Resistance to Change in Greek Higher Education

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of resistance to the changes in Greek higher education that were implemented within the framework of the 1999 Bologna Agreement of the European Union in the period 2007-2008. The changes that occurred were of great significance for Greece's education system as they introduced important changes in the structure and function of Greek higher education. This thesis argues that the organisational culture that had been created throughout the history of Greek higher education was a powerful factor that provoked resistance to the new policies. Methodologically, the thesis argues that discourse, change and institutional culture are closely tied together, and that this is of crucial importance in creating, modifying, and sustaining change within higher education institutions.

The process of resistance is examined through the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2009; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), and within this framework by applying the empirical-analytical method of the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). The framework and method for the study are also complemented by the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985). The narrative of the thesis includes a critical examination of the hegemonic struggles that occurred in the 2007-2008 period, the perceptions and ideologies of the key stakeholders (politicians, university faculty, and student groups), and the ways in which the discourses about Greek higher education have been influenced by social, political, and institutional factors. Finally, the implications of the findings for adding to the existing knowledge about management and change in higher education institutions are discussed.

Declaration

I, Stamatia Kremmyda, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study presents a discussion of the resistance to the efforts made to change the organisation and management of Greek higher education during the years 2007-2008, just prior to the current economic crisis in the countries of the Eurozone, including Greece. Among the controversial aspects of the education reforms in this period were that, although they were voted into law in the parliament by the centre-right New Democracy (ND) party, they were not applied, or in certain cases, were only partially applied. The 2007-2008 period was one of the most turbulent periods in the history of Greek higher education, with opposition parties, students, and teaching staff resisting against the new policies. Up until the current economic crisis, this period was considered to be a major turning point in the history and development of Greek higher education.

Those who opposed the changes put forward the idea that the new policies (Law 3549/2007 and Law 3696/2008) would not only fail to correct the weaknesses in Greek higher education (lack of infrastructure, insufficient funding from the state for education and research, ageing curricula, a massive number of unemployed graduates), but they would also deepen them, and thus, risk leading higher education into a long term-crisis. The changes would also create uncertainty about their impact on the free and public character of higher education and the humanistic role of the university. The opponents of the changes were: the opposition political parties, the social democratic political party of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the leftist parties, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), and the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA). In addition, there was resistance to the new policies from members of the faculty and student groups who supported different political ideologies, and who had important roles in the decision-making processes in the universities (House Proceedings, 2007, pp. 6277-6370; House Proceedings, 2008, pp. 822-850).

Within the focus that I have outlined, this study approaches the issue of resistance to change in Greek higher education, through applying the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). CDA focuses on analysing the impact of power on individuals and on society (van Dijk, n.d.; Bloomaert, 2005; O'Regan and Macdonald, 2009). Hence, the application of CDA in this research is an attempt to interpret the impact of certain defined groups – political parties, students, and teaching staff – on the implementation of change in Greek higher education.

The purposes of this introductory chapter are the following:

i. to introduce the research question;

ii. to explain the aims and the reasons for the study;

iii. to provide contextual background information on Greek higher education relevant to the present subject;

iv. to indicate the research methodology, and

v. to outline the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Research question, aims, and reasons for this study

The primary question that this study aims to answer is: 'Why are Greek universities resistant to change?' In the context of the DHA, this thesis investigates how the participants in the discourses about change in Greek higher education attempt to establish hegemony. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2009), five questions deserve special attention and these are constitutive of the discursive strategies that the participants used to establish hegemony.

> '1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
>
> 2. What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes?
>
> 3. Which arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
>
> 4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments expressed?
>
> 5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they even intensified; or are they mitigated?' (p. 93).

There are several features of the 2007-2008 period that make this study important. First, the policies implemented in this period were the result of a series of debates on how Greek higher education could respond more effectively to the new social, political, and economic conditions of European Union (EU) and Eurozone membership. Greece, as a member of the EU, has been participating in the Bologna Process since 1999. The aims of the Bologna Process (1999) are to bring the educational systems of EU member states into alignment. In order to meet these qualifying criteria, Greece was required to reform its university sector. Second, according to the Lisbon Strategy (March 2000), Greece also needed to reform its university sector in order to contribute to economic growth. Third, the reforms set out in the above agreements affected the educational goals of the Greek government during the years 2007-2008 as the political leadership in this period aimed to adapt Greek higher education to European standards. Fourth,

the new policies for Greek higher education had two aims. On the one hand, they aimed to resolve the previous and, to a large extent, continuing problems of Greek higher education (relating to infrastructure and curricula); on the other, they aimed to modernize the structure, function, and role of Greek higher education by giving universities both administrative and financial autonomy, and by creating mechanisms for transparency and accountability within them.

Fifth, there is very little academic literature about the resistance to the changes in Greek higher education that were attempted in the 2007-2008 period. The few articles that have been written by teaching staff in the journal 'Science and Society' (17-18, 2006), which I discuss in Chapter Two (Section 2.7), express only personal views about the proposed changes, rather than an analysis. Outside of these instances, there has been a lack of systematic study and research into the resistance to the proposed educational changes in the designated period. Along with this, there are research gaps in the international literature on changes at the EU level in relation to the response of people within academic circles to the changes imposed through the Bologna Process or the New Public Management (NPM) and, more particularly, on the ideological obstacles that may hinder the implementation of change. The present research provides a critical examination of resistance to change within Greek public universities. Greece, however, can be used as an example of a country that has resisted the changes that took place in the light of the Bologna Process. For this reason, this study reviews and critically analyses the literature about these changes at the EU level and identifies the gaps in the research. The study then moves on to examine a number of parliamentary speeches that are related to the policies of the 2007-2008 period and the experiences of students and teaching staff in public universities in relation to these new policies. A consideration of the implications that the findings of this research offer to the research and management culture of universities in the broader European higher education environment is offered in the conclusion of the thesis.

1.2. Resisting neoliberal policies

As previously mentioned, this study will consider the resistance of Greek universities to the neoliberal changes that took place during 2007 and 2008. During this time, the Greek higher education sector experienced one of the most turbulent periods of its history, with political parties, students, and academic staff resisting the implementation of new policies (3549/2007 and 3696/2008) which incorporated significant changes to the structure and functions of Greek universities, in the light of the Bologna Process (1999). When I started this study, I was interested to know more about the reasons why such resistance to the changes took place. The 2008 economic crash could not be foreseen at that point, but even so, this study still has lessons for analysing and understanding resistance today in the post-2008 era. So, on the one hand, this

study throws light on a particular historical juncture in the development of reform in Greek higher education and, on the other, it makes a contribution to an understanding of resistance in circumstances of social and organisational change.

To a large extent, the neoliberals failed to be effective guardians of the institutional culture of Greek universities through promoting the liberalisation of higher education as a way of overcoming the crisis of public universities. By vigorously advocating more national, institutional, and cultural standards in policy-making, the opponents of neoliberal policies in Greece attempted to motivate people to look beyond economic profit and to consider the broader impact of the new policies (3549/2007 and 3696/2008) in higher education and in wider society. In doing so, they exhibited values consistent with the national history of Greece, in which collective rather than individual interests dominate, representing priorities which have traditionally been set in policy-making.

Indeed, the one-dimensional political mentality of the government failed to digest these contrasts, and instead created conditions of dispute and conflict due to authoritarian political aspirations for sovereignty without any dialogue and consensus. However, resistance is a more complex phenomenon than on which is attributed only to the inability of the government to compromise on conflicting ideologies and values, since resistance is compounded out of the values and the ideas which are derived from the previous structure and culture of Greek higher education as it has been shaped through its history. The resistance to change in the Greek higher education sector demonstrates that in order to maintain democratic ideals, the university sector needs to focus on their social and moral missions. Financial investment in the social sciences and humanities are equally as useful as the applied sciences, as they contribute to social prosperity and happiness; for this reason, their development should be encouraged through funding for research. In contrast, if the sciences aimed only at profit, they would not serve the public and social mission of Greek universities and the right to academic freedom. Also, universities play a political and social role in cultivating the future citizen through the social sciences and humanities. This expands the role of the university and the mission of education beyond labour to the development of responsible citizens, who contribute to the social, political, and intellectual life of the nation (Greek Constitution, Article 16, paragraph 2; Hancock, Hughes and Walsh, 2012). To this end, the institutional culture of the university needs to be maintained and reinforced as a guardian of academic values, public and free education, academic freedom, and autonomy. However, the new policies which were implemented in 2007 and 2008 proposed the complete adjustment of Greek higher education to the demands of Europeanisation and globalisation, abolishing the previous structures of Greek universities such as academic asylum, and limiting student participation in the electoral bodies which served the mission of the universities.

For states such as Greece, which have insufficiently strong economies to protect the rights of citizens to equal educational opportunities, and which seek to create the necessary infrastructure to support their economy, the challenges presented by the EU and the new economy through Law 3549/2007, which allows important changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities, and Law 3696/2008, which allows the operation of private colleges in Greece (see Section 2.9), create substantial risks. It is the argument of this thesis that public universities can overcome the crisis they find themselves in by incorporating changes that reinforce and protect their culture. The neoliberal policies which concentrate on exploring strategic solutions and the development of action plans to cooperate with business to raise levels of funding actually put higher education institutions at the risk of commercialisation which put the academic culture at risk. While all the political parties pointed out the issue of the crisis in Greece's universities, the neoliberals failed to create a policy framework that would protect the institutional culture of Greek universities and its values, as written in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, and as has been formed in the mentality of the people in the academy, as reflected in the discourses of the academic staff against the risks of the profit-oriented values of the globalisation and massification of higher education. Through an open dialogue with the students and academic staff in the academy, the government could identify the problems and real needs of Greek universities, since the people in the academy are the receipients and transmitters of the academic culture and values of Greek universities. By implementing profit-oriented policies, the neoliberal government does not resolve these problems, but instead, leads higher education to a lengthy crisis in their mission and identity fought out between academia and those forces of the economy and society which seek to extend their domination to the higher education arena. The problem of the underfunding of public universities increases social inequalities among citizens, undermines academic freedom and autonomy from political and social groups who pursue the accomplishment of their own interests in higher education, and hinders the development of new curricula which would correspond more closely with new technological developments. While most people agree on the challenges that Greek universities face, they propose different solutions according to the ideology they follow. Neoliberals put profit and the adjustment of Greek higher education to capitalism and globalization ahead of the national characteristics, and the ethical and social mission of higher education.

Despite this thesis focusing on Greek higher education, it also sheds light on the reasons for resistance to change in other countries, particularly at the EU level. Close analysis of case studies at the international level shows that while neoliberalism or NPM looks to broaden the limits of universities in the economic sphere through cooperation with business, and to reinforce the economic role of universities in the knowledge economy (Temple, 2012; Shattock, 2009;

Etzkowitz, Webster and Healey, 1998), it has also created more complex responsibilities for academics and has prevented the benefits of the autonomy of knowledge and research from reaching wider society (Slaughter and Leslie, 1999; Jongbloed and Zomer, 2012; Deem, Hallyard and Reed, 2007; Enders and de Weert, 2009). This thesis aims to shed light on the reasons for resistance to change in the Greek university system as an example of a country that has resisted neoliberal policies, and proposes a theoretical and methodological framework through which resistance can be analysed and discussed in the broader higher education arena.

As the word 'neoliberalism' is the ideology which is frequently drawn upon in this thesis, there is a need to be explicit about exactly what is meant by this word. The term neoliberalism is used to describe economic models, policies, ideologies, and practices that promote economic liberalisation, deregulation, and the free market (Block, Gray and Holborow, 2012; Connell, 2010; Steger and Roy, 2010; Larner 2000; Braedley and Luxton, 2010; Saad-Filho and Johnson, 2005). Neoliberalism supports the limitations of government control in creating greater competition, increasing efficiency in public services, and encouraging the development of the private sector as the prime agent of economic growth. Larner (2006, p. 450) observes that 'the concept of neoliberalism is overwhelmingly mobilized and deployed by left-wing academics and political activists'.

Many critics of neoliberalism (Parker and Jary, 1995; Delanty, 2003; Hill, 2004, 2006, 2009; Olssen and Peters, 2005; Collini, 2012; Ritzer, 2011; Hursh, 2006) have challenged neoliberal political, economic, and ideological practice that proposes the privatisation and liberalisation of public universities within a free market, thus creating the conditions and policies through which 'auditing, accounting, and management' of universities can occur (Olssen and Peters, 2005, p. 315). Critics have challenged the promotion of this new type of university on the grounds that it creates a situation in which knowledge is commodified and sold as marketable knowledge while simultaneously devaluing arts and social science subjects, which are often seen as the foundation of a critical education. They criticise the growth of educational programmes for profit that exploit students financially and, in their view, lead to a form of educational provision that is superficial and inadequate to the needs of a critically informed citizenship. This new type of university is also critiqued for its perceived lack of concern for equality of opportunity in education.

Despite these arguments, it is nevertheless the case that Greek universities face considerable difficulties, and in the view of the neoliberal government and its supporters, they need to progress to a more market-oriented university model that more realistically faces the realities that the Bologna Accords present to higher education across the European Union. The Bologna Process aims to create a common European higher education area 'based on institutional

autonomy, academic freedom, equal opportunities, and democratic principles that will facilitate mobility, increase employability, and strengthen Europe's attractiveness and competitiveness' (Ministers responsible for Higher Education in the countries participating in the Bologna Process, London Communique, May 2007). The reasons for these difficulties include the structural stagnation of the Greek university sector since the fall of the Greek junta in 1974, and the absence of consensus for a rapid adaptation to the agreed European policy objectives (Ministry of Education, 2007; OECD, 2008, 2009). Among the problems mentioned by the political speakers are the lack of sufficient funding for providing universities with the necessary infrastructure to support innovation, a lack of transparency and control, and the lack of openness and attractiveness of public universities at the EU level (House Proceedings, 2007, pp. 6235-6295; House Proceedings, 2008, pp. 827-835). Also, the European Commission supports the view that universities need to change in order to support the national and international economy (Bologna Process, 1999; Lisbon European Council, 2000; OECD, 2007, 2008, 2009). Regarding this view, research evidence supports the idea that the increased autonomy of universities will enable them to collaborate more efficiently with the external world, faculty members, students, and businesses (Clark, 1983, 1998; Marginson and Considine, 2000; Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff, 2000; Shattock, 2009; Temple, 2012).

While European policies in the period under examination were successfully implemented in most countries; however, Greece was, and continues to be, slow in adapting to them. As this study shows, the dialogue between the political parties, students, and academic staff, needs to continue in order for the policies to be redefined and to offer a better solution to the problems of Greek universities. As the present economic crisis in Greece demonstrates, the need for dialogue is more urgent than ever. I have chosen CDA, because as a model of analysis, it is particularly suitable for examining the discourse of political and social actors engaged in struggles for hegemony. CDA is able to provide a thorough methodological and analytical framework and may therefore assist the researcher to identify the principal reasons for resistance to change in higher education. I explain this further in Chapter 3.

1.3. The context of Greek higher education

Significant change took place in the 2007-2008 period to support the Europeanisation and modernisation of Greek higher education. Higher education policies were influenced by the new economic and social conditions: the participation of Greece in the Bologna Process (1999), the adoption of the Euro in 2001, and the preparatory public works for the 2004 Olympic Games. European Union funds contributed to the improvement and development of public infrastructure and the competitiveness of the public sector.

Following social and political changes in the wider European higher education arena in 2007 and 2008, the New Democracy government and the Ministers of Education, Marietta Yannakou and Evripidis Stylianidis respectively, introduced changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities. These changes were:

i. Reinforcement of the independence of public universities from the state.

ii. Internationalisation of the mission of public universities.

iii. Revision of the university asylum law. University asylum referred to the right to freely express opinions and exchange ideas within universities. This law was passed in 1974 and prohibited the presence or intervention of public power in universities without the agreement of the competent body of the institution. The abuse of such democratic freedoms in Greek universities, however, led to a new political intervention. A new law concerning university asylum defined the boundaries of 'academic asylum' in places where education and research take place, a position that was not taken in previous law. These spaces are defined by the decision and responsibility of the Senate in Advanced Education Institutions (AEIs) and the Assemblies for Advanced Technological Education Institutions (ATEIs).

iv. Introduction of the academic development plan. This is a strategic plan implemented by each university over the following four years in order to receive funding. If the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Economics do not approve such a strategic plan then funding is not granted. In addition, if a university does not submit such a plan, then the funding of the state is interrupted.

v. Appointment of supporting part-time faculty staff.

vi. Study time limitation. The maximum duration of studies beyond the normal period can be up to only two semesters. At the end of the maximum duration of study, students are then considered to have lost their student status. In this way, the government attempted to resolve the problem of 'perpetual students' who remained in higher education longer than the prescribed period of their degrees. This creates problems in the operation of universities and prohibits universities from planning ahead.

vii. Introduction of the European Qualification Framework (ECTS). The new law secures the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation system, which facilitates the mobility of students in European universities. It regulates the minimum number

of credits according to which the weeks of instruction for universities is thirteen and for ATEIs, fifteen, covering a minimum number of credits.

viii. Change in the distribution of textbooks. The General Assemblies of the departments of a university draft a list of textbooks every year based on compulsory and/or optional courses. The new ruling allows for only one book per course. The Ministry of Education states the cost required for payment and controls this through a specific body.

ix. Introduction of accountability. Universities have an obligation for transparency, and to publish all information regarding governing bodies and their decisions, their resources, the management of their financial resources, courses and subjects, the number of registered students, infrastructure, and the services they provide, on their website.

x. Changes to decision-making and committees. Rectors and vice-rectors are now elected by the entirety of the teaching and research staff of the university, undergraduate and postgraduate students, and administrative staff. This reform encourages significant participation of students in the election process, since 40% of the voting power in the electoral body belongs to the students. Another change concerns the election of permanent teaching staff to higher grades. The Rector takes responsibility for announcing an academic position after the decision of the relevant department within the framework of the four-year developmental plan (Article 23, Par. 2).

xi. Recognition of private universities operating in Greece (Law 3696/2008). Colleges are providers of post-secondary education and training in Greece. The certificates that colleges provide are not equivalent to the qualifications awarded in the framework of the Greek system, such as those from the Advanced Education Institutions (AEIs) and the Technological Education Institutions (ATEIs).

xii. The establishment and operation of colleges by individuals, associations, or legal persons are subject to state control. The Ministry of Education oversees their establishment and operation.

The above changes provoked much resistance from opposition political parties, students, and academic staff who moved against the new policies while gaining public support through various protests, speeches, and occupations of universities by students. Moreover, university administrative bodies refused to implement the required changes. As a result, despite having

been passed in the parliament, the laws were only adhered to partially, if at all, in some universities.

1.4. Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), through the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), provides a complete theoretical and methodological tool for the examination of the discourses around change in Greek higher education. The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) examines the discourses of various social actors in their political and historical context. In addition, ideology is an intrinsic element in both CDA and the DHA. In the present study, ideologies are considered as expressing the educational, economic, and political perspectives of the representatives of the political parties, the students, and the staff in universities, in relation to changes in Greek higher education and their views about educational purposes, course content, and the influences of the new economic, social, and political context on the present and future of the Greek higher education system. The ideologies considered in this study are used by political groups, students, and teaching staff to dominate, persuade, and create new conditions to achieve their particular political purposes.

An advantage of DHA is that it is an interdisciplinary approach that uses a range of empirical data and theories to examine the complexity of a problem (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). It therefore affords a comprehensive analysis of the following factors:

i. the ideologies;

ii. the history;

iii. the genre; and

iv. the arguments of the representatives of the political parties, students, and teaching staff for or against the changes in Greek higher education.

The DHA methodology also enables an examination of the different ‘genres’, ‘discourses’, and ‘styles’ which shape the order of discourse of Greek higher education (Faiclough, 2010, p. 75). The political parties, teaching staff, and students draw upon different discourses to either oppose or resist the new policies (see Chapter Five) and give particular meanings and significance to changes in Greek higher education. For instance, in the neoliberal discourse of the New Democracy government, new policies might be understood as requirements of EU policies and of the capitalist system, which aim to reduce the democratic functions of Greek higher education. In this case, political discourse could be identified as a discursive practice that challenges the existing order of discourse and hegemonic relations (Fairclough, 1992). The

examination of the different genres, discourses, and styles on which the opposing groups draw to support or resist change, can therefore contribute to an understanding of the relationship between discourse and change in Greek higher education, and can also illuminate the reasons for the resistance to change. To illustrate this, the following texts will be subject to analysis:

1. Open-ended interviews with teaching staff and students about the reforms during the 2008-2009 period;

2. Selected political speeches that derive from the following parliamentary debates:

    i. The debate on 'The Reform of the Institutional Framework for the Structure and the Operation of Higher Education Institutions' (Law 3549) implemented by the Minister of Education, Marietta Yannakou in 2007.

    ii. The failure of the government to revise Article 16 led to a later policy defined in the law on the 'Establishment and operation of colleges and other provisions' (Law 3696), implemented in 2008 by the Minister of Education, Euripides Stylianidis.

