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Modern British Drama as a central dramatherapeutic tool in counseling in Adult Education and Life-Long Learning: Strengthening social skills through groups of creative expression.

Author

Karantzi, Anastasia

Affiliation

PhD Candidate, Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Social Administration

Supervised by:

- 1) Dr Kallinikaki, T. (Professor, Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Social Administration)
- 2) Dr Kandylaki, A. (Associate Professor, Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Social Administration)
- 3) Dr Chatzouli, A. (Assistant Professor, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Department of Mass Media Studies)

Head Supervisor

Dr Kallinikaki, T. (Professor, Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Social Administration)

Abstract

The present study focuses on the implementation of multicultural counseling in Adult Education and Life Long Learning through drama therapy. The main Dramatherapeutic tool is original textual extracts from Modern British Drama plays. Its main interest lies in developing cultural sensitivity and increasing intercultural dialogue.

1. Introduction

The present study attempts to explore the importance of counseling as a tool of empowerment in the field of adult education with culturally diverse population. More specifically, counseling as it is used in this study draws from drama therapy techniques that make extensive use of textual extracts from Modern British Drama plays.

The research methodology used is based on qualitative research methods and on action and intervention research in particular. The aim is to form two groups of culturally diverse adults one in the region of Thrace and one in Athens, who attend a continuous education programme aiming at social inclusion. The groups will be supported by 12 counseling sessions with the use of drama therapy techniques, in order to develop cultural sensitivity, to increase intercultural dialogue and to empower group members towards continuous education. The emphasis lays on strengthening their social skills so as to facilitate the establishment of a more stable and lengthier relationship with the educational processes. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to assess the plausibility of the implementation of a counseling- through- art and creative expression group model, in the field of Adult Education especially for vulnerable or culturally different social groups.

At present, a pilot study is being conducted with a group of social work students aiming at sensitizing them towards diversity and intercultural dialogue. This group has been selected mainly because social workers are professionals who work with culturally diverse population. The main goal of the intervention has been to strengthen their social skills, their cultural sensitivity and help them develop counseling skills for culturally diverse population through the arts and creative expression.

The present paper mainly focuses on presenting briefly the theoretical perspectives on which this study is based, that is, counseling with the use of drama-therapy and artistically expressive techniques. It also focuses on the importance of the use of extracts from Modern British Drama plays which have been selected because of their vibrant connection with today's social issues that acts as a platform for social dialogue and sensitization.

2. Theoretical framework of the study

Modern societies are characterized by fast socio-economic developments, constantly changing balances of the global political scenery and excessive population mobility, both legal and illegal, either due to war or, as a result of an effort to seek better living conditions. These characteristics seem to have exerted their influence on education amongst other areas as well. During the past years the impact of these changes has overwhelmed the field of education, which struggles to adapt to the new circumstances and meet the new requests successfully. It is becoming evident now that globalization asserts that knowledge, like economy, tends to have no country of origin (Μπρούζος, Ράπτη, 2001)

Greece in particular, has been affected by this change of dynamics on all levels of its social, economic and cultural life. Because of the dramatic changes that have been taking place all over the world, it has been hosting interchangeably waves of refugees and immigrants. (Νικολάου, 2000)

The present study draws its frame of reference from three distinct, yet relevant fields of interest: Adult Education and Life-Long Learning and Multicultural

Counseling and Modern British Drama. The theory and practice of drama therapy is summoned as a means of intervention that also acts as a mediator between the three aforementioned fields, providing them with a potential space where they can come to a close encounter with one another and get engaged in a fruitful dialogue and mutual support. Modern British Drama with especially selected texts, thematically coherent to the issues to be addressed in the group sessions, is adopted as the main dramatherapeutic tool of the process.

i) *Adult Education and Life-Long Learning*

Adult Education and Life-long Learning are terms that bear a historical significance of their own (Yaxlee, 1929), yet have only recently been introduced to Greek educational reality; moreover, they relate to an educational field that is primarily influenced by the impact of recent changes. They are required to operate in such a way so as to suffice in supporting adults who return to education for any reason, promote knowledge and self-exploration, and prove to be flexible enough in order to function effectively in various environments, under all sorts of circumstances. For the time being, people tend to be relatively hesitant towards it and that is why it is claimed that Adult Education and Life-long Learning need to be approached in a holistic manner and not be dealt with as a means to invigorate work force only. (Atanasova, 2006). According to this view the focal points of a new approach towards Adult Education and Life Long Learning should entail a change of mentality and a stable social policy that will encourage citizens to cultivate their knowledge and develop their skills. (Atanasova, 2004).

Multicultural education and Life- Long Learning aim to assist in the transition of a single-cultural society, like Greece is, to a multicultural one. (Φώτου, 2002, Ζωγράφου, 2003). Since the 10% of Greek population are already economic immigrants (Μπεζάτη, Θ. & Θεοδοσοπούλου, Μ., 2006) it is evident that Adult Education and Life-Long Learning are exposed to multiculturalism. It has been claimed that the main aim of Multicultural education is the enhancement of those qualities that will contribute to the peaceful and constructive coexistence of people of different cultural origins in the same social framework. (Παπάς, 1997) Therefore Multicultural education addresses two issues simultaneously: The first one is to provide minority groups with the necessary skills and knowledge in order for them to adapt to a new environment without major problems. The second is to facilitate the majority in accepting minority groups and overcome prejudice and negative reactions. In this perspective learning is characterised more as an act of self- exploration and self- actualization, than as a mere intake of information provided by the environment. (Rogers, 1999)

ii) *Multicultural Counselling and Drama Therapy*

Counselling is primarily about promoting and developing understanding. Erikson (1968) claimed that, acquiring a sense of self and identity and seeking self-knowledge is of utmost importance. Culture is considered to be the common attitudes and behaviours that a group of people share and practice. It is important, however, to clarify that it does not refer to cultural or national heritage only but it is also shaped by other factors such as age, sex and sexual preferences, way of life and particular socioeconomic status. That is why counsellors cannot ignore the issue of culture (Corey, 1991). Respectively, theorists like Appleton (1983) hold the opinion that one

should first deal with his own cultural and national background before examining other peoples. Extensive writing has been done concerning multicultural counselling, in an attempt to define its characteristics, effectiveness and boundaries. (Pedersen 1988, Thomson & Rudolph 1992, Ivey 1987, Sue & Sue 1997, Ponderotto & Benesch, 1988). It seems, however that researchers agree on the fact that there is no ideal approach to multicultural counselling. Corey (1990) stresses the fact that it is not necessary for the counsellor to have the same experiences with the members of the group. The aim rather lies in trying to open up and share feelings. He also pinpoints that it is more because of our differences and less because of our resemblances that we tend to attend more closely to our behaviour.

