars and the old-age pension was projected to consist of two or even three diverse parts

financed from different sources. The first and the second pillar were mandatory, the third pillar was voluntary. The mandatory retirement insurance contribution (19, 52% of the contribution basis) was envisaged to finance first two pillars. However, the first pillar (12, 22% of the contribution basis) was realized in the traditional pay-as-you-go system. This part of mandatory contribution was registered at the individual pension insurance account and distributed to cover current system expenses practically in the same month. Registered contributions were valorized annually respect mainly to inflation rate. Destination of those accountant records was calculation of the first part of the old-age pension. The second pillar (7,3% of the contribution basis) was funded. Polish National Insurance Institution (pol. ZUS) transferred this part of contribution to private funds named open pension funds (pol. OFE). Directly after deduction of the OFE's commission, contribution was invested in capital values under statutory framework guaranteeing security of allocated resources. The voluntary third pillar was based on framework regulations on employee pension funds and pension insurance open accounts including various incentives to retirement saving. After the crisis, the first major change was introduced by the act of 2011. The contribution transferred to open pension funds was reduced and the statutory retirement age was started to be gradually raised since 1 January 2013. According to the act of 2012, it was expected reaching 67 years for women in 2040 and for men in 2020. During the crisis a progress was also made in the politically hard field of increasing the retirement age for uniformed services. The last major change in social security law during the crisis was introduced by the act of 2013 providing for the withdrawal from the fund method of financing retirement system and the second pillar. On the basis of the act of 2013 open pension funds were obliged to liquidation, which took place on 3 February 2014, while open pension funds had obligation to transfer to the Polish Social Insurance Institution gigantic amount of 153, 15 billion zlotys. Moreover, the act of 2013 stopped transferring of further parts of retirement insurance contribution to open pension funds since 1 July 2014. Insured who are still interested in locating part of their retirement insurance contribution by open pension funds could apply for it. The act of 2013 also liquidates 'the capital old-age pensions' (the old-age pension from the second pillar).

The Portuguese representative¹² emphasized on the influence that had on his country's policy the Memorandum of Understanding on Specific Economic Policy Conditionality (MoU), which was signed on May 2011 by the Portuguese State, the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In addition to the measures on budgetary policy, the MoU established a broad set of structural measures. With regard to the labour market it envisaged measures relating to protection in case of unemployment, protection of employment, working time, setting of wages and active labour market policies. In broad terms, the social and political framework of Labour Law was based on two fundamental pillars: to ensure budgetary balance and, at the same time, to promote the competitiveness of the Portuguese economy. Thus, Labour Law emerged as an obstacle to competitiveness and its review as a crucial economic policy instrument. The Portuguese speaker mainly focused on the labour reforms imposed by Troika, elaborating issues such as working time, dismissal, decentralization of collective bargaining, wages reduction or the reduction of the normal working period and suspension of the employment contract in situations of company crisis. As to social security, he referred to unemployment benefit, relating to which the MoU set itself some goals. Decree-Law no. 64/2012, implemented the aforementioned measures: a) Reduction of the maximum duration of the unemployment benefit to 540 days, without prejudice to its extension if the workers have long contributory careers (especially over 50 years of age); b) Reduction of the maximum

unemployment benefit value from 3 times to 2,5 times the Social Support Indexation, that is, from € 1.257,66 to €1.048,05;c) Establishment of a reduction of 10% in the unemployment benefit value after 6 months of unemployment, with the goal of providing an incentive to job seeking; d) Reduction of the minimum period of contributions necessary to access the unemployment benefit from 450 days to 360 days.

The representative of Slovenia¹³ stressed that since 2008 when the crisis started, the Slovenian parliament enacted legislative changes of the Employment Relationships Act (ERA) and Labour Market Regulation Act, while the recently enacted Prevention of Undeclared Work and Employment Act and the new Labour Inspection Act tightened the states' relationship towards offenders in the labour market. The main purpose of the changes has been the decreasing of segmentation in labour market and the increasing of flexicurity. In addition to changes enforced by the basic act, regulating individual employment relationships (ERA), other legal regulations were to contribute to resolution of problems concerning the labour market. The pension scheme reform was adopted with a view to increase employment of the elderly population (The Pension and Disability Insurance Act -ZPIZ-2). The same might also be achieved with a modification to the Labour Market Regulation Act which introduced the option of temporary and occasional employment of pensioners. This would enable pensioners to re-enter the labour market and enable their social and individual participation, as well as provide them with additional income.