The choice of the above parliamentary speeches is derived from the fact that they present important issues in Greek higher education and contain the arguments of political parties for or against the proposed policies, as well as indicating the ideological differences among the political parties. The author believes that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Fairclough, 1992, 2001, 2003, 2010) provides a critique of practice that may explain why certain consequences have ensued rather than others. CDA provides a complete methodological tool in the form of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) for the examination of political struggles in Greek higher education. Also, based on a model proposed by Montessori (2009), the DHA has been combined with the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 104), according to which, meanings are 'contingent and negotiable' and discourse is a social and political practice aiming towards the construction of meanings and identities. The following structures of meaning in the political speeches and discourses of students and teaching staff are examined: the empty signifiers, nodal points, and universality and particularity (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). In this context, the DHA and Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation support and complement one another in such a way as to provide a rounded examination of resistance to change in Greek higher education. Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation is used to provide a better understanding of the nature, significance, and consequences of the discursive struggle in Greek higher education.

1.5. The structure of the thesis

This thesis is developed over seven chapters. Chapter One is the introduction of the thesis which introduces the reader to the problem of the study, explains the aims and significance of the study, and proposes the research question, which is 'Why are Greek universities resistant to change?' This question is examined through the Discourse Historical Approach and, more particularly, through the five questions which have been identified in Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 93) (see Section 1.1). This study sheds light on the reasons for resistance to change in one of the most turbulent periods in the history of Greek higher education, and also contributes to an understanding of the reasons for resistance to the neoliberal changes, which took place through the adoption of EU policies and the NPM reforms, in other countries at the EU and international levels. After this, the chapter briefly describes the conditions under which the new policies were created and provides a brief account of the new policies (Law 3549/2007 and Law 3696/2008) which provoked the resistance to change in Greek higher education. These policies introduced important changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities and were the result of a series of debates on how Greek higher education could more effectively respond to the agreed aims of the Bologna Process (1999). They also allowed the operation of private universities in Greece which, although prohibited in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution (par. 5), were 'allowed' to operate illegally. This is followed by an exploration of the reasons for resistance to the neoliberal policies, through looking at the negative consequences of the neoliberal policies on the institutional culture and academic values of Greek higher education. After neoliberalism has been outlined, the new policies (Law 3548/2007 and 3696/2008) which provoked resistance in Greek higher education are briefly explained. Finally, a brief overview of the methodology is provided.

Chapter Two aims to contextualize the problem of the thesis in the wider social and political context in which resistance to change in Greek higher education takes place. Greece is not the only country that resisted the NPM reforms which have been driven by economic, social, political, and technological developments. There have been criticisms formulated in the international literature in relation to the global forces that enact power on higher education institutions and academic identities at the EU level. There are also research studies on the responses of universities to the imposed market-oriented reforms. In response, the evidence and gaps in the existing knowledge about change in higher education institutions at the EU level are identified. While there is a broad literature on the impact of the NPM reforms on the academic values of higher education institutions at the theoretical and empirical level, there are no studies that provide a thorough understanding of the problem of the resistance of academic staff or institutions to the neoliberal reforms. Most of the studies focus on the structural reforms which have been made in institutions, or they provide only a superficial analysis of the resistance

discourse. In addition, this chapter also describes the historical period in which the changes took place in Greek higher education. This is the period of the Europeanisation of Greek higher education which started in 1999. This part of the discussion also refers to the obstacles towards Europeanisation, drawing on OECD and national reports, as well as the general characteristics of the Greek higher education system. This is followed by an outline of the structure and basic functions of Greek universities prior to the implementation of the reforms. After this, a description of the new policies 3549/2007 and 3696/2008 is given. Also, the views of the institutional bodies which resisted the changes are outlined, while the methodology is also outlined to prepare the reader for the next chapter.

Chapter Three introduces the theoretical framework, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and, in particular, the methodological tool provided through the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to examine resistance to change in Greek higher education. Hegemony is explained here through the framework of CDA and Laclau and Mouffe's theory, and how these frameworks oriented the study of the resistance to change in Greek higher education. In addition, basic discourse theories are presented, and I explain why I chose CDA (DHA) and Laclau and Mouffe's theory to examine the resistance to change in Greek higher education, as well as a number of criticisms of both theories. CDA has been criticised for stressing the analysis of context rather than the language itself, as well as for supporting a left-wing ideology, creating questions as to whether the analysis of the text is objective or biased. On the other hand, the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) has been criticised for emphasising the role of the subject but ignoring other factors such as pre-existing social structures. For the above reasons, I believe that CDA and Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation (1985) can support and complement one another and provide a searching examination of the reality underlying the problem of the resistance to change in Greek universities. The Discourse Historical Approach is used in combination with the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985). The CDA, and more particularly the DHA, is shown to be an appropriate method for examining the question of resistance to change in Greek higher education due to the conflicts between the various political and social groups in relation to the educational reforms of the 2007-2008 period, which indicates the distribution of unequal relations of power of some groups over others, which is derived either from the structure of Greek higher education, or from the new policies which reshaped these relations of power.

Chapter Four introduces the research methods and methodology for this study. The present research is qualitative and was conducted by gathering primary data from interviews with teaching staff and students, and by analysing the discourse of political speeches selected from two major political debates on the changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities

(2007) and on the operation of private colleges in Greece (2008). The sampling procedures for the interviews are explained in this chapter. The interviewees include people selected from different departments and institutions, both within and outside of the universities, in a period of intense conflict in the universities, in 2008 and 2009, resulting in difficult conditions under which to meet regularly with the people of the academy and to select an equal number of students and academic staff in the universities. The universities were occupied for a long time by students who organized mobilization against the new laws. However, the interviews were not the only method of study of the resistance. The interviews were complemented by the political speeches in order to assist the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the themes arising from the political speeches, and also to identify the common and different themes and topoi arising from the political speeches and the responses of the faculty and students. The translation issues which arose during the transcription of the data are also described in this chapter. The translation from Greek to English was conducted by the researcher, and CDA was brought in to support the objective interpretation of the metaphors and meanings that have cultural value in the particular context of Greek higher education, which cannot be assigned to a second language. An overview of the methods follows which includes the way in which the themes in the data were constructed and analysed, by understanding and applying the analytical aspects of DHA and Laclau and Mouffe's theory.

Chapter Five analyses the selected parliamentary speeches and interviews with the faculty and students. The analysis here is focused on 'genre' using Fairclough's definition of this conceptual term (2010, p. 75), according to which genres are 'ways of acting and interacting' associated with 'discourse' (ways of representation), and 'style' (linguistic elements), which establish the order of discourse of Greek higher education. The various genres serve the purposes of convincing the public and eliciting popular consent and, for these reasons they include elements of social and discursive practice. A diagram of the main themes and topoi which are identified in the political speeches and the interviews with the students and the faculty, as well as the interrelations of the themes at the macro- and micro-levels, is provided before the analysis. The language, the competing claims, and the arguments of the representatives of the main political parties and the interviewees are then examined under the themes which their discourse represents. The findings from the data in this chapter are then triangulated with the results of the linguistic analysis of the data in the following chapter.

Chapter Six provides a detailed linguistic analysis of the political speeches and the interviews with the teaching staff and students, drawing upon the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985). Laclau and Mouffe's theory provides a detailed linguistic analysis, and thus assists with the triangulation of the data. CDA (DHA) characterises social classes as having fixed relations with one another, while articulation theory charcterises social classes, not in terms of party

politics, but as a form of social organisation that derives from continuous political processes and identities which are negotiated and changed. The empty signifiers, nodal points, social myths and imaginaries, and the relations of equivalence and difference, which are constructed from the various discourses, are examined here. Corpus linguistics has been used in conjunction with the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe to identify the above structures of meaning. The frequency of use of lexical words and terms and, more particularly clusters, are considered, in order to identify the conflicting discourses which are constructed by the political speakers, students, and academic staff, as well as the myths and social imaginaries that the opponents' parties create or draw upon in their attempt to establish hegemony.

Finally, Chapter Seven draws together a number of conclusions from the investigation of the issues raised in this thesis, and makes connections to the present crisis of the university at the EU level and how this affects the 'university of tomorrow'. The categories of resistance are presented separately for analytical purposes which however, in the real world, overlap and interplay through language, culture, and discourse. The chapter also refers the findings to those of previous studies. Universities, as shown in this study, run the risk of losing their independence and identity as a result of a range of political, social, and economic factors, and a more systematic study would contribute to effective policy-making by identifying the culture of an institution and incorporating changes into this culture. The phenomenon of resistance to neoliberal policies suggests that resistance cannot be interpreted in isolation, but is connected to the culture, language, and social context of the institution. This study, despite its limitations, attempted to provoke a critical account of the reasons for resistance beyond the Greek case. More research is needed into the diversity of higher education systems, different cultures, and political and social contexts in which higher education systems operate. For this reason, shared understandings of change, culture, and discourse become more necessary for policy-makers in the development of higher education policies about how higher education systems can operate more effectively.

Chapter 2: Setting the Scene

2.0. Introduction

The policies proposed in 2007 and 2008 were intended to introduce important changes in the structure and functions of the higher education system. They were the result of a series of debates about how Greek higher education could respond effectively to the changing social, political, and economic conditions at the national and EU levels.

This chapter discusses the major theoretical perspectives on change in higher education at the EU level, with the aim of contextualising the Greek higher education system within the EU. Changes within the EU have been analysed in a large number of research articles and can be classified into two categories. One category analyses the changes in terms of the rational management of organisational resources and operating procedures (e.g. Clark, 1983, 1998; Shattock, 2009; Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff, 2000) for promoting the modernisation, internationalisation, globalisation, and marketisation of higher education. The other category comprises an analysis of the cultural and ideological impact of the changes (e.g. Baldridge, 1971; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Enders and de Weert, 2009; Stensaker, Välimaa and Sarrico, 2012). These categories are strongly related, for instance, when structural changes impact upon institutional and academic cultures. Culture is treated as a central theme for meaning, actions, decision-making, change, resistance, and inter-party relations in higher education studies.

This chapter argues that differences in individual perceptions, values, and culture have implications for the implementation of change in higher education, and therefore, might serve as a basis for an empirical investigation and analysis of policy change in higher education. Change, in this sense, is represented by different schools of thought and a broad range of practices. The methodological implications drawn from the review will then be examined and suggestions for a better and more empirically-driven evaluation of change will be discussed.

2.1. Key arguments within the available literature

The external environment is the main factor for changing the internal processes of the universities. A significant amount of research has examined the specific external forces that have placed pressure on higher education institutions to change: modernisation, internationalisation, globalisation, massification, and marketisation (van Vught, van der Wende and Westerheijden, 2002; Teichler, 2004; Välimaa, 1999; Clark, 1998; Knight and Lightowler, 2010). These forces have transformed Greek society and its economy, and have pervasively influenced educational developments in Greek universities.

The modernisation of higher education systems derives from the participation of countries in the Bologna Process (1999), and is linked with the achievement of economic and social goals in a knowledge-based economy (European Commission, 2011). Internationalisation is the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, and/or delivery of post-secondary education (Teichler, 2004). Globalisation refers to the broader economic context in which universities find themselves, within the global economy, and 'relates to the processes of increasing the convergence and interdependence of economies and to the liberalisation of trade and markets' (van Vught, van der Wende and Westerheijden, 2002, p. 106). Conditions of globalisation also provide a wider scope for the development of the economic functions of universities owing to increases in human mobility and exchange in which universities can invest in, and achieve, strong economic growth. This entails changes in governance and in the integration of new scientific and technological fields in traditional disciplines as well as in training and research (van Vught, van der Wende and Westerheijden, 2002). Massificiation describes the growth in the number of students who attend global higher education programmes (Välimaa, 1999). Marketisation of higher education refers to the changing relationship between universities and the state. As a result of marketisation, globalisation, and massification, universities must strengthen their financial profiles by establishing new economic relations with the state, the business sector, and society in order to raise their income and to increase assistance for students entering the job market (ibid).

Different positions have been expressed by a number of scholars regarding the effect of the above changes on the functioning of universities. Regarding a university's financial profile, Clark's (1998) account of the capitalist university stresses the significance of a university undertaking fiscal and management risks in order to augment its reputation for excellence. Intensifying the 'academy heartland' beyond its conventional borders secures further connections to industry. Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff's (2000) triple helix theory depicts the government, the university, and enterprise as being inter-reliant and in a dialectical association: universities engender data for industry, industry utilises educational attainments for financial advantage, and the government offers institutional environments and infrastructure plans to facilitate university-industry associations. Etzkowitz, Webster and Healey (1998) identify that businesses can assist universities to reinforce their fiscal outline, and moreover, to endure in times when government changes their economic approaches towards the university sector. Kwiek (2012) is of the view that the sharing of information between universities and businesses leads to a wider knowledge base. New ideas and concepts materialise through this engagement, which eventually creates a more positive impact on the economy. Universities accepting a creative association with trade will result in expansion and will reinforce their position in the economy (Temple, 2012). Universities' institutional, as well as functioning, structures need improvement to boost entrepreneurship. Shattock (2009, p. 4) describes entrepreneurialism as

‘institutional adaptiveness to a changing environment and of the capacity of universities to produce innovation through research and new ideas.’ The complications of expanding entrepreneurship in universities include the governance, economic management, and autonomy of universities, and delays in technological research and infrastructure. In addition, Mora, Vieira and Detmer (2012, p. 77) put forward a number of factors they see as being responsible for the apparent reluctance of universities to establish partnerships with business and for the different kinds of partnerships that universities build. These factors are bound up in history, culture, regional economic circumstances, national and regional policies, institutional cultures, and individual entrepreneurialism. Although the above cases emphasise the effects of a bureaucratic and financial profile for the development of globalisation, massification, marketization, and entrepreneurialism, they fail to examine in any detail the conflict created as a result of the implementation of the neoliberal ideology and its practices in higher education institutions; the inequalities that were created in universities and society as a result of the neoliberal regime in higher education; how the social and political context of higher education institutions shapes the resistant institutional culture to the implementation of the neoliberal policies and ideologies; and which discursive and linguistic elements shape this resistance.

The marketisation of higher education has been criticised by a number of scholars. Criticisms and denouncements of the market orientation of universities are summarised in the conceptualisations of academic capitalism found in Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoades (2004). These authors are of the view that academic capitalism serves, and is served by, industrial needs, where information is utilised to augment and endorse the interests of industry as well as business. This rejects the conventional principles of academic autonomy and research, and alters the concept of learners and knowledge as a product. Furthermore, Jongbloed and Zomer (2012, p. 99) argue that the relationship between universities and industry should be a ‘two-way process’ allowing ‘exploitation’ and ‘exploration’ of university research, rather than only commercial exploitation of research results. In another study, Deem, Hallyard and Reed (2007) have found that the creative aspects of research and the developmental elements of teaching and research are being subordinated to other considerations such as the focus on applied research that is ideal for large companies. Enders and de Weert (2009, p. 52) argue that ‘there are signs of ‘de-professionalization’ (‘loss of autonomy’) and ‘proletarianisation’ (‘loss of status and privileges’)’. The above arguments against marketisation consist of claims about the values and ideologies of education; for instance, academic capitalism is an ideological metaphor for the shift of activities of universities and academics towards the generation of external funding, as well as academic freedom against economic barriers. Hence, it can be argued that change in higher education cannot be understood without considering the ideologies of individuals, universities, and the groups within universities, which commit individuals to a certain type of action that results in either making or preventing changes, and this is an

important part of their identity, as well as of the mission of the university. The language becomes a means of communicating ideologies for or against the marketization of higher education.

Moreover, another study highlights the power of ideology in dominating the direction of change. It has been proposed that New Public Management (NPM), under which community improvements are deemed to be explained, is not just concerned with exercising control but is also related to the alliance of a set of ideological claims and strategies about how universities should be managed to improve efficiency and effectiveness. Related concepts such as 'managerialism' (Amaral, Magalhães and Santiago, 2003, p. 155; Temple, 2012, p. 12), 'new managerialism' (Fulton, 2003, p. 173; Meek, 2003, p. 168; Deem, Hillyard and Reed, 2007, p. 4) or 'new public management' (Meek, 2003, p. 11) and 'neoliberal managerialism' (Deem, Hillyard and Reed, 2007, p. 9) are used to associate the emergence of market or quasi-market modes of regulation in higher education with the imposition of management practices that focus on external accountability and academic standards. For example, the 'ism' in the word 'managerialism', according to Meek (2003, p. 11), 'becomes pejorative once it implies control over the academic products of the university by those not directly involved in their creation'. Meek (ibid) distinguishes between 'management' and 'managerialism' by defining the first 'as a set of goods or best practices in running an organisation', and the latter 'as a set of ideological principles and values that one group imposes on another in an attempt to control their behaviour'. Deem, Hillyard and Reed (2007, p. 4) also argue that 'new managerialism should be understood as an amalgam of multiple ideologies, but with two key aspects: those of "market-based resource allocation" and "managerial control regimes" with an emphasis on performance, accountability, and control"'. The mention of 'control' can lead to assumptions that NPM is an ideological, cultural, and practical regime that focuses on the advantages of privatisation, competition, increased control, and accountability over the ineffectiveness of centralised bureaucracy, waste, and inefficiency of resources, and the inefficiency of out-dated organisational structures. In higher education, this powerful governance regime creates conflict with academics' pursuit of their own interests.

In addition, the description of universities as organisations highlights the conflict between different interest groups within universities and the different social, economic, and political systems that affect the operation of universities. As shown in the research, universities and educational units are more complex and diverse than other organisations, such as businesses for example. This diversity is due to the human factor, which is the basis upon which higher education evolves and is shaped. For instance, studies of higher education organisations (Baldridge, 1971; Conrad, 1978; Sporn, 1999) focus on the political actions or strategies of different groups who clash, negotiate, and co-operate in order to impose their own interests. In

another study, Maassen (2003) outlines the complexity of the university in terms of the structure, mission, and goals of the institution. The organisation of universities, the establishment of their structural characteristics, and their mission and goals are the starting point for a dialectic process between their identity and social being. This dialectical process leads to the creation of new academic and institutional identities. In many cases, however, this process is dominated by the resistance of people involved in the educational reality and their refusal to accept change, resulting in a barrier to change in individual and institutional identities (ibid). Marginson (2006) also describes the forces that result in higher education becoming a complex system. These include:

> '(1) Global flows and networks of words and ideas, knowledge and finance, and inter-institutional dealings; with (2) national higher education systems shaped by history, law, policy, and funding; and (3) individual institutions operating at the same time, locally, nationally, and globally' (p. 1).

Similarly, Saarinen and Välimaa (2012) relate the complexity of the university as an organisation to the multiplicity of organisational and individual identities. More specifically, they describe the higher education institution as:

> 'a complex social entity with many organisational layers of governance and decision-making processes, with conflicting interests between teaching and research at the same time, locally, nationally, and globally' (p. 239).

Change may therefore be prevented by partisan behaviour, different goals and interests, and the different mindsets and values of individuals, as indicated in the definitions of change as a 'continual, reiterative, and intertwined process' (Neave, 2012, p. 37), or as 'a political crutch, used to advocate various different goals and for constructing different political approaches' (Saarinen and Välimaa, 2012, p. 41). Amaral, Fulton and Larsen (2003) suggest that market-oriented strategies are not accepted to the same extent, and in the same way, by universities. Nevertheless, the economic, social, and historical conditions affect the degree of acceptance of such changes.

Yet gaps exist in the theory and methodology of the discursive struggle of different ideological groups in higher education. For instance, the literature fails to discuss how the prevailing ideology that people adhere to within the universities affects the ways in which members of the organisation respond to change, or how the history of the university or the discourse of powerful groups affects the response of the dominated groups or individuals. This thesis provides a theoretical and empirical framework in which resistance to change can be analysed and discussed. The Discourse Historical Approach, and Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation, provide a thorough understanding of resistance to change in higher education institutions through an examination of the inequalities created by the new policies in

universities and society; the marginalisation of institutional culture, and academic values and interests; the impact of the institutional and social-political context on the implementation of the managerial ideology and its associated practices in higher education institutions; and how the dominant academic identities and the institutional identity of higher education institutions have been shaped by history; and how these are discursively constructed or re-constructed by those who support and oppose change. Understanding the constraints and possibilities provided by the institutions in the implementation of the new managerial ideology and practices is important because it can foster a dialogue about how we can change the culture of a university. The discourse within universities will not change until the culture changes.