In the present study, Drama Therapy with its theoretical and practical framework is regarded as the vehicle, through which Adult Education and Multi-cultural counselling will connect to one another and promote a necessary dialogue. It needs to be clarified that the present research proposes a short-term group intervention, whose main aim is empowerment. Any therapeutic requests that may arise will be dealt on a here-and-now basis in a creative, dramatherapeutic manner and up to the extent that such a short-term process allows. The basic dramatherapeutic tool to be used is a body of texts from theatrical plays of Modern British Drama.

Drama therapy emerged as a separate field and took its place amongst the rest of arts therapies like dance, music, play and art therapy. Its theoretical roots are to be traced in theatre, therapeutic drama, psychology and anthropology and through the years it has made use of techniques and methods from the fields of psychotherapy, arts and culture and anthropological sciences in order to evolve into a distinct therapeutic method. Drama therapy does not possess a concrete, uniformed theoretical basis, neither predetermined structures that govern its implementation and training; it is rather characterised by a variety of practices that primarily stem from creativity, synthesis and eclecticism (Jennings et als, 1994). The present study will be based on the theatrical model introduced by Sue Jennings (1990). She suggests that Drama therapy is a means through which persons and groups can accomplish change, when they come to an empirical, first hand contact with theatre art. The three stages that she proposes, *embodiment-projection-role* are at the heart of the dramatherapeutic session. Dramatic distancing is a key feature and becomes the paradox of drama therapy that enables persons to come closer to hidden, sensitive parts of themselves and deal more effectively with hurt or repressed feelings (Jennings, 1992).

The dramatherapeutic sessions that will take place during this study will focus mainly on making use of excerpts from original theatrical plays. Therefore, the basic dramatherapeutic tool will be actual literary texts that will serve a dual purpose: Firstly, they will give group members a sense of belonging to a bigger group, since theatrical plays are addressed to everybody. Through dramatic distance, therefore, they will feel safe enough to enact on personal issues bearing in mind that personal material is kind of connected to something much wider and relates to the outer world and human experience (Jennings, 1994). Secondly, they will act as a potential space, where according to Winnicott's psychodynamic approach (Winnicott, 1971), the members of the group can enjoy the qualities of *holding* and *containment* and therefore feel trust in order to proceed to more personal processes with safety. The text itself, the therapist and the group form the boundaries within which the members of the group can delve in, process and resolve the issues they work on (Jenkyns, 1996).

iii) *Modern British Drama*

The present study aspires in introducing Modern British Drama with a focus on plays written after 1990's in particular, as a central dramatherapeutic tool in the fields of Counseling and Adult Education. It has been specifically chosen for a number of reasons some of which are the following: Theatre in England is still a writer's theatre and not a director's one. During the 20th century it has been baptized in new facts, the major ones been two World Wars and the social changes they brought about. England has had to re examine its situation, now with the complete loss of a colonialist's identity, the increasing urbanization and fast technological advances. New theories such as Marxism and recently Feminism, endowed playwriting with a political, social and cultural dimension and playwrights have strengthened their voice which is now heard clearly. It seems that 20th century British Drama has become a platform for social dialogue and controversy despite the overwhelming influence of Mass media. (Innes, 2002). Even from the 60's Modern British Drama has been called *sweeping* (Wandor, 2001, p. 241). It has been and still is quite a fertile, multifarious field bearing its own dynamics. Various trends like *Theatre of Catastrophe* (Barker, 1997), or *In-Yer-Face Theatre* (Sierz, 2000) converse with the theatre that articulates contemporary political thought, as well as alternative theatre forms that aim at cultural intervention (Kershaw, 1999). Another reason for adopting Modern British Drama as a central dramatherapeutic tool is its wide spectrum of topics. Family relations, mother, sexuality, male and female identity, private and public space, female and male representations, political and private life converse with the issues of violence, immigration, alienation, physical and mental illness, addictions, poverty and search for meaning or the opposite.

The underlying idea behind choosing Modern British Drama as a central Dramatherapeutic tool in the present study has been that the issues it deals with, are estimated to be the same exact issues that concern, to a bigger or lesser extend, the members of a counseling group in the field of Adult Education and Life- Long Learning, particularly a multicultural one.

3. Aims of the research

The main aim of the present research is to enquire whether the use of group counseling with drama therapy techniques may enhance the social skills and empower and strengthen bonds with education of adults who participate in Adult Education and Life- Long Learning especially of those who belong to ethnic minority groups, particularly through counseling groups of creative expression that use as a main dramatherapeutic tool modern British drama. It will make use of improvisations, role-playing, storytelling, theatrical play and artistic expression inspired by and based on original texts of theatrical plays, in order to facilitate the transition of a personal story into an artistic event through aesthetic distancing. It aspires that through this particular process, the self- esteem of the people involved in Adult- Education and Life- long Learning will rise and this will encourage them towards greater engagement both in quality and duration in the educational field. Evaluation of the present research, once this is concluded, perhaps will highlight the formulation of a counseling- dramatherapeutic model that functions in a fruitful dialogue with Modern British Theatre and will examine the perspective of introducing it in the field of Adult Education and Life- Long Learning. It is probable that the interaction of the three

different principles, those of Modern British Theatre, Adult Education and Counseling brought together with the assistance of Drama Therapy will provide a flexible, multicultural, short- term counseling model operating on dramatherapeutic principles and characteristics that will aid the empowerment of the participants and as a result strengthen their relation with Education and Learning. Moreover, it may prove quite useful as a means of sensitizing and training in certain issues professionals who are involved in other humanistic professions such as social and health workers, teachers etc., in an experiential way that will complement classroom instruction.