Finally, the Spanish team¹⁴ analyzed more extensively the reforms in Spain not just reporting the changes but searching for the deeper causes and consequences of them. As far as labour law is concerned, a first reform took place in 2010, which inter alia sought to limit access to temporary employment through various measures. A major reform took place though in 2011 leading to the transformation of labour as a result from the EE' guidelines concerning flexicurity and the European Stability and Growth Pact. The traditional job classification system, occupational categories based on "individualized", from the Franco regime, has been legally replaced by the preference of the professional group of a larger size, allowing more flexibility in the rearrangement of workers. However, as to the collective bargaining, the old system remains, while latest labour reforms have affected especially the regulation of collective dismissal. Social Security System has appealed to achieving stability, feasibility and rationality of the system. As it was noted, from the perspective of budgetary stability, pension is one of the most sensitive points in the context of the crisis. Therefore, the first step was to increase the pensionable age, which was raised up to 65-67 years in 2010. In this context the Law 27/2011 on adaptation and modernization of the social security system was approved introducing a reform which begins in 2013 and extends to 2027, involving mechanisms such as staggered raising the age of retirement, or so-called sustainability factor in order to ensure the sustainability of the pension system (medium and long term). The social consequences of these changes are important sacrifices in terms of adequacy of pensions, expected to be manifested more harshly for women. Further, according to the Spanish "reporters", the People's Party entered the Government in December 2011, and started his own reform process affecting the pension system, a process which was reinforced by impulses coming from the European Union. Of particular relevance has been the White Paper, the Agenda of the European Commission for adequate, safe and sustainable pensions (2012), which overwhelmingly prioritizes the financial dimension within pension systems. The Law 23/2013 regulated the sustainability factor and the rate of revalorization of the pension system. The state itself provides a comprehensive average rate-sustainability- which automatically connects the initial amount of pension to life expectancy of pensioners along with the incorporation of the Annual Revaluation

Index, a mechanism that replaces the Consumer Price Index as the criterion for updating pensions. An important reform took also place with regard to unemployment due to the high percentage of the unemployed in Spain (25%), as well as of the Spanish migrants. Reforms in this field are driven to seek a balanced budget and therefore, to carry out cuts with significant consequences for citizens. In this sense, derivative constraints were made mainly by Royal Decree-Law 20/2013 (on measures to ensure the budget and promote stability competitiveness). The result of the changes is a restriction of access to the provision of the unemployment benefit, its duration and the amounts received along with the tightening of access requirements. Consequently, the objectives marked by supranational institutions like the European Union, the European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund has been met as indeed spending for unemployment benefits in 2013 has moderated. However, the unemployment benefit has ceased to function as a protective mechanism, leaving to poverty a large part of the population highly vulnerable. As reported, this situation is not corrected in Spain with the strengthening of policies of active employment (RD 1542/2011, which designs the Spanish Employment Strategy 2012-2014). The picture drawn with the focus on the two benefits of greater economic and social burden of Spanish shows the deconstruction of the Spanish public model of Social Security. Two systems also affected by structural value of budgetary stability are the health system and the system of dependency. The health system suffers in territorial structure and functional fragmentation and privatization of management. The latest reform in this sector has been accompanied by a Royal Decree, the 16/2012, on urgent measures to ensure the sustainability of NHS and improve the quality and safety of services, but austerity endangers the content of Article 43 of the Spanish Constitution which recognizes the right to health. In short, the economic crisis has triggered a wider crisis of Welfare State. The economic data that call for austerity are compelling. However, the measures taken so far in Spain are having devastating consequences in terms of inequality and poverty. Social Security System does not seem to be playing the main role in defining a social and democratic state of law and perhaps decisive in this case is the orientation of the process itself.