2.2. Identity and change

The impact of the new social and economic context on academic work and knowledge boundaries, as well as changes in student and university identities, are emphasised by a number of studies in the field of academic identity. Academic work combines the involvement of academics and non-academics in the structural developments and strategies of universities (Deem, Hillyard and Reed, 2007; Enders and de Weert, 2009; Knight and Lightowler, 2010). With the intensification of globalisation, the use of information technology, and the speed and diversity of the changes, academic work and knowledge boundaries have changed (Neave, 2009; Marginson, 2009; de Weert, 2009; Enders and de Weert, 2009). As a result of the complexity of economic and social issues, knowledge has now become ‘multidisciplinary’ and ‘trans-disciplinary’ (Henkel, 2012, p. 166), and exceeds the ability of any one discipline, thus requiring a ‘multidisciplinary’ and ‘interdisciplinary’ approach. Individuals from different disciplines participate in research projects, facilitating the production and dissemination of new knowledge across disciplines and sites that are subject to the control of different stakeholders. For instance, the employment of ‘knowledge exchange professionals’ or ‘knowledge brokers’ by many universities in the UK creates organisational benefits because it facilitates the exchange and dissemination of knowledge between different stakeholders such as universities and enterprises (Knight and Lightowler, 2010). Other staffing arrangements increasingly include academic managers and other professionals employed to meet new expectations and structures in universities’ needs in areas such as internal and external funding, information systems, human resource management, marketing and public relations, knowledge transfer, and public-private partnerships (Enders and de Weert, 2009). As discussed by Henkel (2012), the new demands created by the prospect of university entrepreneurship opened the borders and horizons of universities to a global space that deconstructed the entrenched structures of teaching, research, and administration, thus necessitating academics to develop new skills, to broaden the content and objects of research, and to encourage technological applications and the utilisation of economic resources.

Cardoso (2012) also points out that the change in the nature of the relations between the state and universities through funding was provoked by the increasing perception of universities as being institutions that play important roles in creating knowledge and human and cultural capital, solving economic and social problems, and sending proficient graduates into the rapidly changing knowledge-based labour market. As a method of responding to the requirements of the market economy, study programmes were designed to train students in certain skills and competencies, attributing higher education with an increasingly utilitarian and vocational character (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Roades, 2004; Olssen and Peters, 2005; Scott, 2009; Barnett, 2012; Cardoso, 2012).

Hence, the identity of higher education as a public good has been reshaped as a service or product, and the students' identity as citizens benefitting from a public service has been altered to that of clients or consumers (Bergan, 2003; Marginson, 2006). Similarly, Cardoso (2012) states that when learners are reframed as customers, they are rehabilitated into cognisant performers of their instructive privileges, grasping the ability to describe strategies as well as to build sensible alternatives backed by informed and enhanced choice-making progressions which aim to optimise the fulfilment of their requirements and anticipation of high-quality education. As a result of massification, control and accountability have been strengthened by the state to improve quality processes (Rosa and Amaral, 2012; Sarrico and Melo, 2012). The strengthening of control and accountability has led academics to express dissatisfaction with the high level of bureaucratic work required to evaluate their performance and the limited time for this work, which can often turn their attention away from teaching, learning, and other academic issues (Metcalfe, 2012; Stensaker, Välimaa and Sarrico, 2012). Another study mentioned that academics have found it difficult to work in an environment with restricted freedom. They might conform to the system to prevent loss of pay or their position in the university, but they find the system difficult to accept and are likely to become disaffected as a result (Sarrico and Melo, 2012). Räsänen (2012) highlights the strengthened control that managers have on higher education processes. According to this study, managers see their interests as being inextricably represented by the practices of the new managerialism towards increasing the profit and reputation of their institution. Further to this, they feel that they risk losing power over academic activities and that an increase in academic freedom would lead to reactions against profit-making and the reputation of the institution. Deem, Hillyard and Reed (2007) argue that there is a requirement for reviewing the responsibility of supervisor-scholastics in preserving, as well as underpinning, community learning:

> 'If we really want to preserve higher education as a public service, then NM, privatization, increased use of performance indicators and further loss of trust in academic knowledge workers are clearly not the route of achieving this. Who our future manager-academics are, how they are appointed or selected, how they manage

> academic knowledge work, and how they are supported whilst they do this, are critically important. The future of higher education does not lie in the over-managed institutionalized mistrust that currently bedevils it, but in rethinking what the academic enterprise is about, how it relates to the public realm and how it can be best organised to release research and teaching-focused creativity and energy' (pp. 99-100).

Indeed, the creation of distrust in the academic world about the future of higher education suggests that in order to find a true expression of democratic ideals, the university must leave the business culture behind and return to the traditional academic values of academic freedom and autonomy. This has been realised in other countries as well which have refused to subordinate their higher education systems to the ideology and practices of NPM. Assessing the impact of NPM reforms in European countries, Amaral, Fulton and Larsen (2003) demonstrated:

> 'The attempted imposition of new managerial culture and values has been met almost everywhere by counter-movements of resistance, and these have so far averted the complete victory of new ideology, even in those countries where the emergence was more virulent' (p. 292).

The above studies assume particular views about the acts and processes of higher education, which are subject to discourse. However, they explain identity construction in narrow terms without considering how factors, such as the cultural aspects of organisational life, and the institutional and social structures which constrain or help the adaptation of universities to change, shape the construction of identities. For example, Stensaker, Henkel, Välimaa and Sarrico (2012) explain that the understanding of specific processes and situations related to the construction of academic identity in and around new practices and procedures is somewhat limited. Indeed, few studies have mentioned the phenomena of resistance to the values and practices of the New Public Management in countries such as Portugal, Norway, Australia, and the UK. For instance, de Boer (2003, p. 105) found in their case studies that a 'culture of democracy' persisted and they suggested that history matters in the intensity of the managerial ideology and its impact on higher education institutions. Also, Amaral, Magalhães and Santiago (2003, pp. 150-151) suggested that the 'rhetoric appears so mitigated and intertwined with other types of discourses that one feels tempted to doubt the existence of strong managerialism in the Portuguese higher education context'. Fulton (2003, p. 173) also found a 'hybridised form of new managerialism developed within existing organisational forms' and 'a contested and still unpredictable discursive struggle between competing views of university and knowledge workers'. Meek (2003, p. 198) suggested that 'the new managerialism may eventually transform the professional culture and work practices of academe'. For the above reasons, Carsen (2003) argued that:

> ‘Leadership in an academic organisation is a balancing act between collegiality, hierarchy, politics and business where department heads need to find their role among different governing ideologies’ (p. 86).

For this reason, as de Boer (2003) argues, there is also the possibility that the poor implementation of reforms make it difficult to implement policy in universities since ‘unexpected or perverse effects are not uncommon and can be frustrating and counter-productive’. Hence, it is advisable to pay particular attention to the viewpoint of academics about the new policies, which will have an impact on the implementation of the new policies.

2.3. Research challenges in policy implementation

Although research has been carried out at the hypothetical and experiential levels, dealing with how educational staff recognise expansion and policies in advanced learning, there are questions that remain unanswered about the relationship between the reforms and the real changes that take place in academic work (Maassen, 2003; Enders and de Weert, 2009; Rosa and Amaral, 2012; Metcalfe, 2012; Cardoso, 2012; Sahlin, 2012; Stensaker, Välimaa and Sarrico, 2012). Many authors have argued the existence of unanswered questions relating to collective academic values, shared governance, academic freedom, good management communication and the new meanings given to labour relations, and how these are affected by the terms of the New Public Management in different national and institutional contexts (Marginson, 2009; Enders, de Boer and Leisyte, 2009; Scott, 2009; Musselin, 2009; Fairweather, 2009; Cummings, Fisher and Locke, 2011; Kahlin, 2012; Dill, 2012). For this reason, research into resistance in the context of modern education culture created by the new policies is important, because it can lead to conclusions about the reasons for a mismatch between changes in the structure and mission of universities and the mentality and values of the individuals therein.

For this reason, Saarinen, Välimaa and Sarrico (2012) emphasise that, when attempting to understand the impacts of change, the ideological power related to change should also be considered. They state that policy in higher education is validated through a constant requirement for transformation: however, the issue may be more about whose viewpoint turns out to be the dominant one (ibid). Policy dialogues, as examples of policy-making, can be portrayed as encounters for meaning as they unavoidably turn out to be conflicts for planning supremacy and this meaning making is a conflict consisting of arguments derived from the cultural, political, and social spheres being fought over using politically, socially, and culturally motivated arguments (ibid).

Similarly, Metcalfe (2012), who considered the changes in the culture of research, argues that the empirical study of research culture is not typically found in policy studies where attention is

given to the economic activities of universities. Rosa and Amaral (2012) refer to quality assurance, stating that the viewpoints and outlooks, as well as the views of academics, in the direction of quality assurance are still immature topics of study. As a result, questions are often raised about the level of uptake of European Commission policies according to various state regulations. Likewise, Cardoso (2012) argues that transformations in the attitudes of learners, as well as the levels at which they internalise customer individuality must, on the other hand, comprise the focal point of the prospective study, considering the lack of such research on this matter. Sahlin (2012) disagrees with those who argue that there is only one type of change, or one perfect way of how governance or management should act on universities at a certain moment.

> ‘There are a number of open questions as to which organisational models dominate and how these varied organisational ideals mix and convert into common practice. For this reason, an important task for leaders in academia is to promote critical discussion internally, so as to build trust in university systems, even in the basic idea of what universities are and what universities are for … this points to the urgent need for much research on research, on reforms of university systems and on the role of universities’ (pp. 218-219).

Also, Stensaker, Välimaa and Sarrico (2012) identified a number of unanswered questions regarding change into higher education institutions, such as what is the meaning given to new practices and procedures, and how are new rules and routines culturally embedded and translated into universities and colleges? To research these questions, we need to delve into the micro-processes of academic life. Further, Stensaker, Välimaa and Sarrico (2012) suggested a twofold approach to the research of academic identity by examining how universities, colleges, units within these institutions, and also individuals, are all trying to make sense of, and cope with, external demands while simultaneously examining their own beliefs within their institutional or group values and norms.

Yet, despite the number of studies on academic identity, there is still a gap in the research about resistance to change in higher education institutions from an interdisciplinary point of view. As described in the previous sections, resistance to neoliberal change is a phenomenon that concerns not only Greece, but also other countries. This thesis contributes to an understanding of identity construction in the context of the specific form of organisational conditions of Greek universities in and around the recent policies, and offers new perspectives at the theoretical and empirical levels about how change is presented, the points of existing resistance, and reasons for the resistance, constraints, and possibilities provided by the institutions themselves. Combining CDA (the DHA) with Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) articulation theory can show how meanings are constructed and which meanings prevail or are undermined in a particular discursive field of articulation.

This study highlights the need for a holistic methodological approach towards change in universities that will provide a deeper understanding of academic culture. The evidence from this exploration will support the resolution of conflict between the different interests and ideologies, and so will contribute to the effective implementation of policy change in higher education.

However, before the examination of the political speeches and interviews with the faculty and students, I will present the landscape in which the policy changes, and the resistance to these changes, took place in Greece.

2.4. The Europeanisation of Greek higher education (1999-2008)

From 1999 onwards, the Treaty of Bologna has obliged the Greek government to alter higher education to fall in line with the decisions made at the European level. Therefore, the Greek government has taken a series of steps to progressively achieve the implementation of the terms of the Bologna agreement. This course of adjustment has been fraught with difficulty due to strong political and social resistance and also because the historical path of development within the Greek educational system had previously fostered elements that were not amenable to change or adaptation to the new externally-imposed demands.

Having accepted the Bologna agreement, the Greek government proceeded to implement changes in the structure and functions of higher education. In a seminar organised in Athens (26-27 June, 2006), the Minister of Education, Marietta Yannakou (2006), referred to the aims of, and the role that, Greek higher education must play in Europe, in light of the new political, social, and economic conditions:

> 'Higher education has a dual mandate: on the one hand, it should promote democracy, tolerance and social cohesion; on the other, it fuels economic development through the creation of knowledge and skills' (p. 2).

Hence, decisions about higher education should derive from cooperation between three actors, 'the state (guaranteeing access for all), the social partners, and the knowledge-based economy and society' (ibid).

During this period, and within the framework of a campaign to promote the internationalisation and exportability of Greek higher education, the International Hellenic University was established (Law 3391/2005). Other important changes took place during this period, as well as after the establishment of the Lisbon strategy (March 2000). In 2005, Law 3374/2005 determined that specific evaluation procedures were to be monitored through the Authority for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, which had administrative independence from the Ministry of Education in order to coordinate and support evaluation procedures.

In 2007, Marietta Yannakou introduced Law 3549/2007 for 'the reform of the Institutional Framework for the Structure and Operation of Higher Education Institutions', which replaced the previous laws on higher education institutions, aiming to increase the independence of universities from state control and also to ensure transparency in their operations (Explanatory memorandum, 2007). This was followed by Law 3696/2008 through which the government legitimised the establishment and function of private colleges. This legislation aimed to resolve the 'anarchic landscape' of private higher education in Greece, to improve the quality of education, and to further the modernisation of higher education according to European Community law, but with respect to the national legislation (Explanatory memorandum, 2008). One of the paradoxes of the Greek education system is that, although the provision of higher education by the private sector is prohibited by the Greek Constitution (article 16, par. 5), private colleges or universities operate in Greece with impunity and in abundance. However, their degrees are not recognised by the Ministry of Education and, as a result, graduates from these colleges cannot work in the public sector. In addition, private colleges or universities operating in Greece have been criticised for the low quality of their courses and the lack of expertise of their teaching staff.

2.5. The participation of Greek universities in the Bologna Process

In Greece, the implementation of the Bologna Process started in 1999. According to Kyriazis (2005, 2007, 2008), the structure of degree programmes were accordingly transformed in the following ways:

- The establishment of three cycles of studies (undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral studies).
- The operation of a national credit system (ECTS) as a transfer system for promoting the mobility of students to attend other European universities.
- The incorporation of the Diploma Supplement (DS) which facilitates the recognition of academic qualifications.
- The implementation of a quality assurance and assessment system.

In addition, the main challenges which Greek universities face in responding to the goals of the Bologna process and to increase the 'openness' and 'attractiveness' of higher education are mentioned in the national report on Greece (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 22). This identifies the following specific challenges for Greek universities:

- The amendment of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution to allow for the provision of higher education by private universities.

- The complete revision of the structure and functions of Greek higher education (Law 1268/1982) so that universities are provided with more autonomy and flexibility.
- The revision of the research policy of Greek higher education institutions.
- The need for the internationalisation of the Greek higher education system.
- The establishment of new postgraduate programmes corresponding to the development of technology.
- The establishment of interdisciplinary programmes and the reinforcement of research.

In order for the education sector to respond to the decisions in the European treaties on higher education, Greece reformed its education legislation by creating two laws: Law 3649/2007 'Reform of the Structure and Operation of Higher Education Institutions' and Law 3696/2008 concerning the operation of private colleges in Greece.

As noted, Greece was slow to implement the Bologna Agreement in comparison with other European countries (OECD, 2008, p. 76). Greek universities have had little inclination to adapt to the trends of internationalisation and globalisation. International students represent less than 3% of tertiary level students in Greece (ibid., p. 62), while the country is one of the major exporters of students studying abroad (ibid., p. 62). In addition, the expenditure (educational, economic, and any other costs) on universities in Greece comes directly from the state budget, with private expenditure accounting for less than 5% of funding, in comparison with other OECD countries where private expenditure accounts for a much larger share (ibid., p. 242). Furthermore, according to a recent OECD Economic Survey of Greece (OECD, 2009, p. 11), it is stated that 'the Greek university system, which is composed of public universities, is rigid and lacks well-performing evaluation mechanisms'.

The late implementation by Greece of the Bologna Agreement may be attributed to the lack of transformational strategies and know-how in the internal processes of Greek universities in comparison with other European countries. This deficit is also implied in the OECD Economic Survey of Greece 2007 (OECD, 2007, p. 10), according to which the New Democracy government educational reforms of 2007-2008 'appear modest in relation to how far Greece lags behind OECD countries', as mentioned in Chapter One. In addition, there remains a need to introduce evaluation and accountability methods, achieve greater transparency, and decentralise higher education from state control through amendments to the Greek Constitution (OECD, 2009, p. 2).

In addition, the late implementation of the Bologna process in Greece may be attributed to a wider ideological debate about structural changes in Greek higher education. In a report by the Ministry of National Education in Greece (2003, pp. 3-4), it was stated that although the three

study cycles had been implemented at the undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral levels, there was still widespread support among political parties, the government, higher education institutions, and tertiary education students for undergraduate courses lasting four years, rather than the three years designated by the Bologna process. From the point of view of opponents, the restriction of studies to three years would lead to the 'professionalisation' and 'de-academicisation' of studies, and undermine academic content by preserving only those courses which were considered to be relevant to the needs of the market (Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, 2003, pp. 3-4). Therefore, both the Greek government and the universities refused to implement the agreed three-year study ceiling for most degree courses (apart from subjects such as Medicine and Architecture) (Greece, National Report, Berlin, 2003, pp. 3-4). As a result, the proposed three-year degree programmes were not implemented in Greek universities.

Another reason for the late implementation of the Bologna process was the highly centralized structure of Greek universities. The history of Greek higher education demonstrates that their highly centralized character created opportunities for political parties to intervene and control their operations (see Chapter Two). As noted by Stamoulas (2006), the weighty tradition of centralist management in Greek tertiary education made university professors suspicious of the motives behind the reforms, and fuelled fears that quality assurance would be used to further tighten administrative control over public AEIs (cited in OECD, 2008, p. 141). As Kladis (2007) concluded, on the one hand, the delays of implementation at the national level can be attributed to resistance due to a suspicious attitude against the countries, organisations, or institutions who designed the Bologna reforms for European higher education and, on the other hand, to the fact that politicians and policy-makers undermined the significance of the Bologna reforms and focused on the minor problems in Greek higher education.

Furthermore, ideological conflict and fear of change to the already established institutional culture seemed to prohibit the full implementation of the Bologna Process in Greek higher education (OECD, 2008, p. 141). The ideological conflict which had been created during that period is described by Panousis (2007) as follows:

> 'We have an ideologically misty landscape. [The university] is invited to self-clarify. What are the characteristics of a Greek university? Is it a place for production of specialised scientists and ideologically neutral? Is it a place of education and training of an elite destined to become the hegemonic group? Is it a place for the cultural and political confrontation of mass movements? Is it a vulgar place of financial transactions and favours?' (p. 397).

Therefore, the quality assessment system did not contain any form of accreditation, nor did it aim at ranking or grading the Greek universities (National Report, Greece, Berlin, 2003, p. 5). According to a later survey,

> 'Overall, academics were afraid that the 'penetration of such terms as competition and evaluation in higher education, including the introduction of new procedures of appointment and dismissal, plus performance-based pay, will erode job security' (Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society, Thematic Review of Tertiary Education: Synthesis Report, OECD, 2008, p. 141).

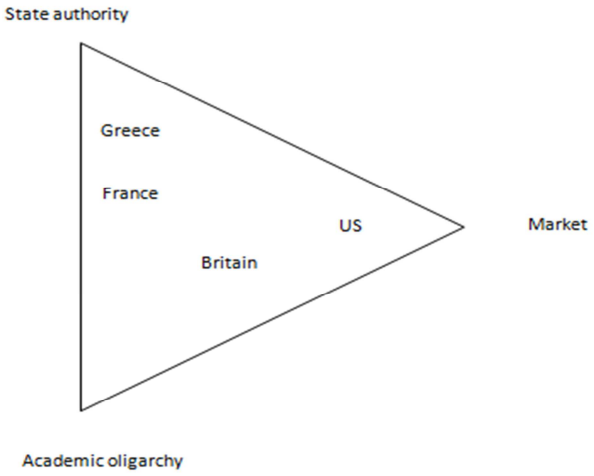
Below, I explain the structure, functions, and problems of Greek higher education, in light of the fact that the new policies were a result of a series of debates on how Greek higher education could change and respond more effectively to social, political, and economic conditions at the national and international levels.

2.6. The structure of Greek higher education

Greek higher education incorporates the Advanced Education Institutions (AEIs) and the Advanced Technological Education Institutions (ATEIs) (Ministry of Education, 2012). Students enter the AEIs or ATEIs after examinations in the third grade of the Lyceum (taken at 15-17 years old) (ibid). Initially, AEIs and ATEIs were not comparable, but after Law 1404/83 was passed, TEIs became equal in status to AEIs, offering four years of study. Law 2083/92 also established the Hellenic Open University, which offers undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in various fields delivered through distance learning programmes. In addition, there are public and private institutions (IEK) for vocational training. These belong to the post-compulsory secondary education sector and are not part of the higher education system (ibid). Therefore, they provide degrees or study programmes that are not academically equal to higher education institutions (AEIs and TEIs) (ibid; Eurypedia, 2012). There are also private colleges offering a range of degrees, which are however not recognised by the Greek government (Greek Constitution, Article 16).

In the Greek higher education system, the state has been the main actor for providing equality of educational opportunities, while policies in higher education based on 'participatory democracy' have reinforced democracy in this process. Clark (1983, p. 143) uses a triangle to depict the cooperation between three particular dimensions of higher education. These are the state authority, the academic oligarchy, and the market. The Clark triangle (1983) can be used to depict the coordinating actors within the Greek higher education system as well as representing the 'diversity' of the Greek system.