4. The research

The present study is an action research, based on qualitative methodology and makes use of its qualitative tools such as in-depth interviews, and detailed recording of group processes. Content analysis will take place through analyzing the content of the detailed recordings so as to primarily accentuate the views of people who are interviewed and/ or participate. Respectively, it will attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the particular group drama therapy interventions in Adult Education and Life- Long learning, and whether these can contribute to the particular field as an empowering tool.

Initially it has taken the form of a pilot study being conducted with social work students in the Department of Social Administration, in Democritus University of Thrace. It is looking forward to explore whether Modern British Drama as a central dramatherapeutic tool in group counseling setting can pay any contribution to prospective professionals training and more particularly to the enhancement of empathy, personal skills development, cultural sensitivity and intercultural dialogue. The pilot study includes five open Drama Therapy sessions and ten closed sessions for those participants who signed a therapeutic contract. The group is facilitated by the researcher and meets on a regular fortnight basis. After the completion of the last session the group members will be asked for an interview which will not be conducted by the facilitator. Once the material is collected, analyzed and evaluated, the main part of the research will be initiated. Two multicultural groups of ten Adult Education students will be chosen in Athens, most probably amongst those who have taken up learning Greek or English as a foreign language, one as an intervention and the other as a control group. Likewise, two similar groups will be formed in Thrace and once permission from the relevant authorities is granted the participants will be invited for an interview. Then, they will attend the one- hour and a half counseling group that will take place weekly until a number of twelve sessions is completed. At the end of each session there will be an analytical recording of the session. In case the participants allow it, sessions will be videotaped, otherwise there will be an assistant participant observant present who will record the session in detail. After the completion of the group meetings, the participants will be asked for an interview again. The tools of structured and in- depth interviews (Dunn, 2000) will help in assessing the perception of each participant concerning his self-esteem, his motives and his attitude towards education and estimate whether and to what extent these were changed after the completion of the counseling group. Content analysis will be based on the participants' views and the facilitator's interventions during group work. There will be an attempt to denote the parameters through the research for evaluating the intervention. Data analysis will relate mainly to process research.

5. Present phase of the research

Currently, the present phase of the research is towards the end of the pilot study which has been taking place since October 2010 in Komotini, Thrace and is expected to end at the end of May 2011. The main aim of the pilot study has been the training in an experiential way of future social workers in issues that are taught academically at University. It looks forward to implementing future professionals' preparation on issues of empathy on sensitive matters and acceptance of differences through artistic and creative group work. It entails a group of third and fourth-year Social Work students of the Department of Social Administration in Democritus University of Thrace who initially attended a series of five Dramatherapy open sessions and then opted for another series of ten sessions. The main reason for choosing Social Work students to participate in the pilot research has been mainly the fact that empowerment will be the aim of their prospect professional interventions as well as that they will work to a great extent with individuals of culturally different backgrounds. The group takes place on a weekday, every fortnight on University premises and lasts for two hours approximately. The first five sessions opted to familiarize students with Drama Therapy and its tools. In the sessions that followed, the main dramatherapeutic tool to be used was extracts from plays of Modern British Drama. In particular an extract from the monologue *An educated lady* by Alan Bennet and extracts from Brian Friel's plays *Faith Healer* and *Translations*, David Hare's *Skylight*, Martin McDonagh's *The Pillowman* and *The Beauty Queen of Leenane* and Caryl Churchill's *Far Away*. The main axe underpinning the drama therapy group work has been familiarizing oneself with what is the least familiar, the foreign, the strange, the different, what seems alien. In this perspective each text introduced each time a different central theme to deal with in a dramatherapeutic way, such as immigration, education, language, body awareness, violence, mental and physical diseases, and addictions. After the completion of the group sessions, the group members will be invited for an interview in order to evaluate the group process and estimate if and in what ways their involvement in the group facilitated them towards developing more cultural sensitivity, empathy and understanding, whether it enriched in any way their personal and professional skills and whether they think that the implementation of such a counseling group in the field of Adult Education and Life-Long Learning would be an asset in the attempts towards the empowerment of adult students.

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INTRODUCING GAULLISM TO GREECE

A long standing tradition of French political ideas in Greece

Introducing Gaullism in Greece seems to be a paradox. What's common between the French and the Greek centre right? And how a French political ideology was introduced in Greece?

First of all, during the enlightenment and especially after the French revolution, France became the cradle or one of the main origins of many political ideologies, such as liberalism¹ or socialism². And even under the Ottoman rule, those ideologies were spread rapidly in Greece, through the diasporas living in France (and in other western European countries), who were printing and diffusing translations of western political philosophers and diffusing them among Greeks. The more characteristic example is Adamandios Korais³ (Αδαμάντιος Κοραΐς), known as “*the Greek Voltaire*”⁴.

We must not underestimate the fact that the first Prime Minister of Modern Greece was Ioannis Koletis⁵, leader of the so called “French” party⁶. This reveals the deep influence of France to Greek politics after the independence from the Ottoman Empire on 1830. Innovating and reforming ideas from France, which became an example of modernity and progress inspired many Greek political personalities. For Eleftherios Venizelos⁷, founder of the Liberal party⁸ (and seven times Prime Minister of Greece) the radical French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau declared on 1896 in Paris after a journey in Greece: “*A young lawyer, a M. Venezuelos... Venizelos? Frankly, I can not quite recall his name, but the whole of Europe will be speaking of him in a few years*”⁹. And also: “*Ulysses is a young boy beside him*”¹⁰.