As a concluding remark, it can be observed that four EU countries, Ireland, Greece, Portugal and Spain that had signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Troika have suffered some serious consequences with regard to social security rights. Therefore, they questioned the European Social Model either explicitly or sometimes implicitly. In all the respective reports, it was highlighted that the financial dimension of the social security systems overshadowed the adequacy of benefits and in general the social function of the state in compliance with the EU' guidelines and objectives concerning sustainability and budgetary discipline. Rationally enough, certain economic measures are to be justified in view of the economic recession. But still, there should not be an underestimation of the need for protecting the vulnerable groups of a society, as well as the right of every citizen to social security. This entails the possibility to be sufficiently depended on pension benefits, unemployment benefits or health care if needed and more importantly in terms of equality. Besides, this is *inter alia* about the solidarity element that is supposed to be inherited in a social security system, along with the protection provided when a social risk materializes. Instead, in Spain for example, the measures taken were reported to create new social risks increasing dependency and poverty. On the other hand, the different perspective of the representatives of other countries should be pointed out. Namely, in countries such as the Czech Republic, it was reported that EU objectives along with ILO's conventions have functioned as solidarity fiduciaries for the social security system. The latter may have to do with the different historical and legal background of most Eastern European countries as far as the perception of

human rights is concerned. In any case, the conference at issue was held with great success. The reciprocation that the call to young scholars had, resulted in fruitful discussions and conclusions regarding the current situation in labour and social security law that provide for future thought.

Notes

- 1 <http://isssl.org/latest-reports-from-the-young-legal-scholars/>
- 2 Franz Marhold, Professor for labour law and social law, University of Graz; Klaus Poier, Associate Professor for public law and political science, University of Graz; Paula Aschauer; Elisabeth Kohlbacker; Manuel P. Neubauer and Lisa Wewerka are Research Associates at the University of Graz
- 3 Dr. Martin Štefko, Senior Lecturer at the Charles University Faculty of Law, a correspondent both for the Max Planck Institute of International and Comparative Social Security Law in Munich, Germany and for the European Research Institute of Katowice, Poland
- 4 Gwenola Bargain, Maître de conférences à l'Université François Rabelais de Tours Pierre-Emmanuel Berthier, Maître de conférences à l'Université Lumière Lyon 2, Tatiana Sachs, Maître de conférences à l'Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense
- 5 Dr. Ioannis Skandalis DPhil in Law (University of Oxford), Dimitrios Papadimitriou LLM of Labour Law (University of Athens) and Anna Tsetoura, Master of Laws in European Social Security (KU Leuven)/ PhD student (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- 6 Attila Kun, Associate Professor, Head of Department, Károli Gáspár University, Hungary, Budapest, Faculty of Law, Department of Labour Law and Social Security
- 7 Barry Colfer (graduated from University College Dublin), PhD Candidate, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge, Researching industrial relations in Europe in the context of the economic and social crisis
- 8 The working group coordinated by Matteo Corti (Catholic University of Milan), Massimiliano Delfino (University of Naples Federico II) and Carla Spinelli (University of Bari Aldo Moro)
- 9 Except for female public workers, in regard to which the Italian Republic had to quickly eliminate any differentiation as compared to men, since it was convicted of gender discrimination by ECJ 13.11.2008 C-46/2007
- 10 Dr. Nicola Gundt, Assistant Professor Labour Law at Maastricht University
- 11 Dagmara Skupień (University of Lodz), Maciej Łaga (University of Gdansk), Łukasz Pisarczyk (University of Warsaw)
- 12 David Carvalho Martins, Invited Lecturer of the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon, Master in Law, doctoral student, vice-president of the Association of Young Labour Lawyers (Associação de Jovens Juslaboralistas –AJJ), member of the Portuguese Association of Labour Law (Associação Portuguesa de Direito do Trabalho – APODIT) and head of the employment area of Gómez-Acebo & Pombo Abogados in Portugal
- 13 Dr. Luka Tigar, Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana
- 14 Maravillas Espín Sáez, (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), Adoración Guamán Hernández (Universidad de Valencia), Yolanda Maneiro Vázquez (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), José María Miranda Boto, (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)

Anna Tsetoura,
Law Faculty of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Ο Διαθρησκευτικός Διάλογος στην Ελλάδα: Η Συνάντηση Επιστήμης, Κοινωνίας και Πολιτικής μέσα από δύο Ημερίδες

Δύο συζητήσεις με επίκεντρο το διαθρησκευτικό διάλογο διοργανώθηκαν στην Ελλάδα το πρώτο εξάμηνο του 2015 στο πλαίσιο υλοποίησης του έργου «Δίκτυο συνεργασίας μεταξύ κρατών μελών για θέματα διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου και άσκησης θρησκευτικών πρακτικών». Το έργο χρηματοδοτήθηκε από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και το Υπουργείο Εσωτερικών στο πλαίσιο του ετήσιου προγράμματος 2013 του Ευρωπαϊκού Ταμείου Ένταξης υπηκόων τρίτων χωρών (ETE) και υλοποιήθηκε από το Δήμο Αθηναίων (ΔΑΕΜ Α.Ε.), σε συνεργασία με την Επιστημονική Εταιρεία για την Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη (ΕΠ.Ε.Κ.Σ.Α.) και το Διορθόδοξο Κέντρο της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος (Δ.Κ.Ε.Ε.). Στόχος του έργου ήταν η ενίσχυση της ένταξης των μεταναστών μέσω της δημιουργίας ενός forum ανταλλαγής εμπειριών, απόψεων και ιδεών σε θρησκευτικά θέματα και λατρευτικές πρακτικές.