Figure 1. *The case of Greek universities*



The Greek higher education system is located very close to state authority in the above triangle. This location indicates that the government strongly attempts to guide the decisions and actions of universities through regulations and laws (Neave and Vught, 1994, p. 6). As Bleiklie (2000, p. 63) states, 'to what extent the state seeks to manage the institutions by tight-knit control usually manifests itself through legislation and budgetary policy.' According to the Greek Constitution, the funding of universities derives from the public budget since students do not pay fees (Greek Constitution, article 16, par. 1, 4). The general aims of education in Greece are determined by Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, which identifies education with national democracy and identity, and thus determines the aims of education as being to prepare students to act as 'free' and 'responsible citizens' in society (par. 2). Higher education is provided only by institutions that operate under public law and the supervision of the state (par. 5), and this prohibits the establishment of non-state universities. In addition, although the Greek Constitution maintains that Greek universities de jure 'are fully self-governed' (par. 5), they are actually *de facto* state-controlled since the final decision on all aspects of university policy (appointment of staff, the design of the curriculum, their funding, their entry requirements, and the number of students) must be approved by the Ministry of Education (par. 5).

The Greek higher education system is also closely related to the academic oligarchy. In this relationship, powerful student groups have significant influence. More specifically, students participate in the main administrative bodies of the universities, the senate and the rector's office; and, as has been noted, they participate in the election of rectors, vice-rectors, deans, and heads of departments. These academic groups have been effective in obstructing the implementation of educational reforms. Other academic groups which influence decision-making in the universities are the Hellenic Federation of University Teachers Associations consisting of aligned sub-groups and associations, all of which have power as part of POSDEP

(Hellenic Federation of University Teachers' Associations). Finally, the system is located somewhat remotely from the market and the economy. Courses do not meet the demands of the market, and so a large number of graduates remain unemployed (Section 2.4) (Gouvias, 1998; Saiti and Prokopiadou, 2008). Recent reforms in higher education have attempted to give universities financial and managerial autonomy from the state, and to resolve the current problems of Greek universities, such as the lack of flexibility in decision-making, insufficient funding by the state, corruption, the lack of transparency, the poor quality of studies and services, and the high rate of unemployment amongst graduates. These reforms are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

2.7. The financing of universities

The main source of funding for the higher education sector in Greece is the regular state budget, since students do not pay fees for undergraduate studies. This position was established in the Greek Constitution (article 16, par. 2), according to which 'education constitutes a basic mission of the State [...]', and, 'all Greeks are entitled to free education at all levels at State educational institutions' (par. 4). In addition, universities receive European funds through budgets or through research and participation in EU programmes, such as the Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training II (EPEAEK II) in the context of the Community Support Framework (Ministry of Education, 2013). Private contributions derive from tuition fees that students pay for postgraduate studies (Law 2083/1992). According to Law 3549 initiated in 2007, there was an agreement in the Senate for AEIs and the Assembly for ATEIs, and the General Assemblies of the Departments, on operational expenditures (e.g. payment of teaching and research staff, equipment, distribution of free textbooks, scholarships) and funds from the EU and other financial resources. From this time, every proposal for funding must be submitted to the Ministry of Education to be approved, and for funds to be allocated.

2.8. Problems in Greek higher education

In order to understand the progress of Greek higher education in adapting to European educational structures, it is necessary to explain the problems inherent within Greek higher education institutions. These problems are related to their educational functions, their structures, the curriculum, their financial functions, the labour market, and their relationship with the state and with Greek society in general.

Increased demand

After the change of regime in 1974 and the efforts made to democratise higher education in Greece, the demand for university education rose sharply. The number of students multiplied for two main reasons. First, there was a need, in the eyes of the government, for higher general

levels of education amongst the populace. Second, there was the need for citizens to acquire more and better opportunities for employment and personal economic improvement (OECD, 1982, 1984; Gouvias, 1998; Katsikas and Therinos, 2004; Saiti and Prokopiadou, 2008). These reasons may explain why, despite the competitiveness of the national examinations system, a considerable number of students still want to apply for higher education places in Greece.

Political clientelism

'Political clientelism' in universities refers to the concentration of power in the hands of political parties or other groups (student groups or academic staff), which attempt to influence decisions in universities. This takes place through the exchange of favours among political parties, student groups, and academic staff to support particular candidates for the positions of rector or vice-rector.

After the seven-year dictatorship ended in 1974, the main objective of the government was to ensure transparency, independence, and educational democracy (Karmas, Lianos and Kalamatianou, 1988). For this reason, the participation of teaching staff and students was mandated to be part of the decision-making process within the university system. However, while Law 1268, introduced by the PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) government in 1982, contributed initially to the democratisation of public universities, it also allowed the development of intense political partisanship with resulting ideological and political conflicts. This partisanship had a negative effect on the democratic framework of the universities. In all processes of university life, such as the election of rectors and the appointment of teaching staff, the influence of partisanship was rife. That is, the political parties managed to gain supporters for their interests among both the students and the faculty (Firippis, 2009). Such partisanship has been identified as contributing to a decline in the quality of education (Gouvias, 1998; Gemtos, 2007; Karmas, Lianos and Kalamatianou, 1988).

In addition, it has been claimed that partisan support for the government is reflected in the establishment of universities in remote provincial areas, despite there being minimal uptake of places on courses from students in such areas (Pesmazoglou, 1994; Liagouras, Protogerou and Caloghirou, 2003). The establishment of these universities was aimed at increasing the number of students and supplying financial subsidies to these areas.

Unemployment

The 'demagogic strategy' of successive governments since 1974 is considered to be among the main reasons for the high rates of graduate unemployment. The high rates of unemployment are considered to be caused by the inability of university faculties to provide students with the

requisite education to train and prepare them for the modern job market (Gouvias, 1998, p. 329; Liagouras, Protogerou and Caloghirou, 2003, p. 416).

Social inequality

Intense debate exists amongst education researchers about the negative role that the absolute control of public universities by the state plays in Greece (Patrinos, 1992; Psacharopoulos, 2003). Underfunding by the state undermines public universities, such that private universities are considered, by some, to provide a better education than public universities. Those who can afford to pay fees in private universities in Greece or abroad often acquire better training, resulting in them finding a job more easily than those who have graduated from public universities (Pagoulatos, 2007; Ksanthopoulos, 2005). This only serves to perpetuate social inequality. The strengthening of the autonomy of public universities could rectify this by giving them the opportunity to enhance their economic power and improve the quality of education that they provide to students (Stamoulas, 2005).

Another source of social inequality in Greek higher education is the admissions system. The national entrance examinations are extremely competitive and demanding, which forces families to invest an immense amount of money in private tuition in order to prepare students for these examinations. If the students do not succeed, they will often elect to study in a private university in Greece or abroad (Patrinos, 1992; Psacharopoulos, 2003). As a result, those who cannot afford to pay for private tuition face far greater obstacles to university entrance.

The above problems are indicated in the literature as long-term problems that produced flaws in Greek higher education and prevented the public university from accomplishing its social mission and goals. In the new landscape of the EU, and through signing the Bologna Declaration in 1999, Greece undertook a significant commitment to the European Commission. Through the new policies (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008), the neoliberal government sought to resolve the deadlock with the Greek universities and lead them towards progress and development (House Proceedings, 2004, 2007, 2009.

2.9. New Policies in Greek Higher Education

Law 3549/2007: 'The reform of the framework for the structure and operation of higher education institutions'

This section examines the particular reforms to the higher education system, which provoked the opposition of the political parties, teaching staff, and students in the 2007-2008 period and which, as a result, have not been implemented in most universities, or have only been partially implemented in some instances. In 2007, the Minister of Education, Marietta Yannakou, introduced Law 3549 concerning the structure and operation of higher education institutions

which replaced the previous arrangements. The reforms were in response to the new economic and social conditions at the national and international levels. They also gave universities independence from the Ministry of Education and increased transparency in decision-making. It will suffice to present here the key points that illustrate the new orientation of higher education, which has provoked resistance.

The legislation begins by stating the mission and purposes of higher education and knowledge in Greece, which are, in the main, humanitarian. Article One contains two important points: (a) the great value of knowledge, research, training, and culture; and (b) the contribution of higher education to shaping personalities who will support the construction of personal knowledge and culture, in order that students shall respect the universal values of justice, freedom, democracy, and solidarity.

Article 2 correlates Advanced Education Institutions (AEIs) with the Advanced Technological Education Institutions (ATEIs). It arranges and guarantees that the technological institutions are also higher education institutions (ATEI). The distinction between higher education institutions (AEI) and technological institutions (TEI) has been a strong source of conflict between them, largely because the technological institutions (TEI) were seen as having a lower status than AEIs.

Article 3 is also important in making significant changes to the law on asylum. It aims to protect academic asylum and the academic freedoms of those who wish to show their opposition to the policies of the government and to act as they wish to (even through the destruction of university property, physical occupation of buildings, and dangerous on-campus attacks on the police). The new law limits asylum only to places where education and research take place. At present, the asylum law forbids the police from entering university grounds and, as such, protects the right of students to debate, show dissent, and protest.

In Chapter Two of the same law on the governance and economic management of universities, it can be seen that the intention of the law is to turn universities into institutions that manage their own financial and administrative affairs. A particularly important change is that which is referred to as the planning of academic development, because it aims to give universities autonomy, to secure transparency in financial processes, and to connect universities with the new economy. Prior to the new legislation, the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs was involved in the process of allocating funds. Each university must now implement this strategic planning process over the next four years in order to receive funding. If the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Economics do not approve the strategic plan, funding will not be granted. In addition, if a university does not submit such a plan, then the funding by the state is interrupted. The programme is prepared in collaboration with all academic units (the

Senate of each university or the Assembly for ATEIs, and the General Assemblies of the Departments). The four-year development plan deals with administrative issues such as the development and improvement of infrastructure and services, the development of education and research programmes according to the development of universities in other European countries, and the number of students who enrol in the various departments each year. It also defines financial issues such as university expenditure, public investment, and the planning of financial resources. With the above article, public university management has acquired entrepreneurial characteristics, such as the right to conduct strategic planning (paragraph 1), make investments, and to seek other sources of funding (paragraph 3). The above change, as will be examined further in Chapters Four to Six of this study, has provoked a major debate among political parties, students, and teaching staff.

Chapter Three of the new legislation concerns the organisation of administrative issues in higher education institutions, with Article 8 referring to the process of the election of rectors and vice-rectors. In this process, students have important voting powers regardless of their turnout. This policy has created an enduring controversy between the government and teaching staff because it was considered ineffective in resolving the problems of corruption, which are perennially endemic to this election process. The low level of student participation in relation to their significant voting power was considered by academic staff to favour the creation of clientelist relationships between students and candidates.

Article 14 is also significant because it aims to resolve the problem of ‘eternal students’ in public universities who were studying beyond the normal period of study as determined by law. The new law serves to stop this by limiting the duration of an extension to a maximum of two semesters and is allowed only by the decision of the Senate in AEIs or by the Assembly in ATEIs at the request of the student and a reasoned recommendation by the General Assembly. After the expiry of the maximum study time, students are considered to have lost their student status. Students who have exceeded the above limitation period of attendance are required to submit a report to the Secretariat if they wish to continue their studies. If they choose do to so, they can continue for an overall total of five years. If they do not want to continue their studies, they are removed from the records of the university and excluded from student welfare services and privileges.

Another significant change was the abolition of the so-called ‘system of multiple books’, whereby universities distributed more than one textbook per class to each student. This system provided students with a broad knowledge of their subjects as well as assisting those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In Article 15, it is stated that there is a list of textbooks for each compulsory and optional module. This list is organised by the General Assembly of each department and students are to select one textbook for each compulsory and optional module.

The above change provoked the resistance of students and teaching staff because it undermined free education and seemed to discourage wider reading and the acquisition of a broader field of knowledge by students (Chapter Six).

Article 18 legislates for transparency in all university activities. Universities have an obligation to publicise on their website all available information about their governing bodies and their decisions, their financial resources, the sum and management of their financial resources relating to offers to students, the number of registered students, details of the institution's infrastructure and teaching staff, and their undergraduate and postgraduate study offerings.

Particularly important is Article 19, which deals with the social accountability of universities. For the first time, universities are required to take full responsibility for their own operations and are obliged to submit annual reports detailing their programmes and functions to parliament. Based on the contents of these submissions, the Minister of Education is required to submit an annual report to parliament on the situation of higher education in the country. As a result, the information is available to the public and the progress of universities in Greece is open for public scrutiny and discussion. The annual report by the Minister of Education must include:

1. The development of, and discussion on, the agendas and reports of the universities;

2. An overall evaluation of the situation of higher education and of future perspectives and proposals; and

3. An evaluation of the efficiency of the state of higher education, taking into account the stated objectives and critical perspectives.

During the discussion in parliament and according to its rules, representatives of the universities may be called for auditing. Finally, Article 22 guarantees the right of participation of teaching staff and students in trade unions. The aim of this article is for collective expression and democracy to be mutually reinforced in the administration of universities.

The measures outlined above demonstrate, at least in theory, the state's intention to decentralise its power by transferring many of its responsibilities to the universities. However, the insufficient funding of public universities does not guarantee the implementation of the changes proposed by the new policy (Law 3549/2007). In the interviews presented in Chapter Six, there is significant evidence that the state is unable to support the necessary infrastructure for teaching and research in universities. In spite of the new law in dealing with some of the important issues from the past, which for a long time have hindered the function of universities, this initiative has, in practice, proven to be ineffective.

Establishment and operation of private colleges and other conditions (Law 3696/2008)

In 2008, the New Democracy government, with Evripidis Stylianidis as the Minister of Education, introduced Law 3696/2008, which legalised the operation of private colleges in Greece. The new policy laid down the terms and conditions for the legalisation of those private colleges that were already in existence and for the establishment of new colleges in Greece. The government had initially tried to change Article 16 of the Greek Constitution for this purpose, but did not succeed due to the strong resistance of political parties, teaching staff, and students. In response, the government introduced Law 3696/2008. Opposition to the new law was overcome, and the law was passed by a majority of the members of parliament. With regard to this law, the provisions of the most important articles are outlined below.

In the first article, colleges are recognised as institutions of post-secondary education, but they are not equal to public education institutions. Most of the articles (2-9, 11, 15-25) refer to the terms and conditions for the establishment of colleges and their legitimacy. Article 20 sets out the financial obligations of the colleges and all the typical requirements with which they must comply with in order to be legal. An important point is the establishment of a special office within the Ministry of Education (Article 12), which is responsible for the evaluation of the colleges. Particularly important is the potential that this law gives, in Article 10, for educational cooperation and training with institutions abroad because it ensures that the quality of teaching and research complies with international standards. In this way, knowledge is developed through international collaboration for research, and in the exchange of students, and teaching and research staff. The above policy is also important because it leads to the achievement of the Bologna aims for international cooperation and academic exchange.

2.10. Actors who resist change

The political parties that reacted against the reforms (2007-2008) were PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement), which served as the main opposition party during this period, and some of the smaller parties, namely the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and the leftist 'Coalition of the Radical Left' (SYRIZA). The reforms of 2007-2008 aimed to change the traditional organisation and functions of Greek universities and were a response to the changing social and economic environment in Europe. Featherstone (2005), in examining the europeanisation of the public sector in Greece, noted that a general 'anti-globalisation' and 'anti-EU stance' characterised the KKE and the leftist 'Coalition of the Radical Left'. In addition, Bouzakis and Koustourakis (2002) explained the resistance of the communist parties to the reforms as deriving from ideological differences:

> 'The financial support provided by the European Community to Greek education is well-accepted by all the political parties, except for the communists who object that,

> by this means, Greece will be forced to adapt to the neo-liberal demands of international capital, Greece's dependence on it will remain and social inequality will be enforced' (p. 158).

Student groups also opposed the reforms. Other university groups in opposition to the changes were the main associations of academic and teaching staff. These included POSDEP (the Hellenic Federation of University Teachers' Association), which consists of aligned sub-groups and associations that represent different ideological positions. These were as diverse as, for example, the Democratic Universitarial Syspirosis (Δημοκρατική Πανεπιστημιακή Συσπείρωση, ΔΗΠΑΚ), the Movement for University Upgrading (Κίνηση Πανεπιστημιακής Αναβάθμισης, ΚΗΠΑΝ), and the Left Reform group (Αριστερή Μεταρρύθμιση). These groups all have university voting powers as part of POSDEP.

2.11. A discussion of Greek education policy and debates

Although there is some published discussion about the structural constraints on the effective management of Greek universities, there is very little academic research on the reasons why the students, faculty staff, and political parties of Greece resist the changes. As noted earlier, a few articles exist in the journal *'Science and Society'* (17-18, 2006), in which teaching staff express their views on the proposed changes to the structure and functions of Greek universities (Law 3549/2007) and the intention of the government to revise Article 16 of the Constitution. In these articles, the following reasons for resistance were identified:

- A lack of dialogue with students and teaching staff.
- A lack of trust towards the motives of the government.
- The ingrained institutional culture of Greek higher education.

Lack of dialogue with the students and teaching staff

Resistance to change in the 2007-2008 period seems to have been the result of a lack of communication between the government, the students, and teaching staff. The government attempted to shape the policy on the structure and functions of Greek universities (Law 3549/2007) without consulting university stakeholders, or undertaking research into the social, historical, political, and economic factors which define the context of the universities (Fountedaki, 2007, p. 187). Instead, the government relies on its own position and tries to impose its view through its own 'political monologue'. The absence of a fruitful dialogue on change in Greek universities is due to the intervention of groups which do not represent the interests of the universities or students, but support their personal or other political interests (ibid, p. 188). Hence, it was claimed, the government should have organised consultations with students and teaching staff in order to draft, agree upon, and implement the reforms.

Lack of trust towards the motives of the government

University teaching staff expressed feelings of mistrust towards the motives of the government in changing the structure and functions of Greek universities. This mistrust is reflected in staff claims, according to which the proposed changes to the structure and functions of Greek universities (Law 3549/2007) were perceived to serve only political and personal motives (Gotovos, 2007). In addition, the law did not provide autonomy and academic freedoms, or encourage international co-operation and exchange, which would have ensured the necessary conditions for teaching staff to respond effectively to their responsibilities (Katsoulis, 2007). Teaching staff also felt that the participation of students in the election of rectors and vice-rectors did not guarantee objective results, but favoured the development of clientelistic relationships between students and candidates, and the interference of political elites who would try to promote their own interests (Gotovos, 2007; Pagoulatos, 2007; Louloudis, 2007). In general, it seems that the changes which were proposed by the new legislation did not meet the expectations of those who anticipated that it would address the problems of higher education and create a climate of mutual trust between the government and the education community.

The ingrained institutional culture

Resistance also seemed to start from a fear that Law 3549/2007 would introduce marketing and economic models into the management of public universities, and would therefore limit their power and autonomy. More particularly, the introduction of economic models (for instance, accountability and a four-year development plan) in public universities undermined their public and social character for the following reasons. First, it was seen to be a first step towards the privatisation of public universities and education. It was maintained that universities would have to compete in order to attract students and to promote research and knowledge (Panagiotopoulos, 2007). Second, the introduction of economic models would lead to early specialisation in education, and provide only superficial knowledge of a subject, resulting in the problem of students being forced to retrain as the exigencies of the employment market changed (Gemtos, 2007).

From the point of view of the supporters of the new policy (Law 3549/2007), universities can serve the public benefit and survive only if they are open to market forces (Pagoulatos, 2007). This is because students and researchers select a university for their study based on the relevance of both the knowledge and the economic benefits provided. However, the need for the implementation of evaluation and accountability mechanisms was highlighted by the supporters of the changes as protecting the autonomy of universities from being undermined by political and economic factors (ibid).

2.12. An indication of the research methodology

This study attempts to provide an answer to the following general question: 'Why are Greek universities resistant to change?' In order to address this question, the thesis reviews the ways in which these discourses are ideologically constructed by means of the language that has been used, focusing on approaches and strategies that are ideological in nature and which are used by these actors (students, student groups, faculty members, politicians, and political parties). This analysis will be conducted through the actors' dialogues about Greek higher education in the context of their own specific backgrounds and biases, so as to advance their domination of the higher education sphere.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) through the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) provides a complete theoretical and methodological approach for the examination of discourse around higher education in Greece. The Discourse Historical Approach examines discourse as a form of social practice and as a means for establishing or changing power relations 'by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling access to specific discourses or public spheres' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 88). The DHA examines the discourses of different social actors in relation to the overall political and historical context.

The analysis of the discursive strategies of the different political speakers and participants in this study is the focus of Chapter Five of the thesis, while Chapter Six presents a corpus analysis of the political speeches and interview data. The aim of adopting this approach is to illuminate the similarities and differences in the arguments and ideologies that have framed the debates around higher education in Greece, in response to the implementation of reforms in Greek higher education in 2007-2008. It is hoped that the results of this study may offer an insight into the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education in the period 2007-2008 and prompt further reflection on the reasons for which higher education systems in the EU resist changes imposed by EU policies, as well as to propose a new theoretical framework in which resistance to change can be analysed and discussed.