This explains why, after the end of the civil war of 1946-1949, general Alexander Papagos¹¹ founded a political party called the “Greek Rally”¹², inspired by General de Gaulle’s Rally of the French people. Which means that, the introduction of Gaullism in Greece had started, even before the Constantin Karamanlis era.

During the colonels’ dictatorship, from 1967 to 1974, many Greek political personalities such as Kostantinos Mitsotakis (Prime Minister from 1990 to 1993) or Melina Mercouri (Minister

¹ With many French liberal philosophers such as Montesquieu or Rousseau, for example.

² “*The first time the term « socialism » was used in Greece, was by M. Fragkisko Pylarino (born in the Ionian Islands) who was a follower of Saint Simon (in France), in 1833. Un number of followers of Saint Simon moved to Nafplion, (the first capital of modern Greece) since 1832.*”

Παναγιώτης Νούτσος, Η σοσιαλιστική σκεψη στην Ελλάδα, εκδόσεις Γνώση, 1980, τομος Α, σελ 25.

³ Βίος Αδαμαντίου Κοραή συγγραφείς παρά του ιδίου, Εν Παρισίοις, Τυπογραφείο Κ. Εβεράρτου, 1833

⁴ He lived in Paris from 1788 until his death on 1833.

⁵ Kolettis was also named ambassador of Greece in Paris from 1838 to 1843.

Κρεμμυδάς Βασίλης, "Ο πολιτικός Ιωάννης Κωλέτης τα χρόνια στο Παρίσι (1835-1843)", Εκδ.Τυπωθήτω, 2000

⁶ Τα ελληνικά πολιτικά κόμματα 1821-1936, Gunnar Hering (Μετάφραση Θεόδωρος Παρασκευόπουλος), Έκδοση Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 2004.

⁷ Charles Personnaz, *Venizélos, le fondateur de la Grèce moderne, bibliographie*, Bernard Giovanangeli, Editeur, 2008.

⁸ Which played a key role in Greek party politics from 1910 to 1958. Venizelos died in Paris on 1936.

⁹ <http://www.tovima.gr/relatedarticles/article/?aid=139998>

¹⁰ Georges Clémenceau à Maurice Barrès et Mademoiselle Vacaresco, automne 1899, S.B Chester, 1921, “Life of Venizelos”, Constable, p. 5

¹¹ Γρηγοριάδης Σόλων, *Μετά τον εμφύλιο η άνοδος του Παπάγου στην εξουσία*, Εκδ.Φυτράκης, 1979, Αθήνα

¹² <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/244766/Greek-Rally>

of culture of PASOK governments, from 1981-1989 and from 1993-1994) were self-exiled to Paris. This contributed to a positive attitude of the Greek political elites of the right and the left towards the diffusion of French political ideas in Greece¹³.

What's Gaullism?

There are three different types of Gaullism:

- ✓ At the beginning, Gaullism was a patriotic movement of French people against the Axis forces¹⁴.
- ✓ After 1944, Gaullism became a political Gaullism (moreover a centrism¹⁵).
- ✓ With Georges Pompidou and especially Jacques Chirac the neo-Gaullism, a liberal conservatism close to other similar political parties in Europe.¹⁶

From Gaullism to Karamanlism

In both cases Gaullism and Karamanlis derived from two charismatic personalities¹⁷ whose lives and political careers had many similarities. For example:

- ✓ Both de Gaulle and Karamanlis started their careers as government members under extraordinary circumstances: De Gaulle was named under-secretary of war and national defense on 1940, in the Paul Reynaud's government during WWII. Karamanlis was named minister of public works by the field marshal Alexander Papagos on 1952 and Prime Minister after his death on 1955.
- ✓ They both took hard decisions in critical times: Charles De Gaulle was sentenced to death by a military court of the Vichy regime, when he escaped from France to England, and asked the French people to continue fighting against Hitler during radio

¹³ We must never underestimate the fact that François Mitterrand came to power on May 21st 1981 in France, and just a few months later, on October 19th 1981.

¹⁴ "Gaullism is above all a movement that aims to bring together all the French people... For its leaders the Gaullist movement is neither of the Left nor of the Right".

Agnès Alexandre-Collier, Xavier Jardin, *Anatomie des droites européennes*, Armand Colin, 2004, p. 37-38

¹⁵ <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMEve?codeEve=247>

<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMElection?codePays=FRA&dateElection=FRA195612&codeInstitution=1>

<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=FRA>

¹⁶ "Yet Gaullism will change: once committed the reforms and modernization of France assured, it will effectively act as a great conservative party seeking to maintain at all costs the institutional and political heritage of General de Gaulle. The end of de Gaulle era means the failure of Gaullists to refurbish and renovate the French society (Which lead to May 1968 failed referendum on regionalization and the Senate in 1969). But after De Gaulle does not mean the end of Gaullism but its slow change towards the Right, that could be described as liberal-conservative. In, particular the work of reconstruction and modernization of the movement made by Jacques Chirac after 1976 seems to anchor the new RPR conservative ideology dominant at that time in Europe. In the 1980s (and more precisely from 1981, Francois Mitterrand arrived in power and in 1986, Jacques Chirac returned to first cohabitation and Matignon) neogaullist the party will operate a double turning point: one to the economic liberalism that knows a important step towards the Western world (the United States with Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher in England) and the other to Europe, now seem to accept this néogaulliste General de Gaulle yesterday seemed more reluctant to admit. From that moment, the RPR is no different fundamentally from major conservative parties that exist in Europe (England and Spain). Finally his recent mutation in UMP forces with other liberal Democrats French (Alain Madelin DL and non-Christian Democratic share of the UDF) completes the transformation of the Gaullist conservatism as a liberal tone "

Revue française de science politique, 40e année, n°6, 1990. pp. 830-844

¹⁷ They both reply to Max Weber's theory of charisma and charismatic leaders.

Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. Free Press, 1924/1947, pp. 328.

broadcast at BBC on June 18th 1940¹⁸. Constantine Karamanlis was self-exiled to Paris on 1965 facing the hostility of the king and the palace against him, because he intended to establish a more democratic political regime¹⁹.