Η πρώτη συζήτηση-Ημερίδα με τίτλο «Ο διαθρησκευτικός διάλογος στην Ελλάδα και την Ευρώπη. Η επιστημονική προσέγγιση» διοργανώθηκε με τη συνεργασία του ΜΠΣ του τμήματος Κοινωνιολογίας του Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου. Τη συζήτηση χαιρέτησε ο Αναπληρωτής Πρύτανης Καθηγητής κ. Ε. Πρόντζας ο οποίος τόνισε τις ιστορικές διαστάσεις του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου και τη σημασία ανάλογων πρωτοβουλιών, ενώ ο Κοσμήτορας Σχολής Κοινωνικών Επιστημών και Ψυχολογίας, Καθηγ. Θ. Σακελλαρόπουλος υπογράμμισε τη συμβολή παρόμοιων εγχειρημάτων στην κοινωνική συνοχή και την διαπολιτισμική ανάπτυξη. Ο Σέργιος Βοΐλας, Επιστημονικός Συνεργάτης του Διορθόδοξου Κέντρου Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος παρουσίασε την πορεία του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου στο πλαίσιο του έργου και παρέθεσε τις δράσεις και τις επαφές της ομάδας υλοποίησης του έργου σε εννέα χώρες της ΕΕ. Ακολούθως, ο Αντώνης Παπαρίζος, Καθηγητής του Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου στο Τμήμα Κοινωνιολογίας ανέπτυξε την κοινωνιολογική προσέγγιση του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου, με έμφαση στην ανάγκη έναρξής του από την ίδια την κοινωνία. Ο Χάρης Μελετιάδης, επίσης Καθηγητής του Παντείου Πανεπιστημίου στην, με ιστορικά παραδείγματα διανθισμένη, ομιλία του εξήρε την οικουμενικότητα της Ορθοδοξίας και την ανάγκη συμμετοχής όλων των πολιτισμικών συνόλων στον διαθρησκευτικό διάλογο. Η κα. Αθανασία Ιωάννου, Προϊσταμένη του Τμήματος Κοινωνικής Ένταξης στο Υπουργείο Εσωτερικών υπογράμμισε την ανάγκη ο διαθρησκευτικός διάλογος να ξεκινά κυρίως από την κοινωνία, από τον κοινό τρόπο ζωής των ανθρώπων και τις κοινές αξίες. Επεσήμανε μάλιστα το γεγονός ότι οι σημερινές συγκρούσεις χαρακτηρίζονται κατά κύριο λόγο από τον οικονομικό και πολιτικό τους χαρακτήρα και λιγότερο από τον θρησκευτικό. Ο Μάρκος Παπακωνσταντής, Δρ. Νομικής, συνεργάτης ΕΠΕΚΣΑ και επιστημονικός υπεύθυνος του έργου παρουσίασε το θεσμικό πλαίσιο της ΕΕ αναφορικά με τις θρησκευτικές ελευθερίες και τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα, αναδεικνύοντας ειδικότερα την αξία του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου. Η συζήτηση ολοκληρώθηκε με την εισήγηση του Κωνσταντίνου Βέρρα, Διευθύνοντος Συμβούλου της ΔΑΕΜ ο οποίος παρουσίασε την συνολική πορεία υλοποίησης του έργου, με έμφαση στη λειτουργία της ηλεκτρονικής πύλης διαλόγου. Η συζήτηση που ακολούθησε με τους συμμετέχοντες ανέδειξε -για μια ακόμα φορά- την ανάγκη της κοινωνιολογικής και όχι της δογματικής προσέγγισης, καθώς και της σημασίας συμμετοχής των εκπρόσωπων όλων των θρησκευτικών δογμάτων και λατρευτικών πρακτικών στις δράσεις του έργου.