2.13. Conclusion

This study responds to the research challenges mentioned in this literature review by providing an example of Greece as a country that, although a participant in the Bologna Process, has seen its academic communities and opposition political parties resist the reforms. It provides examples of the factors that hinder the implementation of new policies at the national and institutional levels, and the value that academic work, research, and knowledge accrue in the context of the new policies and in the minds of academics resistant to change. For this reason, in this thesis, the investigation into resistance to the new educational culture created in Greek

universities by changes in the EU context is significant, because this research can lead to a deeper understanding of the mismatch between changes in university structures and the refusal of the people involved in universities to adapt their identities and behaviours to the changes.

The centralised character of Greek higher education was established after the Papadopoulos dictatorship of 1967-1974, aimed at the social and economic development of the country. The state had confidence in its political power to protect democracy and education. For this reason, it created democratic laws and progressive educational institutions which contributed to the improvement of educational quality. However, it also created conditions of clientelism and corruption. Partisan interests and conflicts dominated, due to the interests of ideologically partisan groups.

Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008 aimed to resolve the ongoing problems of higher education by giving universities both administrative and financial autonomy, and by creating mechanisms of transparency and accountability within them. The present study discusses the new policies in Greek higher education by examining the discourse of the politicians, students, and teaching staff in the 2007-2008 period. The theoretical framework for the study is based on a Critical Discourse Analysis which seeks to deconstruct various concepts so as to analyse the resistance in Greek higher education. The methodology and data could be used by lawmakers to assist in bringing together the culture of academics, stakeholders, and individuals involved in educational change.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework: Critical Discourse Analysis

3.0. Introduction

In Chapter Two, the social and political context of Greek universities was presented showing the struggle for hegemony between the different actors and interest groups that takes place. In light of the Bologna Process, Greece has had to implement important changes in the structure and functions of its universities (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008). Also presented were major themes in the literature of change in European higher education and the gaps identified in the research knowledge. As the literature showed, the role of ideologies in managing change in higher education institutions is important as change comes from negotiation, dispute, and struggle between competing groups. The aim of this chapter is the development of a theoretical framework that can be employed to enhance our understanding of the struggle for hegemony in Greek higher education. I draw upon the theoretical model provided by Montessori (2009), who combines a theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Faiclough, 1992, 2001, 2003, 2010) with the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) to analyse the discursive startegies used by political parties, and the faculty and students, for achieving hegemony.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is intended as an analysis of the implicit and transparent structural relations of dominance, discrimination, power, and control expressed through language (Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Jäger and Maier, 2009; van Dijk, 2009). In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on the critical study of social inequality that is expressed in language or discourse. Within CDA is the methodological tool of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) which critically investigates social inequality through the triangulation of methods. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) examine the process of construction of political identities in the struggle for dominance through the creation of meaning. In this chapter, I will present critiques of the above theories and how they complement each other to provide a thorough understanding, and critique, of the resistance to change in Greek higher education.

3.1. Hegemony in Critical Discourse Analysis

Gramsci's theory of hegemony and Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory have influenced Critical Discourse Analysis and the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which is used in this study. Hegemony is described by Gramsci (1971) as the organisation of the consent of subordinate classes to the rule of the dominant class. It is also related to the mechanisms through which knowledge and beliefs are produced and disseminated. Gramsci (1971) considers ideology to be important when maintaining or challenging power relations. The class ideologies which manage to dominate come to reflect the 'common sense' of society and can be described as being the social logic of classes and society as a whole. These ideologies can create a unity and bind together different social classes, thereby creating relations of dominance and subordination (ibid). Gramsci sees society as a single field of hegemonic struggle in which a dominant class accomplishes alliances with other social and political classes, indicating a Marxist approach to hegemony (cited in Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 123).

Gramsci's perspective is contrary to the materialist dimension of ideology advocated by Althusser. According to Althusser (1971), the dominant ideology is the ideology of the ruling or dominant class. The repressive state apparatus uses the ideological state apparatus to reproduce the ideology of the dominant class of production. This ideology reproduces subjects with all the habits and thoughts required by the dominant class of production.

> 'I shall suggest that ideologies 'act' or function in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among individuals (it recruits them all), or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation, which I called interpellation or hailing […]' (Althusser, 1971, p. 162).

Althusser, according to Fairclough (1992), seems to undermine the capacity of individuals to oppose the dominant class, and also the possibility of changes in the relations of power.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985) also introduced the concepts of hegemony and social antagonism in discourse. According to Marxist theory, hegemony is the behaviour of the ruling class that attempts to re-produce the identity of subordinate groups according to its own ideology and values. This perspective of hegemony is criticized by Laclau (1997) who asserts that the ruling class cannot necessarily dominate because ideological elements are fluid and not static. Hegemony can be achieved by any social or political group that manages to articulate their ideology in a more neutral and convincing fashion than the others (Laclau, 1977).

> 'The classes exist at the ideological and political level in a process of articulation and not of reduction […]. A class is hegemonic not so much to the extent that is able to impose a uniform conception of the world on the rest of society, but to the extent that it can articulate different versions of the world in such a way that their potential antagonism is neutralised' (p. 161).

Hegemony can be achieved by creating a field of meaning and constructing the identities of subjects in a particular way (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). The products of hegemonic projects are systems of meanings (ibid). These meanings are described as the following: empty signifiers and nodal points; myths and social imaginaries; and the concepts of hegemonic universality versus hegemonic particularity. These meanings are described in detail in the next chapter.

Gramsci's notion of hegemony and Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theory of discourse help to orient the perspective of this study towards two particular dimensions: resistance to change by subordinate groups as a result of the unequal distribution of power, or in other words, resistance by subordinated groups who struggle against the government policies (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008) that subordinate their interests; and resistance to change as a practice between conflicting groups.

3.2. Hegemony and resistance in Greek universities

Greek higher education is an institutional space in which competing forces have attempted to acquire supporters and establish hegemony for their own purposes. These forces dwell in the European environment but with the national characteristics of Greek higher education. Also, powerful groups of political parties, students, and teaching staff, each with different agendas, act within universities in order to achieve hegemony. These different interest groups have struggled for acceptance of their political proposals in Greek higher education. In 2007, the government (the New Democracy Party) asked for a complete adjustment of Greek higher education in favour of European proposals. The main opposition party, PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement), asked for a partial adjustment, including protection and reinforcement of the national characteristics of Greek higher education, while the Leftist parties, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), played an important role in the opposition of the universities to the reforms. They challenged the policies of the government, calling for political parties, Greek citizens, labour, students, and academic staff to oppose the proposed policies.

These political parties, having sway over influential groups and supporters within the universities, such as the student factions and the teaching staff, pursued their dominance in universities and created a climate of competition between government, students, and teaching staff. Student parties resisted the changes and resorted to extreme actions, e.g. occupation of buildings and strikes, hindering the operation of the universities, thus attempting to compel the government to withdraw the laws. Students and teaching staff asked for increases in state funding, improvements in working conditions and full employment of teaching staff, protection of democracy and academic freedoms in the universities, and general protection and reinforcement of public universities against the risks of the commercialisation of higher

education. The concepts that were used by the different actors (political speakers, students, teaching staff), such as ‘democracy’, took on a different meaning according to the ideology of those who used them, so that the words acquired a ‘fluid’ meaning. This variance derived from the language through which meaning was expressed, the educational culture, the history, and the new political and social reality. In Chapter Five, their arguments and proposals for change are examined in detail.

Resistance therefore can be seen as a discursive struggle between conflicting groups who struggle for the dominance of their own interests. The social and political debate about change in Greek higher education displayed intense and particular historical and politico-national characteristics. This has been realised by certain universities who support the European orientation of higher education, while others insist that Greek universities should maintain their traditional national character. These characteristics were expressed through the particular discourses of those who attempted to dominate or those who resisted change.

This thesis aims to examine, in depth, the social struggles as well as the language of those groups who accepted or resisted the neoliberal policies (government, opposing political parties, students, teaching staff), in order to identify the differences that were expressed regarding change in Greek higher education.

3.3. Post-structuralism and post-Marxism: methods for research on change in higher education.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse Theory, which are used in this study, belong to post-structuralist and neo-Marxist theoretical frameworks. Structuralism is the starting point for the study of discourse in relation to social sciences. The basic principle of structuralism is the impact of the social structure on social institutions. An example of this influence is, for Saussure (1976), that language acquires meaning from the social context in which it is used. This means that signs are expressions of the ‘collective consciousness’. So, although individuals are free to select the signifier, they follow the rules of the linguistic community to which they belong. The signifier, although to all appearances freely chosen with respect to the idea that it represents, is fixed and not free with respect to the linguistic community that uses it (Saussure, 1974).

Post-structuralists reject this perspective and suggest that language expresses meanings, which are fluid and changing. They do not accept that there is a solid or fixed meaning, but hold that there are differences in meanings according to the receiver. In particular, post-structuralist theories reject the idea of universal truth and objective knowledge, and assert that truth is always partial, and knowledge is always produced from the experiences and intentions of individuals who receive the meaning (MacLure, 2003; Hammersley, 1995); for example, the

context in which discourse is produced, such as according to the political, ideological, cultural, and economic determinants of communication (Pennycook, 1994), or the interests of a social and political class (MacLure, 2003). However, post-structuralists have been criticized for their insistence on the examination of the ideological elements of discourse and being unable to provide an objective analysis of discourse.

Neo-Marxist theorists, such as Laclau and Mouffe, move in a different direction to the economic determinism of Marx, claiming that the ideologies which are expressed through discourse influence social systems (Peters, 2001). They provide post-structuralist and neo-marxist perspectives of the subject by introducing the concept of 'articulation' in discourse, and by examining discourse as a social and political practice. They explain how hegemony is accomplished by social forces through the process of articulation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), thus the process of articulation occurs in a place of conflict, power, and resistance (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). Articulation is defined as, '[…] any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice' (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001, p. 105).

Hence, hegemonic practices aim, through the process of articulation, to partially fix the meaning of social identities. So, discourse is characterized by the absence of a fixed centre, which fails to invoke a complete closure. In contrast to the Marxist approach, neo-Marxist theorists such as Fairclough (1992), are based on sociological and philosophical theory that perceive society in a dialectical relationship with discourse, and through this, they examine the unequal distribution of power in society. So, social structures, according to post-structuralist and neo-Marxist theories, are ambiguous, incomplete, and contingent systems of meaning and discourses that constitute symbolic systems and social orders (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000).

This explains why post-structuralist theories have influenced organisational theory and many elements have been adopted in the study and application of modern management. One view of the supporters of critical and post-structuralist approaches to management is that language has important implications for management and organisational effectiveness. Instead of a fixed and unitary knowledge of the world, post-structuralist approaches to language emphasise multiple realities, contradiction, and subjectivity (Burnes, 2009; Collins, 1998). Burnes (2009, p. 172) argues that 'in some organisations, there does not appear to be a settled and generally agreed view of reality; rather, what we see are competing interpretations put forward by competing groups and individuals.'

Changes at the global level influence all organisations and, as a result, new knowledge and new meanings are expressed through language and constitute new discourses (MacLure, 2003).

However, the resistance of groups or individuals may hinder change through different interests. For this reason, it is important for managers to understand the different meanings that individuals give to change (Hassart, 1999), and how discourse influences the relations of power to different groups in organisations (Burnes, 2009).

The above perspective corresponds with the subject of this research. Universities, as noted in Chapter Two, are complex organisations that are in a dialectical relationship with the social and political environment. The latest attempts at reform (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008) confirmed the intense influence of discourses on Greek higher education. For example, discourses about change in Greek higher education include the actions or practices of the government, opposition parties, students, and teaching staff, as well as the concepts or meanings about the negative and positive consequences of the new economy and entrepreneurship on universities. For example, autonomy, democracy, the market, and public education are used by the various groups (the government, the opposition political parties, students, and teaching staff) in different ways to argue for their particular cases. The approach to these concepts implies different forms of management. This is explained further in the analysis in Chapters Five and Six. Further, change in universities is hindered by competing interest groups, who express different ideologies.

In order to study this resistance to change in Greek higher education, Critical Discourse Analysis has been utilised and, in particular, the methodological tool of the DHA, which can provide a full analysis of the problem: the language used by the key actors in the Greek universities (teaching staff and students) and outside of it within the Greek parliament (politicians); the relationship between texts, genres, and discourses; the social and institutional frames; and the broader socio-political and historical context to which discursive practices are related (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Also of interest are the kinds of constructs that were employed in the discourse of the different actors for or against change, and the meanings that were given to them. So, the structures of meanings (empty signifiers and nodal points, myth and the social imaginary, universality and particularity) put forward by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) can contribute to the study of the perceptions and meanings found in the discourse of the various actors who struggle over change in Greek higher education. Finally, the combination of these two approaches will be used as a means of triangulation for analysing the data. In the next sections, the main discourse theories are presented critically, and the reasons for which I chose CDA and DHA to examine the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education.

3.4. Discourse theories

Foucault has played a central role in the development of Critical Discourse Analysis and of discourse analysis in general (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Fairclough, 1992). Discourse,

according to Foucault, has a subjective, social, and historical character. In other words, discourse is shaped by the knowledge that individuals acquire through their historical, social, and political experiences (Foucault, 1991). Thus, the limitations of any discourse derive from the social and historical conditions in which that discourse is produced. According to McHoul and Grace (1993, p. 31), 'a discourse would then be whatever constrains – but also enables – writing, speaking, and thinking within such specific historical limits.' Thus, the language of the individual, which is organised within specific historical, political, and social conditions, is discourse and constitutes action which is identified with reality. Discourse is judged according to the effects that it produces (Foucault, 1991), thus discourse generates power. Such a form of power is that which is generated through the institutions of the modern state (Foucault, 1991).

This notion of discourse seems to be influenced by Althusser's approach, according to which individuals associate themselves with the subject positions which a particular interpellation has created (Fairclough, 1992; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). Interpellation is seen as a function controlled by the repressive state apparatus (Althusser, 1971). For this reason, Foucault has been criticized because he emphasises the mechanisms of power of the state that manipulate people (McNay, 1996; Fairclough, 1992; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Fairclough (1992) agrees with this view of McNay. He asserts that Foucault presents people as subject to the power of the state rather than struggling linguistically and practically to change their relationship with it (Fairclough, 1992).

An alternative discourse theory is that of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), who introduced the concept of 'articulation' into discourse theory, and defined the process of articulation as being practices that establish a relationship between different elements. According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 105), 'we will call 'articulation' any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice we will call discourse.'

They adopted the concept of 'over-determination' from Althusser and located it in the logic of articulation, asserting that identity is 'incomplete, open, and politically negotiable' (ibid, p. 111). The subject is always over-determined because meanings are 'contingent' and 'negotiable' (ibid, p. 104). Meanings or identities are the outcome of discursive constructions or of the process of articulation (ibid). Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 113) argued that, therefore, society can never be 'closed' as it overflows with 'a surplus of meaning'. Hegemony requires the modification of subject identity, and hegemonic practices take place in a social or political context of antagonistic relations (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). The products of hegemonic projects are 'hegemonic formations', which are systems of meanings (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 142). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) recognise these meanings in discourses that aim to ensure hegemony. The study of such meanings is particularly important in this thesis because it

facilitates an examination of the articulation of the meanings inherent within the processes of change in Greek higher education. This type of analysis illuminates the differences in meanings between groups and the relationship between meanings and their political-historical context. Thus, the theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) can help to identify the concepts that promoted change in Greek universities or provoked resistance to them.

CDA and, in particular, the empirical method of the DHA, can offer a more detailed picture and understanding of resistance to change in Greek higher education, taking into consideration the political and social environment in which discourse takes place. According to Rogers (2004),

> 'CDA is different from other discourse analysis methods because it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work' (p. 2).

Fairclough (1999) and Wodak (2009) are two of the most influential proponents of CDA. Fairclough (1999) asserted that discourse is a form of social practice that is in a dialectical relationship with society and with social structures. Social structure shapes discourse and discourse may contribute to the changing of the structures of society. So discourse, according to Fairclough (1992, p. 67), should be seen as a 'mode of political and ideological practice'. Discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains, and changes power relations and the collective entities (classes, blocs, communities, groups) between which power relations function. Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalizes, sustains, and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations.

A specific methodological approach within CDA is the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Discourse, for Wodak and Meyer (2009), acquires a broader meaning and refers to any form of social practice that contributes to the production or reproduction of unequal power relations in society. Discourse plays an important role in expressing and legitimating ideologies and actions, or discrediting the ideologies or actions of other parties. Discourse encompasses the reality of all elements that exist within it, and actions and language as an expression of that reality (ibid).

DHA approaches a problem by examining the contents or topics of a specific discourse, its discursive strategies, such as ideologies and linguistic means, and its specific context-dependent linguistic realisations (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Ideology is, for the purpose of this study, defined as follows:

i. a set of beliefs and values which competing groups use to challenge or maintain relations of power;

ii. a critique of social practice;

iii. an articulation of social struggle and conflict; and

iv. a dialogue about social problems regarding social and working life which indicates guidelines for social relations that may contribute to the improvement of social life (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009).

Therefore, whatever attempts to influence society is not accepted passively or uncritically by society, which responds to it in some way. A critique is an act within society and is based on contextual knowledge. It has either a logical character which tries to identify and explain the dilemmas and internal or external contradictions of texts, or a philosophical character which deepens the response to events and reality, or even tries to change the personal or collective experience (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). The interdisciplinary approach of the DHA was highlighted by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) who noted that:

> 'DHA has three dimensions: (1) having identified the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) discursive strategies are investigated and (3) linguistic means (as types) and the specific, context-*dependent linguistic realisations* (as tokens) are examined.' Thus, the researcher discusses the meanings and identifies ideologies in discourse as being expressions of power and social structure' (p. 93).

However, CDA has been criticised for emphasising the interpretation of the context rather than the analysis of the language itself (Blommaert, 2005), while Laclau and Mouffe's theory (1985, 2001) has been criticised for giving emphasis to the role of the subject in the articulation process above other factors that may influence the position of individuals in the process of articulation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000). In the next section, I will present the criticisms of both theories, and why I consider that the combination of both can complement each other and provide a complete methodological and conceptual tool for understanding resistance to change in higher education.

3.5. Critiques and discussion of the conceptual and methodological tools of articulation theory

Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theory has been criticized for giving emphasis to the role of the subject in the articulation process above other factors, such as the social class to which the individual belongs, and the influence of pre-existing social structures (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) which may affect the position of individuals in the process of articulation. Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis (2000) also argued that their theory raises questions about the historical and social construction of discourses and the relationship between social structure and human agency. Joseph (2002) claimed that Laclau and Mouffe reduce practices aimed at hegemony to the process of the articulation of ideas, and deny the importance of any practices outside of discourse. For Laclau and Mouffe, meaning and identity are acquired through the

process of articulation. However, hegemony is not simply discursive or ideological; it also contains elements of the cultural, political, and economic structure (Joseph, 2002).

The evaluation of the social and political factors that affect the construction of meaning and identity is missing from the theory (Joseph, 2002; Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000). For example, Laclau and Mouffe do not explain the relationship between different social groups and their relationships with institutions (Joseph, 2002). Although Laclau and Mouffe explain the openness of society to new articulations, they do not further explain which social forces have a greater capacity to effect articulatory changes, and why they do so (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Howarth, 2004). There is a lack of interpretation as to how an empty signifier or a nodal point is selected in hegemonic practices and discourses to produce social effects, or how a nodal point functions to unify and concretise a wide range of hegemonic practices and discourses (Howarth, 2004). Furthermore, Laclau and Mouffe do not explain how an empty signifier or nodal point is selected to perform these functions. Are there pre-existing social structures that influence the social effects, for example?

This problem can be attributed to the fact that Laclau and Mouffe do not provide a complete theoretical explanation of how the process of articulation influences social change. Instead, they assume that social change depends on the process of articulation while ignoring other factors, such as the position of individuals in social structures, which may affect the process of articulation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Joseph, 2002; Howarth, 2000). Laclau (2005) argues that:

> ‘Discourse is the primary terrain of the constitution of objectivity as such. By discourse, as I have attempted to make clear several times, I do not mean something that is essentially restricted to the areas of speech and writing, but any complex of elements in which relations play the constitutive role. This means that elements do not pre-exist the relational complex but are constituted through it’ (p. 69).

For these reasons, as stated by Montessori (2009), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can provide a fuller interpretation than Laclau and Mouffe (1985) of the mutual influence between the individual, society, and discourse. As already mentioned, language becomes a means of the articulation of discourses, and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) emphasise the process of articulation and ignore the influence of social structures which influence discourse. CDA provides a social dimension to discourse. It examines social inequalities or how, through discourse, certain social actors are able to exert control over others and achieve hegemony. As Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) concluded in their study, different approaches to discourse analysis can shed light on a range of differing perspectives in relation to a complex phenomenon. For this reason, I have chosen to use the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) in order to examine the discourse used by various groups to support or hinder the implementation of change in Greek

higher education, while CDA has been selected in order to provide a more thorough understanding and critique of resistance to change in Greek higher education.