- ✓ De Gaulle and Karamanlis huddled critical situations in foreign policy for their countries. The Algeria independence for the first on 1962²⁰ and the Cyprus affair on 1974 for the latter²¹. And in both cases, taking difficult political decisions with the same target: peace, as soon as possible.

Why Gaullism was introduced in Greece ?

We must take into consideration that Karamanlis was born in a small village of northern Greece, in 1907 (which was a part of the Ottoman Empire) and when he was young he even worked in tobacco fields²². What he was looking for, as a politician was to “westernize” Greece. And there is no doubt that his ten years in Paris deeply affected him. They allowed him to better understand Gaullism in its cuddle (participating also in Raymond Aaron’s seminars in Sorbonne). As a result, after his return to Greece in 1974, his main priority was not only the economic growth of Greece, but above all, the establishment of a western style democratic political regime. From this point of view his famous saying “We belong to the West” did not concern exclusively the Greek foreign policy, but, in my opinion, Greece itself. As a result, Karamanlis introduced Gaullism to Greece for many reasons:

- ✓ Because Gaullism is a patriotism based on pragmatism²³.
- ✓ Because Gaullism is based much more on action and pragmatism, than on ideological dogmatism.
- ✓ Because both De Gaulle and Karamanlis were attached to democracy and had a profound respect of democratic institutions.
- ✓ Because Gaullism offered an alternative to the American domination to Western European politics after WWII²⁴. As a result, Karamanlis visited Moscow²⁵ and other different communist countries, just like de Gaulle did before him. He also legalized the Greek Communist Party on 1974.

But above all, because Karamanlis and De Gaulle arrived to the same conclusion about the efficiency of the political regimes in France and in Greece. None of them, neither the French Fourth Republic, nor the Hellenic parliamentary monarchy could offer political stability to France and Greece after the end of WWII.

¹⁸ "General de Gaulle was condemned to death by a military court again, charged with treason, attack to the external security of the state for a foreign power in time of war; General de Gaulle had been sentenced in absentia and sentenced to death, military degradation military, and confiscation of his property".

France Soir of Sunday, August 4th, 1940

See also : a copy of the original of the military court’s decision

Jean-Louis Cremieux Brillhac, Free France, the appeal of the June 18 release, Gallimard, 1996 p. 97-98.

¹⁹ Ίδρυμα Κων/νος Καραμανλής, Αρχείο:Γεγονότα και κείμενα, τόμ. 6, σσ. 113-4, ειδ. έκδ., ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ, Αθήνα 2005.

²⁰http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/algerie-accords_d'Evian.htm

²¹ (C. M. Woodhouse, *Karamanlis, the restorer of Greek democracy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982, pp. 62-94 and 305). And Georges Castellan, « Histoire des Balkans, XIVE – XXe siècle » Fayard, 1991.

²² Konstantinos Karamanlis in the twentieth century, conference, Zappeion, Athens, 5-9 June 2007, Volume I, Konstantin Karamanlis Foundation, 2008, Evanthis Hatzivasileiou (Ευάνθης Χατζηβασιλείου) pp. 30-31

²³ Just like in the case of the Algeria independence.

²⁴ Especially after the role of USA during the colonels regime in Greece and the turkish invasion in Cyprus on 1974.

²⁵ Ο Καραμανλής στη Μόσχα, ΤΑ ΝΕΑ, <http://www.tanea.gr/default.asp?pid=2&artid=4538945&ct=11>

On the other hand, they both did the same thing: a regime building. De Gaulle established by referendum the Fifth French Republic on 1958, in which the master of the game is the directly elected by the people French president (since 1962) reducing in such a way the power of the political parties. Karamanlis organized a referendum on 1974 that put an end to the monarchy and thus established the third Hellenic Republic which is the more stable, long standing and democratic political system in the Modern Greek history²⁶. De Gaulle and Karamanlis were both reformers²⁷, and they reformed without taking into consideration the political cost, nor populism but the national interest the way they defined it each one²⁸.

Thus the introduction of Gaullism to Greece allowed to Karamanlis to achieve (on 1974) his same goals as De Gaulle (on 1958).

Differences between Gaullism and Karamanlism

Despite many similarities between Gaullism and Karamanlism, there are also many differences. Such as:

- ✓ The fact that at the beginning, de Gaulle's voters were of various origins, of Right and Left. Karamanlism seduced conservatives and a part of the liberal voters.
- ✓ Constantine Karamanlis was influenced for both Gaullism and Centristism²⁹: from General De Gaulle, but also from the liberal Valéry Giscard d'Estaing³⁰ (President of the French Republic from 1974-1981). This synthesis was for Karamanlis the best way in order to achieve in his goals for establishing political stability in Greece.
- ✓ But the main difference is that Gaullism was renovated successfully by Jacques Chirac albeit many difficulties³¹. (Already its transformation from a patriotic movement into a political one had as a result an ideological shift to the Right³²). This renovation led in 2002 to the creation of the UMP, a big centre right political party with the

²⁶ Prokopis Pavlopoulos: "De Gaulle and Karamanlis: similarities and differences"

De Gaulle et Karamanlis, La nation, l'Etat, l'Europe, Konstantin Karamanlis foundation, Pataki publications, conference, Athens October 2000, pp.119-123

²⁷ Nikos Alivizatos : « Au-delà du réalisme : De Gaulle et Karamanlis devant la révision constitutionnelle »

De Gaulle et Karamanlis, La nation, l'Etat, l'Europe, Konstantin Karamanlis foundation, Pataki publications, conference, Athens October 2000, pp.85-92

²⁸ According to Helen Glykatzi-Ahrweiler "*The common characteristic of Gaul and Karamanlis was that they were not demagogues ... There were many points in common: I'll try to cite the most important, citing two. They were moderate revolutionaries, pacifists, regulators of public order, because before all they were visionary pragmatists. Both looked to the future based on the elements of the past. Both had a background in history, considering it the most important subject, and a certain perception to the world...*"
Idem, p. 20

²⁹ René Rémond, *Les droites en France*, Aubier, 1954

³⁰ <http://www.athina984.gr/node/59423>

³¹ According to Jean Baudouin, "*from 1981, after the restructuring, led by J. Chirac, the RPR seems to feel the need for an ideological aggiornamento. He agrees, surprisingly in a process of intellectual renewal far away from its old Gaullist heredity to enroll in the wake of the most extreme theories of the neo-liberalism. But, in retrospect, it appears that the real "neoliberal moment" has not served its strategy of regaining power: first, because of the rise of the Front National, and second because this shift to the right of RPR contributed to recreate his left a social liberal and centrist, and finally, because this conversion has fed the ideological divisions within the party.*"
Revue française de science politique, 40e année, n°6, 1990. pp. 830-844.