Η δεύτερη συζήτηση-Ημερίδα πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Διορθόδοξο Κέντρο της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδας στην Ιερά Μονή Πεντέλης με στόχο την ανάδειξη του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου και

της συμβολής του στην κοινωνική ένταξη των μεταναστών στην Ελλάδα και την Ευρώπη, με ιδιαίτερη αναφορά στη συμβολή της λειτουργίας της ηλεκτρονικής πύλης και του δικτύου διαλόγου στην επίτευξη του εν λόγω στόχου. Στον χαιρετισμό του ο εκπρόσωπος του Υπουργείου Παιδείας Γ. Καλαντζής, Γενικός Γραμματέας Θρησκευμάτων του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού, Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων αναφέρθηκε στην ανάγκη αποφυγής μετατροπής ενός αντικειμενικού ζητήματος σε αντικείμενο θρησκευτικού φανατισμού και σύγκρουσης. Ο Καθηγητής Θ. Σακελλαρόπουλος,, επεσήμανε από την πλευρά του την ανάγκη διαχωρισμού των εννοιών διάλογος (ο οποίος γίνεται με στόχο την ειρηνική συζήτηση) και αντιπαράθεσης που έχει ως στόχο την επιβολή της μιας άποψης έναντι των υπολοίπων.

Στην πρώτη συνεδρία, ο Καθηγητής Μ. Μπέγζος, Κοσμήτορας της Θεολογικής Σχολής Αθηνών, αναφέρθηκε στο γεγονός ότι ο διαθρησκευτικός διάλογος συνιστά πλέον μια πραγματικότητα, σε αντίθεση με παλαιότερες περιόδους κατά τις οποίες συνιστούσε μια αναγκαιότητα. Τις απόψεις τους για τον διαθρησκευτικό διάλογο διατύπωσαν ο Σεβασμιώτατος Επίσκοπος Θερμοπυλών κ. Ιωάννης, Διευθυντής του Διορθοδόξου Κέντρου της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος ως εκπρόσωπος του κκ. Ιερωνύμου, Αρχιεπισκόπου Αθηνών και πάσης Ελλάδος. Ο Σεβασμιώτατος επανέλαβε και επεσήμανε το γεγονός ότι η σημερινή προσπάθεια έχει ως επίκεντρο τη συμβίωση και το σεβασμό του άλλου. Την ίδια στιγμή, δεν δίστασε να τονίσει ότι οι σχετικές προθέσεις παραμένουν σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις σε επίπεδο ρητορείας, καθώς οι συμβαλλόμενοι προτιμούν την αποφυγή αναγνώρισης του ζητήματος. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, επεσήμανε την απουσία ύπαρξης στην Ελλάδα ενός διαθρησκευτικού Συμβουλίου, ως αποτέλεσμα της πεποιθήσης περί της μη αναγκαιότητάς του. Η κα. Doris Peschke, Γενική Γραμματέας της Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe, επεσήμανε επίσης τη δυσκολία αποδοχής των άλλων θρησκειών. Αναγνωρίζοντας ότι η επαφή μεταξύ ατόμων διαφορετικών θρησκειών είναι πλέον ευκολότερη, δεν δίστασε να επισημάνει ότι την ίδια στιγμή η επαφή αυτή καθίσταται πιο ρηχή από παλαιότερα. Αναφερόμενη στα πρακτικά βήματα που μπορούν να γίνουν για την προώθηση του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου αναφέρθηκε στην ανάγκη επικοινωνίας των θεμελιωδών αξιών μεταξύ των διαφορετικών θρησκευτικών κοινοτήτων. Η δημιουργία ενός αισθήματος βεβαιότητας συνιστά ένα πρόσθετο βήμα, στο βαθμό που ενθαρρύνει την επικοινωνία με άλλους. Η Peschke ολοκλήρωσε την ομιλία της με αναφορά στην ανάγκη θρησκευτικής παιδείας ως αναγκαίου στοιχείου για την προώθηση του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου.