3.6. Critiques and discussion of the conceptual and methodological tool of Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA has been criticised for emphasising the interpretation of context rather than the analysis of language itself (Blommaert, 2005). This creates questions as to whether the analysis of text is representative or prejudiced (ibid). Widdowson (1998, p. 169) also claimed that CDA 'presents a partial interpretation of text from a particular point of view' and 'it is not impartial in that it is ideologically committed, and so prejudiced'. Van Dijk (2009) has pointed out the subjectivity of the interpretation of power structures in society based on the self-reflective practices of CDA analysts themselves, rather than on real facts. Chilton (2005, p. 41) mentioned that CDA does not focus sufficient attention upon the cognitive theory of language that could show 'how easily or not the human mind can be tricked, deceived, or manipulated through the use of language'. As well, CDA has been accused of being biased towards the political left wing, which seeks greater social equality and participation, making such an approach only partial (Widdowson, 1995; Forchtner, 2011).

In response to the above accusations, Fairclough (2003, 2009) denied that CDA is the one single way of analysing the problem, but rather that it involves a pluralistic approach referred to as 'triangulation', which eliminates bias. He explains the term 'critical' from a Marxist perspective, associating the term with a social approach to discourse in which not only discursive practices are described, but also how discourse is shaped by power relations and ideologies, as well as the effects of discourse on the construction of social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, all of which are hidden to discourse participants. In addition, Wodak and Meyer (2009) mentioned that the aim of CDA is to provide a critique of domination that enables people to emancipate themselves from domination. They associate the term 'critical' not only to an understanding or explanation of society, but with the critique and distribution of knowledge that helps individuals to emancipate themselves from domination. Similarly, Jäger and Maier (2009) associate the term with the aim of CDA which is to reveal hidden power relations that create social inequalities; to examine and analyse discourses; to reveal contradictions within and between discourses; and to take a critical stance rather than an ideological stance towards a problem. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) explain the term 'critical' as:

> '[…] Gaining distance from the data, embedding the data in social context, clarifying the political positioning of discourse participants, and having focus on continuous self-reflection while undertaking research' (p. 87).

In addition, van Dijk (2008, p. 62; 1993, 1995, 2009) relates the term to the aim of CDA, which 'is not a method but rather a critical perspective, position, or attitude within the discipline of multidisciplinary Discourse Studies'. Forchtner (2011) also argued that the DHA shares CDA's main orientation, which is to reveal the social and political power that creates inequality, but its notion of critique is mainly rooted in Habermas' claim about language as a medium of power and domination. It also connects with van Eemeren and Grootendorst's (1987, 2004) pragma-dialectic approach of fallacies which prevent the resolution of debate. For the above reasons, the DHA is able to recognise discursive practices that aim to establish or conceal relations of power and control. In summary, then, CDA can be seen as a 'highly context-sensitive, democratic approach, which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of transforming society - an approach or attitude rather than a step-by-step method' (Huckin, 1997, p. 1).

The DHA has been used in a broad spectrum of research in politics. DHA has been applied to justify linguistic constructions of inclusion-exclusion identities in European politics (Wodak, 2007) and racism in Austria (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2011). Similarly, Richardson (2004) has investigated discursive representations of Islam and Muslims in the British press, and the ways in which they reproduce anti-Islamic racism; and the rhetorical and argumentative means used among Austrian and British far right-wing political parties to construct fear of Muslims, migrants, and asylum seekers. Tekin (2010) applied the Discourse Historical Approach to examine French perceptions, representations, and images of Turkey through examining discourses relating to Turkey's EU membership.

Thus, CDA is a suitable method for this study because it has been designed to question unequal access to power and privilege, and to recognize prevailing hegemonic practices over other political and social actors. As well, CDA perceives language as a means to power and control (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). In DHA, language 'is not powerful on its own', but is a means of power and control which is legitimitated and deligitimated within discourses. In this way,

> 'discourses can be seen as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential inter-related linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across the social field of action as thematically inter-related semiotic, oral, and written tokens, very often as 'text', that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2005, p. 36).

Moreover, as I explain in the following section, intertextuality and interdiscursivity are among the strengths of the DHA approach, allowing for the examination of different orders of discourse and genre which struggle for dominance in higher education.

3.7. An Indication of Genre

Genres are 'semiotic ways of acting and interacting' (Fairclough, 2009, p. 164). For example, political speeches and interviews are different ways of acting and interacting. An analysis of different genres (political speeches and interviews) is presented in Chapters Five and Six. Also, Fairclough (2010, p. 75) has argued that when people act and interact, they draw upon discourses - which are particular ways of representation of social life which differentiate them from others - and 'styles', the particular ways of using language. The totality of genres and the discourses within a specific social field is known as the 'order of discourse' (Fairclough, 2009, p. 90). Fairclough (2009, p. 265) argued that 'an order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an open system, which is put at risk by what happens in actual interactions'. For instance, certain discourses and genres characterise the different discursive practices that made up the order of discourse of Greek higher education. The order of discourse of Greek higher education also engages with other genres and discourses which are further influenced from other orders of discourse, such as the free market discourse and the Europeanisation discourse which belong to the order of economic discourse and the order of EU discourse respectively. Thus, the order of discourse of Greek higher education becomes a field of struggle among different genres, discourses, and ideologies which struggle for dominance. Thus, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2009), the Discourse Historical Approach examines the 'intertextual' and 'interdiscursive' relationships between the different genres, discourses, and texts, as well as how the history of an institution or organisation, and social and political context affect language (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009).

3.8. An Indication of Corpus Linguistics

As previously mentioned, along with CDA and the DHA, the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) will be used in this thesis, which requires a detailed linguistic analysis to investigate the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education. In order to do this, corpus linguistics will be employed which will allow for the identification of the key concepts around which the disagreements take place. A number of studies show how corpus linguistics and discourse analysis can work together to verify data. Discourse analysis emphasises the integrity of the text while corpus linguistics tends to use representative samples and is interested in language per se. Studies of corpus-based discourse draw on the critical approach to text. For example, a number of studies, such as Baker (2007), Baker and McEnery (2005), and Baker et al. (2008) identified the disadvantages of using corpus linguistics as a single method, including human intervention at every stage of the analysis to determine the data; the excessive amount of data that the researcher is required to analyse so as to identify wider themes; the selection of the technique which they will use to analyse the data, e.g. concordances, collocates, word lists, keywords; the neglect of the less frequent words that may be more important; and neglect of the

social, historical, political, and cultural context of the corpus data. However, corpus linguistics can benefit from CDA research if it has been previously conducted and, more particularly, it can benefit from the concept of topoi as they can inform the researcher about the existing topoi allowing the corpus researcher to compare the findings against it (Baker, 2007). Also, for the critical discourse analyst, corpus linguistics, undertaken via software, provides a more convenient way of analysing a large amount of data than using manual procedures. This also allows the researcher to work more objectively. Corpus linguistics software offers quantitative perspectives on the data, e.g. frequencies, occurrence of words, and statistical significance of these measures, and assists the researcher to identify discourse functions and to link the text with the context (Mautner, 2009).

Finally, corpus linguistics can be used as a method for triangulating the data. Bryman (2012a) defines triangulation as a method of ensuring that the researcher does not employ only a single research method when examining a research problem, but uses two or more methods to enhance the validity of their findings. As previously mentioned in the last chapter, the critical discourse analyst runs the risk of bias or claims of inaccuracy in the analysis of texts. For this reason, it is claimed that one solution to ovcercome this issue is to use an interdisciplinary and multi-method framework, by using a range of different empirical data and information. Further, corpus linguistics is used along with the CDA (DHA) to examine the purely linguistic dimensions of the discourses found in the political speeches and interviews.

3.9. Conclusion

Resistance to change is a complex social phenomenon, meaning that interrelated and conflicting forces exercise power over institutions to dominate or subordinate other interest groups. These forces have been outlined in Chapter Two and include history, institutional and national culture, ideology, massification, internationalisation, globalisation, and marketization. CDA provides a social dimension to discourse. It examines social inequalities or how, through discourse, certain social actors are able to exert control over others and achieve hegemony. CDA is an ‘interdisciplinary approach’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 2) which focuses on the study of the highly complex nature of social phenomena, and thus the researcher needs to draw from multiple disciplines and mixed methods of research for the interpretation and resolution of the problem. Hence, CDA and the empirical tool of the DHA contribute to this study by relating discourse practices to the effects of power, social structures, and ideologies in the production or reproduction of relations of dominance. However, CDA has been criticised for its emphasis on critiquing the existing unequal relations of power within the discourse conventions which, it is argued, makes the analysis overly-subjective, rather than providing a full understanding of discourse. For this reason, the researcher has chosen to combine CDA with Laclau and Mouffe’s articulation theory which suggests that discourse is a social and political struggle in which

meanings are continually negotiated, constructed, or re-constructed, thus modifying the identities of individuals (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation focuses more on the analysis of language rather than context, as CDA does. Laclau and Mouffe's theory is not contrary to CDA but can complement it. CDA and articulation theory are political but in different ways. The fixed relations between political and social groups implied by the DHA makes the debates more political as it exposes the tension between these groups, whereas articulation theory supposes a more fluid political system, which exposes less tension between groups, because they are fluid and negotiable, so new relations are constantly developing, and in response, these groups change their positions (through negotiation) to meet any particular situation.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methods and methodology used for this study, in which Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and, more particularly, its primary methodological tool, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), and the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), have been combined to examine resistance to change in Greek higher education. This chapter starts with the tools used for the empirical research along with the rationale behind the choice of these tools, as well as how the collected data were analysed. After this, the ethical issues are addressed by the researcher as well as the challenges of researching resistance to change in Greek universities. The qualitative part of the research focuses on the analysis of key concepts, assumptions, and empirical applications of CDA and the DHA, and on describing the issues and challenges faced by the critical discourse analyst.

4.1. Interviews

Interviewing is one of the most widely used research methods in the social sciences. Also, there is a wide range of different types of interviews. In this section, the most common types of interviews used in the social sciences will be considered, in order to show how the chosen approach was applied in this thesis.

A structured interview consists of closed questions and is similar to questionnaires used in surveys in which the respondents are provided with categories to choose for each question. However, this type of interview is not helpful in gaining rich and detailed responses from participants. In unstructured or open-ended interviews, there are no prearranged questions because the aim is to reproduce a reliable rendering of the interviewee's experiences. For this reason, the interviewer minimised her interaction with the respondents so as to reduce interviewer bias (Klenke, 2008). In-depth interviewing is used for the elucidation of complex issues and, as a more relaxed atmosphere can be established through the unstructured interview, more thorough and rich information can be extracted. Different questions are asked of the different interviewees, thus limiting the possibility of attaining the same responses; the latter, however, makes the organisation and analysis of the data a more difficult task. Unstructured interviewing is time-consuming and, for this reason, it is more feasible to work with smaller samples (ibid). In semi-structured interviews, the researcher combines the use of closed-ended and open-ended questions. There are initial core questions, but these are designed to allow the researcher to ask further questions and to lead into a wider discussion. Other types of interviews are conducted in focus groups where an issue of interest is discussed. Although this can stimulate a discussion and generate ideas, the method has a number of limitations, such as the

restricted time to allow all the interviewees' voices to be heard. Other common types of interviews are conducted by telephone or as online interviews (ibid).

For this study, structured interviews would not allow the researcher to gain a deep insight into the research problem. In-depth interviews require flexibility around time by each interviewee (Wragg, 2002). As Robson (2002) asserted, it is important to avoid conducting long interviews because the attention and focus of the interviewees may diminish. An issue that arose during this study was that most of the interviewees (the faculty and students) had agreed to participate but only for a limited timeframe as they had other responsibilities. On occasions, the participants postponed the interview, or it was not possible to conduct the interview as the schools were closed. For these reasons, the questions were brief and designed to refer accurately to the research questions. Also, focus group interviews were not used, despite the different political parties and the faculty members requiring flexibility around time; as explained above, it was difficult for the interviewer to arrange a meeting with the students and the faculty on particular days during the period of this study since many schools were under occupation, and because such an interview may have made the participants feel reticent about speaking up if they felt that their views may have harmed their interests. In addition, unstructured and open questions were used, in order to give the participants the opportunity to express their personal views and experiences spontaneously (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007).

A questionnaire (Appendix 4) with open questions was designed especially for Greek speakers. The data generated from this tool gave the researcher a deeper understanding of the perceptions and views of the social and political context of Greek universities in which the resistance took place. The first question was 'What do you think about Yannakous' law (3549/2007)?' while the second was 'What do you think about the operation of private colleges or universities in Greece (3696/2008)?' These open questions were asked as they gave the researcher the opportunity to receive spontaneous responses about the perceptions and views of the different actors and interest groups who resisted the new policies, without the asking of leading questions. Also, the period in which the research was conducted was soon after the new policies had been voted in by the parliament and the political struggle within and outside the university system was at its most extreme. This meant that everyone interviewed was well-informed and up-to-date, so that they could discuss the issues that were relatively fresh in their minds. Thus, the asking of open questions helped the researcher to identify those issues that provoked the resistance of people within the academy.

'Why' questions were avoided because these would limit the participants from answering freely, and would predispose them to the idea that there would be a correct answer. However, there were other faculty members who ignored, as they claimed, the content of the new policies and required more specific questions in the interviews. In such cases, alongside the open questions,

more specific questions were asked for clarification of particular topics; for example, on the autonomy of universities, the four-year development plan, and university asylum. However, the quality of such responses depended on the knowledge of the interviewee and how open he/she was in being willing to talk. The interviews were conducted face-to-face, most of which were recorded, and transcribed to allow for further analysis and comparison with the other interview results. There were, however, a number of interviewees who refused to be recorded, so instead, notes were taken.

4.1.1. Sampling procedures

The data-collection method used in this study featured a series of open-ended interviews. The 25 interviewees consisted of 13 teaching staff and 12 students from different departments and faculties of four advanced higher education institutions (AEIs) in Greece, both within and outside of Athens. The names of the universities and the cities in which they are situated have not been revealed in order to protect the names and confidentiality of the respondents.

Interviews were conducted on-campus and in the offices of the students' parties and academic staff, at their own discretion. The first phase of interviews took place during the summer of 2008, and the second during the winter of 2009. The interviews were initially conducted using a snowball sample in which the participants suggested other colleagues or friends after their own interview. Seven people were selected via this method, while other teaching staff from different faculties were contacted by email or telephone, which were found on the website of the university in which they worked, asking them if they were interested in participating in the study. Students who adhered to different political ideologies were conducted by approaching them at stalls for these various ideologies that they had set up in the universities.

A small sample was selected because of the difficulty of obtaining access to the universities. Although the initial plan was to select a balanced sample of teaching staff and students from two universities, the political climate was very intense in the Greek universities during the period in which the research was conducted. This made it very difficult to access these universities to conduct the interviews. Students protesting against the implementation of the new policies occupied most universities, and lesson schedules were interrupted. Thus, due to the prevailing conditions in Greece at the time of the study, the interviews were instead conducted in other more accessible universities. In addition, interviews were not the only method of research used in this study; they were used to complement the findings of the data from the analysis of the political speeches. More particularly, the examination of the interviews aimed to understand the impact of the political debates on the university sector: how people within the academy perceive, understand, and accept the discourse about the new policies and of the political speakers. In other words, how has the new discourse about the reform policies been

understood by the faculty and the students? In addition, the interviews allowed the researcher to think about the problems which people in the academy face in response to the new policies. The interviews in this research were used to show the relationship of the topoi or themes which had already been identified in the political speeches, and through this discursive and inter-textual relationship, new issues were illuminated which affected the behaviour of individuals in the university in response to the new laws. In this way, the struggle for hegemony between the conflicting groups, political speakers, academic staff, and students, was illuminated. The schema provided below in Chapter 5, on page 92, illuminates the inter-discursive and inter-textual relations found in the data.

4.2. Ethical considerations

The research was designed in order to answer the research question 'why there is resistance to change in Greek higher education?', and to begin to understand the views of the academic staff and students on the new policies (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008), and how the neoliberal discourse and the discourse of the opposition had affected change within Greek universities. The researcher was aware of the ethical issues involved in obtaining the data, the use of private data, and the use of resources to support this data. Overall, the research was conducted in such a way that any negative issues which may have decreased the prospects of obtaining good quality data did not affect the integrity and reputation of the research project. The BERA (2004) guidelines outline a set of practices which researchers need to follow in order to ensure the ethical treatment of participants involved in research. The research should be conducted with respect to the following issues: protection of the person and the knowledge, democratic values, quality, and academic freedom, which are elaborated upon below.

Firstly, the most significant issue in research ethics is to ensure the participants' consent in relation to their involvement in a study, as 'collecting information on participants, or observing them without their knowledge or without appropriate permission, is not ethical' (Gay and Airasan, 2000, p. 99). With respect to the above, the researcher obtained consent from all participants before involving them in the study. Before the data collection phase and during the pilot study, the interviewees were contacted by phone or email, as their contact details were freely and publicly available on the websites of the universities selected for the study. Each interviewee initially confirmed their willingness to participate by email or telephone, before signing a consent form. Also, at the beginning of each interview, a consent form (Appendix 5A) was used and the reasons for the study were discussed, in addition to how the results would be used, followed by asking the participants if they were willing to participate or not. In addition, a formal letter from the home university of the researcher, which was signed by the supervising professor, was attached to the consent form to demonstrate the validity and official backing of the research for the participants (Appendix 5C). This letter provided an opportunity for the

participants to ask questions, to seek further information about the study, and to withdraw from participation at this point if they chose to do so. The participants' right to refuse to answer questions and to withdraw from the study at any time were also explained. At the end of each interview, the participants were asked if they would like a copy of a report on the results of the study.

According to the ESCR (2004, p.12), all of the risks of research are difficult to predict prior to the conduct of a study; however, the researcher's task is to anticipate as many of these risks as possible and then to minimise them. Risk is identified with 'physical or psychological harm, discomfort, or stress to human participants that a research project might generate'. The researcher therefore offered flexible options and a range of times that the participants could choose so as to ensure that their timetable interruptions were kept to a minimum. Moreover, for a highly politicised institution such as the Greek university, conducting these interviews presented a series of dilemmas for the researcher. On the one hand, the researcher had to obtain the consent of the participants in a written form. On the other hand, the researcher had reason to fear that the participants would not speak openly if they were asked to sign a letter and/or if they were being recorded. This is because they may have identified themselves with a particular political group or ideology in their responses which may put their own professional interests at risk. Thus, considering that the research was conducted during a highly turbulent period of conflict, it was difficult for some participants to agree to sign a written consent form because of the significant risk of the consent being used against them by revealing their identity, even given all the assurances that the information and their identity would remain secure. Melnyk and Beedy-Morrison (2012) stated that these types of permissions are just the beginning of the research, and that ethical research practice is grounded on the moral principles of the researcher, as far as the respect of the anonymity of the persons who are involved in the research, to ensure that the participants will not be harmed and to consider who will benefit from the study. Also, as the ethical principles suggest, 'researchers must recognize that participants may experience distress or discomfort in the research process and must take all necessary steps to reduce the sense of intrusion and to put them at their ease. They must desist immediately from any actions ensuing from the research process that cause emotional or other harm' (BERA 2004, p. 6). In response to this, the participants in this study gave their consent to participate by email, and while the signed form generated some risk for the researcher in providing proof of consent, the main ethical consideration was to ensure that the interviewees considered themselves safe, had their privacy protected, and that they were free from coercion.

The students were more difficult to approach for the interviews than the teaching staff, because the researcher could not obtain their email addresses as they were not public information. The researcher was forced to approach student groups who were stationed at various stalls according

to the ideology they represented which had been set up in various parts of the universities. When approaching students in this manner, the researcher ensured that they did not feel under pressure or coerced into participating, and that they were given enough time to think before they decided whether or not to take part. Some students refused to participate because it was a busy period, so the researcher did not persist in persuading them if they said no or if they showed reluctance.

In addition, the researcher met with the academic staff in their offices in the participating universities. The researcher was aware that since the interviews were taking place in the workplace of the interviewee, that the participants were known to each other, and that they might have been able to assume who had made particular statements upon reading the findings of the study. For this reason, the researcher was very careful not to disclose information that could be attributed to particular people or universities. After selecting the interviews, the voice-recorded data were transcribed by the researcher into text files, and the names of the individuals were removed. In the interests of privacy, the names of the universities were not disclosed, and hence, the research consists of an anonymous analysis of the respondents. The data were anonymised and pseudonyms were given for each participant. Also, the names of the universities were not revealed in the thesis so as to ensure that the findings could not be linked to particular individuals.