³² According to Pierre Bréchon, Jacques Derville et Patrick Lecompte's study on 1984
http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/rfsp_0035-2950_1987_num_37_5_411575

participation of Gaullists, Centrists and Liberals, trying to put an end to the long standing tradition of a French centre right represented by different small parties³³.

But in the case of New Democracy, in which «...8 out of 10 executives define themselves as karamanlists»³⁴ there are severe critics about the evolution of Karamanlism³⁵ after Karamanlis. For example : Paschos Mandravelis³⁶ indicates *the absence of books of neoliberal or conservative thinkers in Greece, the absence of ideological operations by the Greek centre right, which lead to Pasok's unilateral domination in the field of political ideologies in modern party politics*. According to Nikos Nikolaou, since its defeat in 1996 by Costas Simitis (PASOK) *ND has lost its ideological identity*; George Mandelas, speaks of a «*tiring and traumatic adventure of the ND, in the magical world of research and its ideological identity*».³⁷ Takis Mixas³⁸ adds, *"that for the ND there is a great originality for a European party, in so far as candidates for leadership will never compete on political and ideological matters..."* Among Karamanlis heirs, Miltiades Evert, when he became president of the ND (1993-1996) advocated the return to the basics of Karamanlism³⁹. His successor, Costas Karamanlis based his ideological platform on the concept of «*the intermediate space*» trying to seduce centrist voters⁴⁰. He was elected Prime Minister twice, on 2004 and on 2007.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that De Gaulle and Karamanlis marked French and Greek politics for a long standing period. They reformed the political regimes in France and in Greece and they also introduced two political ideologies, the Gaullism and the Karamanlism, having a warm approach from their supporters and a fierce opposition from their rivals. In both cases those ideologies are nothing more than the ideological aspect of their pragmatism, and their vision for contributing in a positive way to the political life and to the economic development of their countries.

³³ The ideological evolution of the French centre right continues with Nicolas Sarkozy's Right without any complex (*la droite décomplexée*) during the 2007 presidential campaign.

Serge Halimi, *Recomposition de la droite, nouveau cycle politique, Les recettes idéologiques du président Sarkozy*, Le Monde Diplomatique, juin 2007

³⁴ Panagis Galiatasatos, <http://www.newstime.gr/?i=nt.el.article&id=12601>

³⁵ http://portal.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_kathbreak_1_09/02/2011_377543

³⁶ Paschos Mandravelis, article published in Eleftheros Typos on August 11 1998

³⁷ Georges Mandelas, *Οι ιδεολογικές μάχες της ΝΔ*, Καθημερινή, 11 Οκτωβρίου 2009

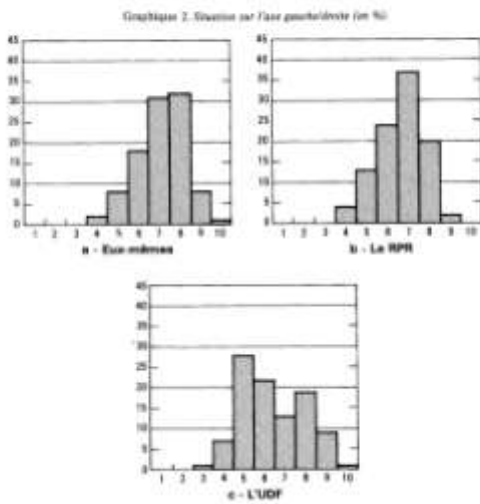
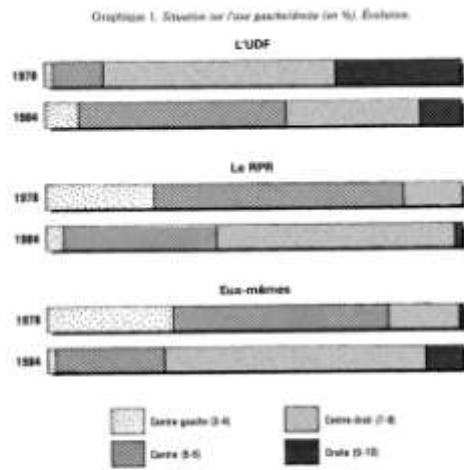
³⁸ Takis Mixas, *Αναλύοντας το ιδεολογικό DNA της ΝΔ*, Ελευθεροτυπία, 11 Νοεμβρίου 2009

³⁹ http://portal.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_kathbreak_1_09/02/2011_377543

⁴⁰ http://www.vernardakis.gr/uplmed/11_partis%20politiques%20et%20espace%20intermediaire.pdf



Constantine Karamanlis to the quays of the Seine



The evolution of Gaullist voters from 1978 to 1984

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Promoting active citizenship for youth in the UK and Greece: a genuine alternative or the reframing of old discourses?

Summary of presentation for the: 5th Biennial Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium, LSE,

2-3 June 2011

Abstract

This presentation draws upon data from PhD research which aims to explore how young people enact participation in the UK and Greece. The presentation will initially provide a brief revision of the national contexts and the main discussions, expectations and assumptions regarding participation projects for young people. The main focus will be on presenting the research results. Although the national contexts are different young people expressed concerns that are strikingly similar. The presentation explores participants' perceptions of citizenship, how policies of participation structure their experiences in projects and also how they experience their living environments. Overall, the presentation aims to discuss how the above affect and mediate their decisions for involvement.