Ο don Roberto Cherubini, από την κοινότητα του Sant'Egidio, αναφέρθηκε στο συχνό λάθος της αντιμετώπισης των μεταναστών ως συμπαγούς συνόλου. Αναφερόμενος και αυτός με τη σειρά του στα πρακτικά μέτρα που μπορούν να ληφθούν ανέδειξε τα ακόλουθα: Πρώτον, τη σημασία της εκπαίδευσης στο σχολείο, καθώς συνιστά το πρώτο σημαντικό βήμα για την ενσωμάτωση. Δεύτερον, το ρόλο των θρησκευτικών αρχηγών, όχι μόνο σε ανώτερο επίπεδο, αλλά και σε αυτό της κοινότητας καθώς καλούνται να προωθήσουν τον διάλογο μέσω της παροχής στήριξης στο σύνολο των μελών της κοινότητας, ανεξαρτήτως θρησκευτικών πεποιθήσεων. Η φιλοξενία μεταναστών και προσφύγων συνιστά την έμπρακτη απόδειξη της αλληλεγγύης, δίνοντας ταυτόχρονα την αίσθηση ενός κοινού μέλλοντος. Τρίτον, την εκπαίδευση των εκπαιδευτών: στο πλαίσιο αυτό το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών καλείται να αποκτήσει το χαρακτήρα ενός μαθήματος πολιτικής αγωγής, ενώ ως κρίσιμο ζήτημα τίθεται η ικανότητα του καθηγητή να διδάξει χωρίς να φανατίζει. Όπως αναδείχθηκε και μέσα από το γόνιμο διάλογο που ακολούθησε πρόκειται για σειρά μέτρων που θα μπορούσαν να υιοθετηθούν και από τις ελληνικές αρχές.

Ο κ. Μ. Παπακωνσταντής, Δρ. Νομικής αναφέρθηκε στο πρόσφατο νόμο (4301/2014) για την οργάνωση της νομικής μορφής των θρησκευτικών κοινοτήτων τονίζοντας ότι στόχος του νομοθέτη δεν είναι η επιβολή ομοιομορφίας στον τρόπο λειτουργίας των θρησκευτικών κοινοτήτων, αλλά

αντιθέτως η διαφύλαξη των διαφορών τους. Παράλληλα, αναφέρθηκε στη δυνατότητα επικοινωνίας και ενδυνάμωσής τους μέσω των νομικών εκπροσώπων. Ο κ. Η. Τουλιάς, Δρ. Κοινωνικών Επιστημών, Σύμβουλος Εκπαίδευσης επεσήμανε όχι μόνο το ρόλο που καλείται να διαδραματίσει το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών στο ελληνικό σχολείο, αλλά και τη συμβολή λοιπών μαθημάτων όπως τα μαθήματα γλώσσας ή η κοινωνιολογία μέσω του εμπλουτισμού τους με νέα ερωτήματα.

Οι δυνατότητες και η λειτουργία της πύλης η οποία θα φιλοξενείται για πέντε χρόνια στο Δήμο της Αθήνας παρουσιάστηκαν από τον Αντιπρόεδρο της ΔΑΕΜ Α.Ε. Η πλατφόρμα παρέχει ειδικότερα ένα forum διαρκούς και σταθερού διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου μεταξύ μεταναστών ανεξαρτήτου θρησκεύματος, δημόσιων λειτουργών, εκπροσώπων ΜΚΟ και συλλόγων μεταναστών, διαπολιτισμικών μεσολαβητών, συμβάλλοντας με τον τρόπο αυτό στη διαμόρφωση ενός ειρηνικού και ανεκτικού περιβάλλοντος ευημερίας και προόδου. Για θέματα οργάνωσης του διαλόγου μίλησαν επίσης οι Tribis Khalid, President of the Arab - Hellenic Centre for Culture & Civilization, ο Asef Farjam, Διαπολιτισμικός Μεσολαβητής- Αφγανιστάν, ο Qayum Tayyb, μετανάστης από το Κασμίρ, η Irina – Constanta Nazaruk, Θεολόγος, Κοινωνική Επιστήμων.

Μέσα από τις δύο Ημερίδες αναδείχτηκαν με ιδιαίτερη ένταση τα θέματα διαλόγου μεταξύ των θρησκειών στην Ελλάδα και την Ευρώπη ενώ τονίστηκε η σημασία ενός τέτοιου διαλόγου στην κοινωνική ένταξη των μεταναστών και την ειρηνική συνύπαρξη των λαών.