Drawing on the BERA guidelines for the safe and secure storage of the collected data, this is considered to be a very important and sensitive issue in this thesis, as the interview responses reveal the political beleifs of the people. During the research project, the data about the selected universities and the contact details of the participants (of those who allowed me to contact them for the purpose of this study), and the recordings and transcripts of the interviews, were stored on the university server which was password-protected using an IOE network login with only the researcher having access to it. After the transcription of the interviews, the recordings were deleted. Also, the manuscripts of the interviews were stored by the researcher in a safe location, anomymised, and without containing any personal information which may link the interview with a particular person until the end of the project.

Also, the collection and analysis of the data had to be ‘reliable’, ‘valid’ and ‘generalizable’ (BERA, 2004, p. 11). For this purpose, many data sources were triangulated using a range of different information sources by gathering data from interviews with students who belonged to different ideological groups, and with academic staff who belonged to different departments, to see if similar results were found and if the conclusions drawn by each group were consistent or different. Also, the responses from the interviewees were compared with evidence from the secondary data sources and the political speeches of the different ideological political parties, as well as previous articles that had been published, both in Greek and international journals, that

critiqued the issues of Greek universities (see Sections 2.8. and 2.11). While the responses of the students and the faculty were consistent with the political speeches, there is information which can obtained only from the interviewees. For example, the students and academic staff added a deeper perspective and meaning to elements of institutional culture, asylum, academic freedom, the role of the university in society, the lack of funding, the criteria for evaluation, and how the new policies could be more effectively engaged within public universities without undermining academic values.

4.3. Political speeches

The secondary data were gathered from online sources. The Internet was one of the most significant and effective tools for gathering such data. It allowed the researcher to gather information from a wide range of articles, newspapers, libraries, other research studies, and journals in a timely and cost-efficient manner. From the beginning of the study, the secondary data was collected by reading policy documents that would lead to an understanding of the main functions, mission, and values of Greek higher education, such as those espoused in the Greek Constitution, Article 16 on education, and the Bologna Agreement which provided the motive for the government to implement the new policies in the higher education system. Also accessed were European Union policy documents, such as national reports that assessed the educational progress of Greece according to their commitments to the EU agreements, and OECD reports on education and the economic progress of Greece in comparison with other European countries. In addition, a number of research studies related to the changes in European higher education were analysed, thus allowing for the identification of research gaps on the reasons for resistance to the changes imposed by the neoliberal government and the EU. In addition, a range of academic studies on the history of Greek higher education were analysed to allow for a comprehensive understanding about how Greek higher education has been shaped by the political history of Greece.

4.3.1. Sampling procedures

Secondary data for the corpus analysis used in this study included political speeches which were obtained from the public website of the Hellenic Parliament. Corpus Linguistics is not characterised by a single method of analysis but is instead a set of methods and procedures for the exploration of language. There are different approaches to data within Corpus Linguistics through the use of different tools, which allow the researcher to search words in context. These include word frequency, which specifies how many times each word occurs in a corpus; concordance, which is the alphabetical index of all the words in a corpus of texts showing every contextual occurrence of a word; collocates are the words which occur in the neighbourhood of the word under investigation; and keywords are words which are more, or less, frequent in one

corpus than in another corpus to which it is compared (McEnery and Wilson, 2001). The following table presents the number of political texts, the debates to which they belong, the dates on which they occurred, and the total number of words that the corpus contains. Mike Scott's (2013) WordSmith Tools (version 6.0) were used for this part of the analysis.

Table 1. Number of texts

Political debates	Dates	Number of texts	Political speakers
Changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities	6, 7, 8 March 2007 (pp. 6194-6245)	4	4
On the establishment and operation of private colleges in Greece	31 July 2008 (pp. 803-851)	4	4
Total number		8	14,635 words

The political speeches, which were used to build the corpus, have been translated from Greek into English with a word count of 14,635 words. The corpus was designed to cover the period of 2007 and 2008 that included Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008 when the bills were discussed in parliament, and resistance was at its most extreme within the universities. Although a number of studies (e.g. Baker and McEnery, 2005; Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008; Baker, 2010) identified that one of the advantages of using corpus analysis is the large amount of data that can be generated, a relatively small amount was used in this study, consisting of a restricted number of speakers, as a large amount of data would have been time-consuming, and the same discourses would have been repeated, while the aim was to obtain a diversity of information. To rule out the possibility of bias, political speeches were selected which were diverse in their themes and the ideologies they represented, as well as the discourses of the resistant groups contained within them. As a result, they represent a record of the struggle for hegemony among the different political and university-based groups.

A number of studies have used corpus linguistics in conjunction with CDA and/or the DHA. In such cases, corpus linguistics was used to examine inequalities which derived from the social positioning of various groups and which were evident in language. For example, Freake, Gentil and Sheyholislami (2011) investigated popular and elite discourses and, more particularly, those discourses that dominate in the construction of the 'nation' by dominant ethnic groups and cultural minorities in two languages, English and French. Similarly, Baker et al. (2008)

examined a corpus of British news articles about ‘refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants’ from the UK press. Other studies have based their criteria for the design of corpora based on CDA by identifying areas of interest for closer analysis. For instance, Baker et al. (2008), and Baker and McEnery (2005), used a number of conceptions from CDA, such as topos, topics, metaphors, and nomination and predication strategies, when grouping collocations and key words on the basis of the preference or semantic discourse prosody to which they were linked. The above authors indicated that the quantitative aspect of corpus linguistics not only provided support for the prominence of various discourses, central topoi, topics, and metaphors already identified in in the CDA studies, but also indicated their relative occurrence. However, as the selection of a greater number of texts is time- and cost-consuming, and since corpus linguistics is combined with CDA (DHA), only a few highly diverse texts were selected in relation to the topics, topoi, and ideologies they contained. The texts, which were analysed through the DHA and Laclau and Mouffe’s theory of articulation, were selected for the design of the corpora and to support the triangulation of the findings from the DHA.

4.4. Translation issues

For this study, written texts (the parliamentary speeches selected from the library of the Hellenic Parliament) and spoken texts (the interviews with the faculty and students) were selected, recorded, and transcribed in Greek by hand. In this section, the translation issues, which were raised during the analysis of the texts, are explained. The political speeches and interviews with students and teaching staff are political texts in the sense that they contain ideologies, political ideas, and indicate power relations, attempts to conserve power, and to dominate or subordinate other groups; hence, they contain a highly conscious selection of words. Here, the issue of translation becomes very complicated. In addition to the linguistic features, the translation of political discourse involves the communication of socio-political ideologies which adhere to particular words (and support the political text) (Bassnett and Schäffner, 2010), metaphors, and idiomatic expressions that have different political values in different cultures, and these differences need to be taken into consideration in the translation process. Also, they entail meanings which are not understandable when translated into another language. For example, Schäffner (1998, p. 185) defines words (‘hedges’) as being characterised by ‘vagueness, indeterminateness’ and which can cause problems for the translator and, for this reason, Schäffner (2004) suggests a more systematic description of these words taking into consideration the micro-level features of the text. Also, there are individual differences, such as the different ideologies and experiences of the individual that have an influence on the translated text.

The above points raise issues about subjectivity during the translation process (Beaton et al., 2000). The translation of the political texts in this study, however, was facilitated by CDA and

the DHA, so even if there were cultural expressions and differences in the political terms and concepts between the speech communities and the political systems, the reader is provided with further explanatory information about the wider context in which the production and interpretation of the words took place. This has also been argued by other researchers (Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013; Schäffner, 1997, 2004; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002; Fairclough, 2008). According to Fairclough (2008), CDA aims at revealing the ideologies in language and the relations of power that cause them and, for this reason, CDA can be considered as a crucial aid in the translation of political texts:

> 'Particular textual features of translated texts have to be related to the wider social, political, cultural context of their production and reception, and the various choices that are made by the translator can be interpreted (at least tentatively) in terms of the wider goals and strategies pursued by agents in the cultural and political field, and in terms of the norms and constraints operating in these fields' (p. 68).

Other studies also criticise the selection of a particular method for the translation of a text. For instance, the need for a methodology in translation has been argued as follows:

> 'That it does not prioritise concerns over power, ideology, and patronage to the detriment of the need to examine representative examples of text, nor contents itself with detailed text-linguistic analysis while making do with sketchy and generalised notions of context' (Harvey, 2012, p. 363).

Thus, it can be seen that a number of methodological issues around translation in bilingual corpus-assisted discourse studies are dealt with in different ways. For example, Freake, Gentil and Sheyholislami (2011) noted that key words cannot be compared directly if they are in different languages, so they suggested a comparison of relative rank orders of key words. In addition, in a number of other studies, bilingual dictionaries have been used to identify possible translations of the words listed as key words, in concordances, clusters, and collocates (Baker, 2006; Baker, 2007; Baker, et al., 2008; Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013).

With the above in mind, it was decided to conduct a literal translation of the political speeches (i.e. translating word-by-word), as it was felt that this could deliver a more accurate picture of what the speakers had actually stated since they had made a conscious choice of lexical sets and modifications. It was seen that this would assist the researcher to examine more precisely the meanings that the texts conveyed. However, Birbili (2000) has argued that such a method can lead to misinterpretations of a text and may create difficulties for the reader in understanding the text. On the other hand, English and Greek do not present many differences. The main differences are as follows: firstly, Greek utilizes three articles: masculine, feminine, and neutral; secondly, Greek does not distinguish forms to express habit or continuity in the following tenses: present, past, present perfect, and future perfect continuous. Tenses in Greek are indicated in the following examples: past - 'I was studying' (έγραφα), 'I studied' (έγραψα);

present - ‘I study’, ‘I am studying’ (γράφω); future - ‘I will be writing’ (θα γράφω), ‘I shall write’ (θα γράψω); perfect - ‘I have written’ (έχω γράψει); past perfect - ‘I had written’ (είχα γράψει) (Holton, Mackridge and Warburton-Philippaki, 1997, p. 223).

The same process was followed for the translation of the parts of the interviews which showed similarities or differences when compared to the political speeches. Initially, the researcher conducted the translation of the political speeches, as this helped her to identify issues of political conflict about Greek higher education and to attribute meaning to the words. The interviews were examined by comparing and contrasting the issues raised in the political speeches. In some cases during the translation, the researcher was looking for a word to translate into English and more than one meaning was found. However, the etymologies of the words in English and Greek were also compared to overcome this issue, e.g. autonomy (αυτο-νομία, αυτο-δοίκηση, αυτο-τελεια, ιδιωτικο-ποίηση, εμπορευμα-τοποίηση), and the literal translation of the elements of the words were given in English. The text of the translated texts has been slightly altered in some cases. For instance, pauses in speech have been omitted, and punctuation differences (from Greek to English) have been accounted for, as the researcher is not interested in these aspects of speech, but instead on the discourse and meanings attributed to the new policies. During the process of translation, I also clarified particular language aspects for the reader, as required, without detracting from the meaning. Also, the language used in the interviws, while communicating political maning, was less formal than that usd in the political speeches; this was also differentiated between interviewees according to the educational background of the respondent (academic staff and students). In some cases, when the researcher tried to attribute meaning in English, it was not understandable to a non-Greek reader, especially when the interviewee used informal language. As well, there were words and phrases used that did not exist in English or have an exact English equivalent. To overcome this issue, the researcher tried to make only minimal changes, so as to avoid any misrepresentation. However, the fact that the interviews were in the native language of the researcher facilitated the understanding and translation of the meanings. As Simon (1996, p. 138) stated, the challenges of the translator cannot be found in dictionaries but more in ‘understanding of the way language is tied to local realities, to literary forms, and to changing identities.’

Looking at the meanings of the words from the interviews in context through CDA (DHA) seemed to be a major challenge for an objective translation of the words and an understanding of the language for non-Greek readers. For this study, as previously mentioned, CDA (DHA) was primarily used, so the features of the text were situated within a broader social and political context in which the construction of meaning took place, thus enabling a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of the text.

4.5. Generalisability

Generalisability in qualitative research should not be understood in a statistical sense, as found in quantitative research. Generalisability refers to the extent to which the findings of the study apply outside of the specific contexts of, or to a wider population than in, the researched situation (Robson, 2002). As has been previously mentioned, this research was conducted during the period of strong resistance, when Law 3549/2007, relating to the structures and functions of universities, had already been voted on by the Greek parliament; however, students and academic staff were reluctant to apply these regulations in the universities. This was also the case when the government soon after submitted the Draft Law 3696/2008 relating to the introduction of private colleges. This period was considered to be the most representative period for conducting the research rather than earlier or later, because it was in this period that the discussions and reactions within the universities, and in wider society, culminated in a vigorous debate. Shortly thereafter, interest and publicity waned.

Additionally, there are a variety of views regarding the ideal number of participants to be selected for interviews (Baker and Edwards, 2012). For example, in social research, Warren (2002, cited in Bryman, 2012b, p. 18) suggests that the minimum number of interviews needs to be between 20 and 23 for an interview-based study. Gerson and Horowitz (2002, p. 223, cited in Bryman, 2012b, p. 18) suggested that 'fewer than 60 interviews cannot support convincing conclusions and more than 150 produce too much material to analyse effectively and expeditiously'. What these figures suggest is that sample sizes are influenced by the theoretical perspective or framework of the study. It is also recommended that sample size should be determined from whether the sample size has achieved saturation (Bryman, 2012a). The term 'saturation' is strongly related to grounded theory, but is often used by researchers operating through a variety of approaches (p. 426). Saturation is achieved when new information or themes are no longer noticed in the data being analysed (Morse, 1995; Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006; Glaser and Strauss, 2009). Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) stated:

> 'As the researcher sees similar instances over and over again, he becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated. He goes out of his way to look for groups that stretch diversity of data as far as possible, not to make certain that saturation is based on the widest possible range of data on the category' (p. 61).

As has been mentioned, the 25 interviews for this study have assisted the researcher to gain a greater insight into the phenomenon under scrutiny and to obtain rich information about the issue. The interviews allowed the researcher to consider whether the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education, as derived from the political speeches, could or could not be correlated with the attitudes and opinions expressed by people in the academy. Also, the

interviews allowed the researcher to think about the problems which people in the academy face in response to the new policies.

The political speakers belonged to a range of different political groups. Hence, the goal of the interviews was to contextualise the problem, and to recognise the complex relationships and dynamic interactions which may exist between the conflicting parties: the political speakers, the faculty, and the students. The faculty members belonged to different departments, had different educational experiences - some of them had studied abroad so they had different views on the education system - belonged to different teaching grades, and claimed different political ideologies. The students also supported a range of different political ideologies. Hence, data saturation was achieved in the latter stages of the data collection and concomitant analysis for the study. Overall, the analysis of the political speeches and interviews indicated a wide diversity of themes. These are presented in the analysis chapter.

4.6. Validity and reliability

An awareness of all of the above points is intended to ensure a reliable and valid study. Validity is the degree to which a situation, or a measuring instrument, measures what it actually seeks to measure, and is also known as ‘accuracy’ (Kubiszyn and Borich, 2003, p. 23). Validity is the fundamental criterion upon which to assess whether the results obtained in a study are adequate, although validity for measurement is difficult to establish because it can introduce systematic error that affects the size and direction of the found effect. More particularly, this study draws on information from other documents (Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, articles on the history of Greece, academic articles, the international literature) to understand linguistic and discursive phenomena, and to define the social and political role of the Greek university today. Furthermore, the problems of validity and reliability in this study were resolved through triangulation. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 141), ‘triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour’. For this study, a methodological framework has been developed based on an interdisciplinary theoretical approach (the Discourse Historical Approach) combined with corpus linguistics and an empirical approach towards analyzing resistance to change in Greek higher education. Thus, the problem of resistance to change in Greek higher education has been examined through a range of different approaches so as to validate the study and, through the multifaceted methods employed, to ensure its objectivity.

4.7. Procedures for data analysis

After reading the literature to gain an insight into the history and current situation of Greek higher education, the researcher then proceeded to reading about the changes which took place

at the EU level, and the associated responses of higher education institutions at the local level to the principles of neoliberalism, a greater insight was gained into the problem of this study. After this, appropriate theoretical and methodological tools were applied that would allow for a systematic approach to the complex problem of the resistance to change, and which would provide a deep and thorough interpretation of the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education.

The selection of the theoretical framework and the methodology to address the research question of this study was decided on through a review of the research methods that various studies had previously used. These studies have been previously referred to in Chapter Two. All of them provide examples of the resistance of higher education institutions to the functions of neoliberalism, although they only provide partial or superficial understandings of the reasons for this resistance. For instance, although they indicate phenomena that limit the successful engagement of universities in the knowledge economy and attribute these to the social structure, and to national and institutional history, they do not venture deeper into these factors; for example, how structure, history, and culture have shaped the discourse of resistance.

After this, while looking at discourse theories, a decision was made that the concept of hegemony, as described by the post- or neo-Marxian theorists, attributes resistance to the force that is enacted upon the higher education institutions through the political and economic mediators of neoliberalism. In addition, post-structuralism provides a more thorough explanation of discourse, therefore DHA and Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theory of articulation assisted the researcher in analysing the discourse of resistance in the broader sense of the word; to discover the reality through examining discourse and language. An examination of the recent studies that have used DHA led to the model used by Montessori (2009), who combined DHA and Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theory to examine the struggle for hegemony among political forces in Mexico. It was considered to be an interesting starting point to apply this model in a highly resistant context, such as that of Greek higher education, to examine the political and social struggle for hegemony.

The first stage of the data analysis process included an examination of the political speeches which were selected from the online public library of the Hellenic Parliament. I examined the following political speeches: 8th November 2004 - (on the changes in Greek higher education in order to respond effectively to the agreed aims of the Bologna Process); 14th February 2007 - (the debate on the revision of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution); 6th, 7th and 8th March 2008 - (on the changes to the structure and functions of Greek universities); and 31st July and 7th November 2008 - (recognition of private colleges). I decided to analyse these particular political speeches on the structures and functions of Greek universities and the recognition of private colleges in Greece, since these speeches were the result of a series of debates which took place

in the Greek parliament, and because they were delivered during the most turbulent period in the history of Greek higher education. The categories or themes and the frequencies for each of these were noted. The next step was to transcribe the interviews. During the transcription phase, pseudonyms were used for each speaker, and the codes and themes were identified. The codes and themes of the political speeches and interviews with the students and faculty were repeatedly reviewed and re-coded, and the field notes were also reviewed. The relationships between the themes were then located in a diagram. After gaining a deeper insight into the reasons for resistance to change from the examination of the primary and secondary data, the analysis was started drawing on the DHA. The themes had already been identified, so the identification of the discursive strategies took place under each theme indicating the positive or negative views and the reasoning for or against the new policies. The political speeches and interviews with the faculty and students were analysed in the same way. Also, the political speeches and interviews were analysed in the Greek text and then translated into English.

Following this, the findings established through the application of the DHA were triangulated with the detailed linguistic analysis by applying Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation through a computer-assisted process of data analysis. In order to identify the empty signifiers, the nodal points, and the myths and social imaginaries (see Section 4.2.3) the wordlist, concordances, collocates, and word clusters were processed using the WordSmith Tools software (Scott, 2013). Based on the wordlist of the political speeches, concordances were prepared for the following phrases and words: public education, free education, public and free education, public higher education, commercialisation of education, privatisation of education, autonomy, independence, 'autotelia', self-governance, and Constitution. Based on the wordlist of the responses of the faculty and students, concordances for the responses of the faculty and students were prepared for public university(-ies)/private university(-ies), asylum, student/students, research, autonomy, independence, Ministry, government, political, interests, democracy, democratic, and funding. Below, the analytical aspects of the DHA, Laclau and Mouffe's structures of meaning, and corpus linguistics are explained.

4.7.1. Analytical aspects of the DHA

To analyse the discursive strategies, the work of Reisigl and Wodak (2009) was drawn upon. These authors described 'strategy' as 'a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discourse practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic aim' (p. 94). The strategies of nomination, predication, intensification/mitigation, and argumentation have been identified, and are used by people to influence the beliefs and actions of their audiences. *Nomination strategies* are strategies by means of which speakers classify social actors. *Predication strategies* are those where the speakers attribute negative or positive characteristics to social actors, while *argumentation strategies* are those in which various topoi

and fallacies are used to justify the claims of the speaker. Finally, *intensification and mitigation strategies* used in the research are the linguistic means through which the speaker either strengthens or weakens meaning in the text (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 110). Time and space are also considered as important dimensions in the evaluation of the political speeches about change in Greek higher education. The speakers refer to the economic and political conditions of the challenges of the day, the educational values of the past, and the chronic problems of the education system (e.g. partisanship, low public spending). Therefore, time and space express the significance of concepts or meanings that the speakers give to the proposed changes. These temporal dimensions, past, present, and future, are referred to by political actors, who relate through different values and representations of reality. Overall, in this thesis, the aim is not to provide a detailed analysis of all arguments concerning Greek higher education, but to engage in a critical discussion of the competing discourses surrounding change in the Greek higher education sector.