Maria Tsekoura
PhD Candidate
Institute of Applied Social Studies
7th Floor, Muirhead Tower
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
Edgbaston, B15 2TT
Birmingham, mxt729@bham.ac.uk

Introduction

The idea of participation is linked with the concern of enabling people's involvement in the processes that affect them. This concern connects in the last 30 years with the emergence of the new social movements, the development of the idea of active citizenship and with a general tendency to move from representative to more participatory democratic arrangements. In this context a conceptualization of citizens as recipients of policies has shifted to one as active and direct participants in governance.

Simultaneously, young people's participation and decision making in issues that affect them gained increased prominence and in the last decades has become a key policy initiative on the agendas of most national and international organisations. This shift was supported by concerns over young people's lack of interest in politics and public involvement as well as discourses about the 'problem youth', antisocial activity and social decline (Bessant, 2003).

The potential benefits of youth participation are seen as contributing to the development of a positive individual identity and a sense of responsibility (Kjorholt, 2002), as young people's legitimate right to participate in decision making (Frank, 2006) as development of democratic societies (Matthews, 2003), as a form of social justice (Checkoway, 2005), 'vital engagement' of youth in community life (Pancer et al. 2002) and finally as a means to combat social exclusion (Colley et al, 2001). Existing criticisms of current practices of youth participation stress that participation activities are adult-led and top-down (Badham, 2004), have been unsuccessful in giving real power to young people, and have failed to include certain groups of young people and especially the already disadvantaged (Thomas, 2007).

Participation: extending young people's potentialities?

This explosion of interest over participation projects as an 'all cure' approach is often based on assumptions that: a) promoting youth participation spaces results in social exclusion being challenged and b) spaces for participation are neutral and independent from other domains of everyday life.

These assumptions approach spaces for participation as neutral and downplay the fact that practices in them both reflect and reproduce the social relations through which they are produced (Lefebvre, 1991). There is little consideration in these assumptions of the social structures within which young people are expected to enact decision making while the barriers and the enablers for youth participation are often poorly linked to power relations in the socio-political contexts within which youth lives are developed. Therefore, alongside a critical examination of social actors' action we need to extend the critique on how institutional practices and social norms produce relations in participatory projects and define young people's fields of possibilities (Hayward, 1998).

Current models/ladders on youth participation admit power imbalances within participation spaces and argue for the transmission of power to young people. However, discussion of power imbalances within participation is often led by a conception of power as 'a zero-sum phenomenon' where power is 'in limited supply' and someone gains it when someone else is giving it up (Kreisberg 1992, in Wong et al, 2010). Such an analysis of power dynamics constructs young people as lacking power and youth workers as holders and key players for the transfer of power. As a result, empowerment through participation becomes a struggle for the acquisition of power, a form of participation where young people have absolute control over their projects. It is questionable though whether this focus on an ideal type allows us to focus our observations on processes within 'less ideal types' of participation and to identify how youth status might mediate the experience of participation. For Cornwall (2002, Cornwall et al. 2007) it is important to focus on the way power relations are played out within participation, it is therefore central to think how and by whom spaces for participation are opened up, how a space comes to be defined and perceived, who participates, and finally how it excludes whatever is not part of its discourse.

In this project I am looking at the power dynamics of the participatory projects that took place in this research not so much under a perspective of who gains more power over others but whether participatory experience is a transformative process that enables the realization of potentialities and re-negotiation of power relations. Before I proceed to discuss the results of the research I will initially offer a brief description of how participation is enacted in the UK and Greece.

Participation in context

The dramatic growth of the interest around young people's rights as it was first expressed through the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989 was followed by legislation and policies on the national level that would ensure participation for young people. This section will attempt to offer an overview of how participation is institutionalised and enacted in UK and Greece.

UK: A 'Third way' to managing the problem youth

Arnott (2008) argues that a rethinking of rights in relation to the welfare state took place in the UK as the post-war establishments that informed policy through expert and professional knowledge and allowed limited space for civil society, proved inadequate. This shift of rebuilding the relationship between state and citizens or in Miliband's (2006) words as bridging 'the gap between citizens and democracy' was sparked off both by internal developments regarding reduced state control and influences from the UN and the EU.

In the 1990s UK policies for youth were developed on the basis of a 'third way' politics discourse that allowed the utilisation of terms such as participation, active citizenship and inclusion alongside the problem youth discourse (Bessant, 2003). Youth participation in particular was seen as preventative action, a way to ensure integration in society and a facilitator of transitions to adulthood. There was a rapid growth of participatory activity in early 2000 (Tisdall et al. 2008) with participation appearing in every policy paper regarding youth and implemented by an array of actors spanning from the volunteer and private to the public sector.

Greece: taking up international responsibilities

Concerns about deliberative democracy and citizen involvement as they have been developed in the international community, echoed in the Greek context without ever gaining such prominence as to motivate substantial change in a wide range of policies. These concerns found expression in the political domain with the adoption of a modernisation agenda that promoted decentralisation in order to make administration 'friendlier to citizens' (Hlepas, 2010), to give local communities a more active role and to make democracy more efficient. The General Secretariat for Youth is the only state organisation responsible for the development of youth policy and has worked for the mainstreaming of the youth dimension in governmental policies since 1982. Currently, there is no legal framework for youth participation apart from the establishment of local youth councils.

Youth discourses in the Greek context construct young people as 'citizens in formation', while concerns about 'youth at risk' and anxieties about its management have become more prominent in the last decades. Nevertheless, it was mostly the obligations deriving from the country's membership in the international community that promoted ideas of youth participation and active citizenship. For example, the endorsement of UNCRC resulted in the establishment of the Greek children's ombudsman, which established a Youth Advisory panel in 2009. References to the benefits of participation and active citizenship have initially appeared in official papers regarding youth in early 2000s and have dramatically grown around 2010. Existing participatory arrangements include school councils, youth parliament, national youth council, local youth councils, student unions and political party youth organisations. A number of young people have chosen self-organising in youth-led groups which in many cases are oriented on activist action often related to environmental issues and human rights.