Σταύρος Πανταζόπουλος
Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Papers should be written in Greek or English. It is assumed that submitted articles have not been published elsewhere and that they are not under consideration for publication by other journals. The authors should state whether they are publishing related articles elsewhere. Authors must submit four identical copies and an identical electronic version of their papers to the following address and e-mail of the editor:

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ΟΔΗΓΙΕΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ

Τα κείμενα υποβάλλονται στα ελληνικά ή στα αγγλικά. Οι συγγραφείς δεσμεύονται ότι δεν έχουν δημοσιεύσει ή υποβάλει προς κρίση τα άρθρα τους σε άλλο έντυπο. Σε περίπτωση δημοσίευσης παρόμοιου άρθρου, αυτό δηλώνεται από τον συγγραφέα. Υποβάλλονται τέσσερα ταυτόσημα κείμενα και ένα σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή στην επόμενη διεύθυνση του εκδότη.

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Τα άρθρα αξιολογούνται από δύο τουλάχιστον ανώνυμους κριτές. Το όνομα και τα άλλα στοιχεία του συγγραφέα, καθώς και ο τίτλος του άρθρου πρέπει να υποβάλλονται σε ξεχωριστή σελίδα από το κυρίως σώμα (τίτλος, κείμενο, βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές). Τα υποβαλλόμενα άρθρα πρέπει να συνοδεύονται από δύο περιλήψεις, όχι μεγαλύτερες των 100 λέξεων, και πέντε λέξεις-κλειδιά στα ελληνικά και τα αγγλικά. Η έκταση των άρθρων πρέπει να κυμαίνεται μεταξύ 6-8.000 λέξεων, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των περιλήψεων και αναφορών. Τα χειρόγραφα των άρθρων που απορρίπτονται δεν επιστρέφονται.

Για τις αναφορές χρησιμοποιείται το σύστημα Harvard. Οι αναφορές στο κείμενο περιλαμβάνουν το επώνυμο του συγγραφέα και το έτος έκδοσης της δημοσίευσης, π.χ. (Esping-Andersen, 1990, Kleinman and Piachaud, 1993). Οι άμεσες αναφορές πρέπει να δίνουν και τον αριθμό της σελίδας ή των σελίδων, π.χ. Ferrera et al., 2002: 230. Σε περίπτωση περισσότερων αναφορών του ίδιου συγγραφέα για το ίδιο έτος, πρέπει να χρησιμοποιείται η διάκριση με α, β, γ κ.λπ. για το έτος. Οι βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές (όχι βιβλιογραφία) καταχωρούνται αλφαβητικά στο τέλος του κειμένου. Παρακαλούνται οι συγγραφείς να επιμελούνται την ακριβή αντιστοίχιση των αναφορών του κειμένου με τον αλφαβητικό κατάλογο των βιβλιογραφικών αναφορών στο τέλος του κειμένου και το αντίστροφο. Η αναφορά σε βιβλία πρέπει να δίνει το όνομα του συγγραφέα, το έτος έκδοσης, τον τίτλο του βιβλίου, τον τόπο έκδοσης και την επωνυμία του εκδοτικού οίκου. Π.χ. Scharpf F., (1999), *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Η αναφορά άρθρων σε περιοδικά πρέπει να δίνει τόμο, τεύχος, σελίδες, καθώς και τον τίτλο του άρθρου σε απλά εισαγωγικά. Για παράδειγμα: Atkinson A.B., Marlier E. and Nolan B., (2004), "Indicators and Targets for Social Inclusion in the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42: 47-75. Αναφορές σε κεφάλαια συλλογικών τόμων καταχωρούνται με τον τίτλο του κεφαλαίου σε απλά εισαγωγικά, ακολουθούμενο από τον συγγραφέα και τον τίτλο του συλλογικού τόμου. Π.χ. Leibfried, S. and Pierson, P. (1995) "Semisovereign Welfare States: Social Policy in a multitiered Europe", in: Leibfried S. and Pierson P., (eds), *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration*, p.p. 43-77, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution. Οι τίτλοι των βιβλίων και περιοδικών γράφονται με πλάγια γράμματα. Συνιστάται οι επεξηγηματικές σημειώσεις να είναι οι ελάχιστες δυνατές. Εάν κρίνονται απαραίτητες, τότε πρέπει να αριθμούνται στο κείμενο και να παρατίθενται στο τέλος του άρθρου. Επίσης, στο τέλος παρατίθενται και οι τυχόν ευχαριστίες. Άρθρα που δεν συμβιβάζονται με τις παραπάνω οδηγίες επιστρέφονται στον συγγραφέα για την ανάλογη προσαρμογή.

Τα **προς κρίση-παρουσίαση βιβλία** αποστέλλονται στην Μαρίνα Αγγελάκη, στη διεύθυνση του εκδοτικού οίκου.

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