Research Aims

The aim of this project was to explore the way young people conceptualize and enact participation in the UK and Greece. I am looking for ideas, values, norms and practices that give an insight on how participants understand their involvement. At the

same time I am looking at how these ideas, values and norms relate to current discourses of participation. The participants were selected through purposive sampling in the wider area of Thessaloniki in Greece and the West Midlands and London in the UK. Thirty six participants took part in both countries representing projects that either were developed by young people themselves or projects that were developed through official routes. Having a clear mission statement of 'raising the voice' of young people was the main criterion for the inclusion of a group in the research. The data were gathered through face to face semi-structured interviews and with the use of two short vignettes as additional means of gathering information.

Research Results

An array of profits through participation have been reported by young people in this research ranging from developing the self, to being a constructive member of one's community and a sense of bringing about change. Young people in this research expressed their conviction that they affect the processes in the groups to which they belonged. Participants in more formally structured groups report their experience as including decision making, choice and autonomy while at the same time they appear to disapprove lack of commitment by other members of their groups. Members of informal groups focused mostly on good relations within groups, sense of self worth and on a conviction to understanding and acting on issues expressing alternative attitudes to the mainstream.

Participation and notions of citizenship

Citizenship was mostly described as a set of responsibilities and behaviours rather than in the terms of social-contractual citizenship of rights and responsibilities. This means that a discussion of responsibilities was not framed within the binary of rights and responsibilities, young people spoke more often about their responsibilities while discussion of rights was developed less naturally.

Overall the young people located participation within the individuals' responsibility to motivate themselves and become active, indistinguishably employing notions of citizenship that are either duty or responsibility based. They included a number of elements in their description of a responsible citizen, the most common involved consideration, care and active participation in the community as well as participation in contrast to mainstream. Passive citizens on the other hand are not interested enough to take care of their own lives, nor make use of available opportunities. They tend to lack incentive and creative thinking, be self-absorbed, waste their own energy and in the Greek context opt for violent rather than constructive activities.

Active participation is presented as an alternative to the passivity of ordinary citizens, including other young people. As they construct themselves as distinct from other young people the participants are self-identified as 'other' to mainstream youth. Data indicates that there is a split between those who 'do the right thing' and those who opt for less appropriate choices. It shows that young people involved in this research have internalised discourses about antisocial behaviour, risk, self-management and exercising choice which leads them to blame other youth for their 'failures'.

The impact of policies on group practices

Most of the groups were funded by city councils, national agencies or European Union projects. In the majority of the accounts participants described processes of applying for projects and getting involved in evaluation and consultation processes. In most of the cases funding depended on young people's ability to match their proposals with the general aims of the funding bodies.

The data suggests that the policies provide the structure for the development of interaction and position actors in often hierarchical subject positions in the field of participation. More specifically, policies set the boundaries for action and define young people's possibilities for action through defining areas of priority, controlling funding, offering a basis on which to value the *purpose* of various activities and by involving formalism and advanced organisational skills.

Experiencing the public sphere

It appeared that the way young people experienced their public sphere mediated their opportunities and expectations from public involvement. In most of the accounts in both countries the competitiveness of the educational systems, disadvantage in daily life and social attitudes are mentioned as the main constraints to participation. In the UK media labelling and discourses of 'youth as risk' were mentioned as obstacles. In the Greek sample negative social attitudes to volunteering, focus on individual well-being and very low appreciation of the abilities of youth appeared to be part of the daily experience of the participants.

When it comes to relationships with power structures, young people in both countries complain that politicians do not take young people into account even within participation structures that are developed to sustain such a relationship. The Greek sample reflects the deep divide between public and private which has been widened the last years and has crucially affected the trust towards formal institutions. While the UK sample principally focused to the local community the Greek sample often discussed the 'State', in most of the cases dismissing the current political system and especially party politics. This was coupled with relative fatalism in the informal groups and with a faith in free market and individual capacities in the formal ones.

For all participants violence appeared to be an important part of the process of negotiating their relationship with their environments. In the UK accounts violence and the fear of crime appeared as an integral part of daily experience within the community, which restricted mobility and perceptions of what was accessible. In the Greek sample violence was discussed in relation to the 2008 youth protests and was rejected as a form of expression for different reasons. The formal groups pointed to the right of the individuals to have their property safeguarded while the young people which protested in violent ways were depicted as immature and misled by the media. The informal groups developed a discourse of understanding regarding the state of youth in Greece, but at the same time rejected violence and proposed involvement in youth groups as the right way to express ones opinions. Therefore, violence in the UK sample appeared as a constant threat, while for the Greek participants violence was seen as a pressing matter in the process of positioning themselves within wider social changes.

Conclusion

This presentation aimed to offer a very brief revision of the main discourses and policies of participation in the UK and Greece. The focus was placed on the empirical part which offered a review of the main issues surrounding participants' experience of involvement. A discussion of the living environments highlights the importance of social norms and socio-political structures in the experience of participation. Therefore, participatory projects are not operating in a vacuum but are inextricably linked to other domains within which young people form their identities on a daily basis.

The findings in regard to citizenship perceptions raise concerns about whether the participation project results into exacerbating inequalities by dividing young people into different camps. In one camp are those who take up the opportunities to get involved and adapt into existing forms of participation and on the other camp are those who either have rejected these opportunities or have failed to keep up. These perceptions instead of potentially challenging social divisions seem to reinforce them and suggest that every-day life understandings of citizenship can result in both exclusionary and inclusionary outcomes. An exploration of the way in which policies organise the field of participation reveals that policies exclude young people from the creation of the discourses of participation and shape boundaries for action. Informal groups have a greater flexibility in organising their actions but policies tend to construct young people as principally filling existing spaces for participation rather than creating spaces that reflect their own interests. In conclusion, this research indicates that youth participation policies are still driven by long-standing discourses regarding concerns about managing youth.

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