Since a major part of the analysis concerns the argumentative strategies, the concepts on which these arguments are formed, will be examined below. First, the concept of the topos has its roots in an expression by Aristotle that encompasses the crux of an argument (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1987, 2004). In this study, topoi are parts of argument for the DHA; these are 'content associated warrants' which join the argument to the end of that argument (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 110). The topoi in the subsequent chapters are used in the sense of metaphorical themes, i.e., the stance of the Greek government and other political parties are critical to the debate with regards to accepting or rejecting the proposed changes. Therefore, the entire rhetoric and exchange of argument and ideas become central to the analysis.

Second, fallacies are language acts which hinder the resolution of a discrepancy in a debate. They are wrong or fallacious 'in the sense that they hinder the resolution of the debate' itself (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1987, p. 1; Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004, p. 284; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). The most recurrent fallacies which emerge out of the data are the following: argumentum ad hominem (conducting a personal attack on an opponent; creating suspicion of opponents' motives; and pointing out an inconsistency between the opponents' ideas and deeds in the past and the present, as specified by Rule I of the critical discussion); evading the burden of proof (presenting the standpoint as self-evident, as specified by Rule II); and, argumentum ad populum, which is playing on the emotions of the audience, as specified by Rule III) (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1987, 2004).

4.7.2. Analytical aspects of Laclau and Mouffe's theory

The dual concepts of empty signifiers and nodal points are used in the analysis of the data. The following questions are relevant to this analysis: Which signifiers become nodal points in the

discourse used by social and political actors, regarding change in Greek higher education? What meanings do these social and political actors, who influence change, construct around these signifiers?

Empty signifiers and nodal points

An empty signifier is an open, fluid, and changing element participating in the struggle for hegemony. It is 'a signifier without a signified' (Laclau, 1996, p. 42). During the process of political antagonism, a particular signifier is emptied of its specific meaning and used to represent an entire community or a social class (Laclau, 1996). For example, various actors (government, opposing political parties, students, and teaching staff) attribute different meanings to the concept of democracy and autonomy, according to the ideology and interests they support, in order to convince others of their position concerning change in Greek higher education. Nodal points are described as being 'privileged signifiers' which fix the meaning of a particular set of signifiers (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 112). For example, the concepts of globalisation and economy are central concepts in the structuring of the meanings of different discourses concerning change in Greek higher education. The aim of hegemonic projects is to construct systems of meaning that are organised around the articulation of nodal points (Howarth, 2000).

Myth and social imaginary

A myth is a political promise that has not been achieved. It derives its content from the fluid and changing nature of reality, and it uses elements, from this reality, that have no identity (Laclau, 1990; Laclau, 1999; Torfing, 1999). Myth, in this sense, represents an ambitious project for the social and political involvement of these elements in the struggle for hegemony (Laclau, 1990). It could be said that myth is an attempt at political intervention for the sake of hegemony and change. If the myth manages to express a wider range of social demands, then it is successful and is transformed into a social imaginary (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000; Laclau, 1999). The function of myths and nodal points are constructed upon particular relations of structure, the 'chains' or 'logics of equivalence' and 'difference', which result in the domination or subordination of particular discourses (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, 2001, pp. 127-134; Laclau 1996, p. 44; Gasché, 2004, p. 24). Fairclough (2003, p. 188) explains equivalence and difference 'as a general characterisation of social processes of classification: people in all social practices are continuously dividing and combining, and producing, reproducing, and subverting, divisions and differences'.

Hegemonic universality and particularity

Hegemonic 'universality' and 'particularity' are interconnected and are placed in the context of the struggle for hegemony. The first term can mean any social orientation to universal values

because it has no identity (Laclau, 1996, p. 28). It is an open category in which different social groups strive for social and political rights (democracy, equality, justice) (Gasche, 2004; Torfing, 1999). Universality also contains particularities that gain meaning through the struggles of different groups (Laclau, 1996). These meanings differ depending on the group that they represent. Torfing (1999) explains the concept of universalism and how it is related to the establishment of hegemony.

> 'The universal is an empty space whose content is partially fixed in and through political struggles between the particular groups caught up in the chain of equivalence. The various groups will aim to hegemonise the empty space of the universal. The particular identity that succeeds in filling the empty space of the universal has established hegemony … hegemony involves the construction of a collective will, in the Gramscian sense of a political project that is shaped in and through the political struggles for hegemony' (p. 175).

The concepts used in the above structures of meaning are particularly interesting for this study. It is noted that various forces act upon Greek higher education. Each of these forces gives its own meaning to concepts such as autonomy and democracy. These concepts therefore act as universal elements or empty signifiers. In other words, what are the contents and the values shared by actors, and what differentiates them? What do they pursue through the use of meanings? Which ideologies are expressed?

4.7.3. Theoretical aspects of corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics is used to support the linguistic analysis, which is needed for the application of the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe. The term 'corpus' comes from the Latin word 'body' and, therefore, a corpus may be explained as 'any body of text', spoken or written (McEnery and Wilson, 2001, p. 29), which is used for linguistic analysis. The major concerns in the construction of corpora are sampling and representativeness for the construction and use of the corpora, as explained below.

The first concern is the selection of the sample which must cover a broad range of different authors and genres so as to provide a reasonable coverage of the entire language population in which the researcher is interested (Biber, 1990, 1993; McEnery and Wilson, 2001). However, there is no exact sample size that fits to all cases of research (McCarthy 2001; Baker, 2006). For example, Vaughan (2008) examined instances of the humour of English language teachers in faculty meetings at two institutions through a corpus of 40,000 words, which was relatively small compared to other studies (e.g. Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008), but which was suitable for exploring the role of humour in these settings. Also, Baker (2006, p. 28) disagreed with the necessity of building a corpus consisting of millions of words, 'especially if the genre is linguistically restricted in some way'. In this study, as we will see, the genres of the political

speeches and the interviews have a highly politicised content, in the sense that their responses express a struggle to conserve their power within higher education institutions against other student groups or the government and other political parties; or they try to persuade others about the validity of their views by making proposals for change (‘must’ or ‘should’). The representation of language is achieved through the selection of different genres, the political speeches of the different ideological speakers, and the interviews with faculty and students. Having already examined the language and the particular social context in which it is constructed and interpreted, and having already identified the key concepts around which the disagreements took place, the linguistic analysis of the texts was undertaken drawing on Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) theory of articulation to provide a holistic approach to the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education, e.g. which discourses were constructed by the conflicting actors, and if there were other terms which were related to the topoi which had already been identified in the previous stage of analysis.

The second concern refers to the methods of analysis provided by corpus linguistics. According to Baker (2006), there is no single way of using corpora. For instance, he examines a small corpus of holiday leaflets written for young adults by looking at frequency lists and explaining how these can be used to investigate various parts of a corpus. In another study, he investigates the discourses of refugees in newspaper data by sorting and interpreting concordances in different ways, while in another, he explores different ways of calculating collocations and how a ‘reference corpus’ can be used to reveal hidden meanings within words or phrases. Finally, in another study, he provides examples of studying patterns of nominalisation, attribution, modality, and metaphor. Drawing on such examples, a range of different approaches were selected to analyse the corpus data (wordlists, concordances, clusters) for this study, which would help the researcher to identify the structure of meanings using Laclau and Mouffe’s approach to identity formation (empty signifiers and nodal points, myth and social imaginary, universality and particularity), which establish the chains of equivalence and difference.

4.8. Conclusion

In the aforementioned section, the manner in which the research was carried out was explained, along with the most important elements that form the core of this investigation. The limitations of the research were also pointed out which may have an impact on the findings. Having said this, the research is reliant on the speeches and the discourse that takes place between the different parties to understand the issue. The discourse is highly confronting, therefore the different views of the stakeholders can establish the exact extent of the issues and the prospective solutions that are available to them. In order to provide a thorough understanding of the reasons for resistance to change, Laclau and Mouffe’s theory will be used along with CDA, and in particular, the structure of meanings (empty signifiers and nodal points, universality-

particularity, myth and social imaginary) and the discursive strategies (nomination/predication strategies, argumentation strategies, intensification/mitigation strategies, perspectivisation strategies) will be examined in the discourses of the opposing groups who struggle for dominance in higher education. The application of Critical Discourse Analysis (DHA) and the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), allows the researcher to understand the nature of the discourse of resistance to change in Greek higher education. Corpus linguistics, which is used as a complementary method to the DHA, and to support the linguistic analysis of the texts, allows for a more effective and efficient analysis of the data, thus ensuring the reliability of the data and the production of a more conclusive study (Baker and McEnery, 2005; Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008; Baker, 2010).

Chapter 5: Discursive strategies

5.0. Introduction

This chapter will present a number of political speeches from 2007 and 2008 and interviews with faculty and students that focused on changes to the structure and functions of Greek universities (Law 3549/2007) and private colleges in Greece (Law 3696/2008). As an introduction, the discussion of genre by Fairclough (1992, 2003) will be considered. Fairclough (2003) relates genre to social context and power relations. The particularities of content, form, and language style, which characterise genre, create a domination-subordination dynamic. The different genres of political speeches and interviews with the students and faculty have been selected for analysis. The content, discursive and linguistic strategies of the political speeches and interviews will be examined, in particular, by assessing the attempts that the speakers and the interviewees make to influence their listeners.

5.1. Genre

Fairclough (1992, p. 67) referred to political discourse as a 'superordinate' category encompassing elements of social (economic, political, cultural, and ideological) and discursive practice: it is an articulation of discursive and non-discursive social elements that aims to maintain or change relations of power. Van Dijk (2000) also discussed genres that express ideologies and so are used in order to legitimate, defend, or control the exercise of power. Similarly, in the words of Wodak (2007), the use of genre is a means of power and is used by political actors to control social situations. Based on the above perspectives, the aim is to examine the genres of the political speeches and interviews with the faculty and students which draw upon different discourses and styles to enact or resist the new policies in Greek higher education. More particularly, other questions to be answered will concentrate on which discursive and non-discursive elements they draw upon, which language they use and which ideologies they express, how language is shaped from the social and historical context in which the discursive action takes place or the social strata to which the individuals or groups belong. As will be seen, the various political speakers and interviewees compete to dominate and gain agreement for their proposals for change in Greek higher education by working within different orders of discourse. According to O'Regan and Macdonald (2009),

> 'Orders of discourse can be envisaged as existing at three levels of realization: *situational* (relating to immediate social contexts), *institutional* (relating to the knowledge domains of a society: medical, judicial, educational, scientific, religious, familial, political, etc.), and *societal* (relating to the overall configuration of situational and institutional domains together)' (p. 83).

The above observation has implications for the current research, in which it is observed that there are dialectical relations between the parliament, the universities, and society. The order of discourse in higher education includes social, political, historical, and ideological elements, and this develops in a dialectical encounter with the parliament, the universities, and society. So, different discourses and genres from other orders of discourse (for instance, the EU and the economy) attempt to change the order of discourse of Greek higher education. In other words, the order of the discourse of Greek higher education goes through the process of 'production, distribution, and consumption' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78), leading to discussion and change. However, the order of discourse of higher education does not remove the existing educational base and culture, but instead, all the new competing elements and ideas are added to it. For this reason, solid foundations continue to exist in the struggle for dominance, for instance, democracy and autonomy, which are presented in the analysis below.

For the purposes of this study, the following genres have been examined:

1. Parliamentary speeches; and

2. Interviews.

5.1.1. Parliamentary Speeches

The parliamentary speeches have been sourced from the parliamentary debates archive in the library of the Hellenic Parliament, in files that are available to the public; others were sourced from the parliamentary website (Hellenic Parliament, 2013). The political speeches selected for examination derive from the following debates and refer to the following changes:

1. Changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities (2007); and

2. Recognition of private colleges and other settings (2008).

On the 8th March 2007, the New Democracy government of Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis passed Law 3549, which introduced important changes to the structure and functions of Greek universities. The legal proposal of the government was discussed from the 6th to the 8th March 2007. The report which accompanied the draft of the law (Greece, Parliament, 2007) sheds light on the reasons for which the ruling New Democracy party implemented changes in the structure and functions of Greek universities. The importance of higher education for individual and social benefit is emphasised. Also, Greek higher education was required to adjust to European Union trends, which comprised the following:

1. The massification of higher education, which led to the diversification of higher education institutions in order to correspond to increased student demand;

2. The development of a knowledge-based society in which universities produce knowledge and research; and

3. The agreed aims in the Lisbon Strategy for cooperation between members of the European Union to become 'the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world'.

In addition, the report suggested that successive governments had attempted to resolve the problems of Greek higher education by implementing a series of laws. However, the problems of Greek higher education, according to the same report, are 'deep and have a long history' (Greece, Parliament, 2007), such as centralisation, introversion, lack of transparency, a democratic deficit in the election of administrative staff, lack of infrastructure, and the lack of new libraries. These problems, as the report showed, were considered by the government to be obstacles to the production of knowledge and research. Hence, the stated aims of Law 3549/2007 were the following:

1. For higher education to contribute to national needs and European developments;

2. To provide a general framework for considering the autonomy of universities through internal regulation, and for universities to determine their functions according to their specific needs; and

3. For universities to become accountable.

Later, on the 31st July 2008 and the 7th November 2008, the New Democracy government passed a law concerning the establishment and operation of private higher education institutions in Greece. The law was particularly important for the following reasons: first, it added significant amendments to Article 16 of the Greek Constitution; and second, it was believed that the new policy would have long-term educational, economic, and social benefits. As noted in Chapter Two, Greek higher education consisted of higher education institutions (AEI) and higher education technological institutions (ATEI). Private institutions were already operating in Greece, such as the Centres for Liberal Studies (CLS) and private universities affiliated with foreign universities; however, they were not controlled by the Greek state and so were not recognised by the Ministry of Education as being equivalent to public universities (Greek Constitution, Article 16, par. 5). In addition, they were criticised for providing programs of doubtful quality. As a result, students who graduated from these institutions could not find jobs in the employment market. Under the new policy, these structures have been nationalised. This means that private institutions must operate under the particular conditions and terms determined by the new policy. Although these private structures were not considered as being of the same quality as public universities, graduates from these institutions could, from this time,

find jobs in the private sector. In addition, the structure of Greek higher education also changed as the new policy introduced a new level of education, the Centres for Liberal Studies (CLS) and 'colleges', which comprised a non-formal type of education.

The Greek Parliament consists of 300 members who are elected every four years. The political party that has a majority of the seats forms a government. The government introduces drafts of a law for debate in the plenum of the parliament, after which the law must be voted on by an absolute majority of the members of the parliament. A bill, or proposal for legislation, is accompanied by an explanatory report, which includes the purpose and objectives of the proposal (Hellenic Parliament, Legislative Process, 2011). Apart from such legislative work, the parliament exercises other competencies, such as constitutional revision. During the debate, 'On the structure and functions of Greek universities', members of parliament spoke in the plenum, expressing their views about the bill (3549).

Selected for analysis below are the political speeches of the leader of the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), Alekos Alavanos; a member of the PASOK party, Anna Diamantopoulou; the Deputy Minister of Education, Spiridon Taliadouros; and the leader of the Communist Party (KKE), Aleka Papariga. Further to this, the political speeches that took place on the 31st July 2008 on the draft of the law that the New Democracy government submitted for discussion in the plenum of the parliament, 'Establishment and operation of colleges and other provisions', have been examined. The following speeches to be examined, were addressed to the plenum of the parliament: the political speeches of Alekos Alavanos, the leader of the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), and of Costas Alissandrakis, a representative of the Communist Party (KKE); and the parliamentary speeches of the deputy of the PASOK party, Anna Diamantopoulou, and of Evripidis Stylianidis, the Minister of Education. The political speeches took place on Wednesday the 7th March 2007 and were addressed to the plenum of the parliament. The reason for selecting the above speeches is that they represent a diversity of ideologies, including the ideologies of the main political parties in the Greek Parliament.

5.1.2. Interviews with teaching staff and students in combination with an analysis of the political speeches

The interviewees are classified into two categories, $TS_{1,2,3\ \ldots\ m/f}$ and $S1, 2, 3_{\ldots\ m/f}$. The letters 'TS' and 'S' represent the different categories of interviewees: Teaching Staff (TS) and Students (S). The numbers represent the different interviewees, and the letters 'm' and 'f' indicate gender. Also, the letters 'DAP', 'PASP', and 'COM' represent the different groups to which the students belong. Teaching staff were selected from different faculties and universities. Students were selected who belonged to a range of different student groups and who therefore supported

different ideological positions towards change in Greek higher education. I selected students who belonged to the following groups:

i. Democratic Leadership Renewal (D.L.R.)

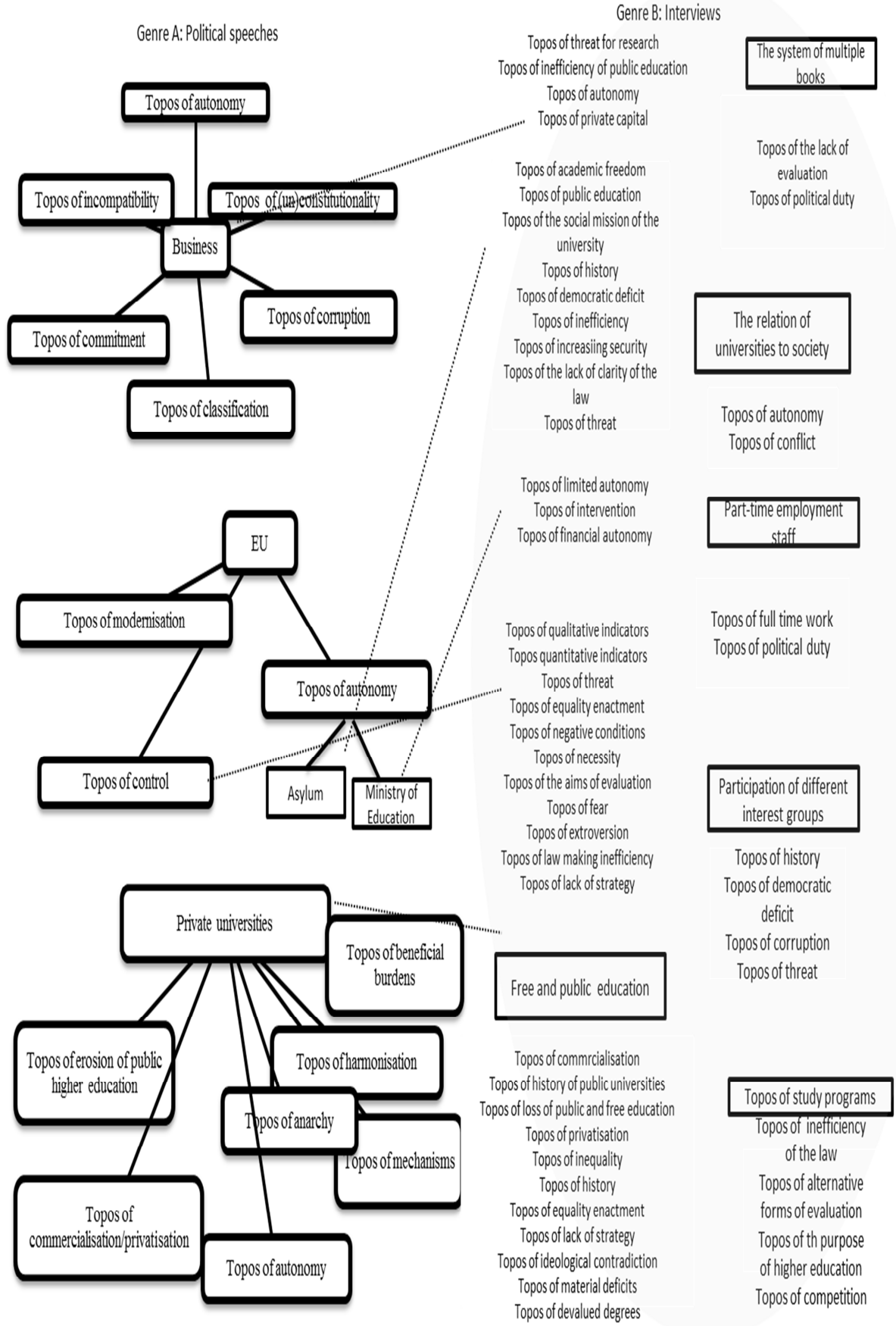
ii. The National Student Teams Array Radical (N.S.T.A.)

iii. Leftist parties

This chapter closely examines how discourse brings the dynamics of oppression and domination to issues of change in Greek higher education, and how it enables actors to resist social and political power. The above groups express different ideological positions. The first represents a centre-right educational ideology, the second a centre-left ideology, and the third represents a leftist ideology. This struggle for power among different interest groups (political parties, students, and the faculty) is exercised through the discursive strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, and intensification/mitigation. These are examined together with the political speeches as they show similarities and differences between the ideologies and the discourses used by the political parties and students to support or resist the proposed policies, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows the relationship between the genres of the political speeches (Genre A) and the interviews with students and faculty members (Genre B). The dashed lines indicate similar themes put forward by both the political speakers and the faculty. Business, the EU, and private universities are common themes in the political speeches and interviews with students, while the themes of asylum, the Ministry of Education, free and public education, the system of multiple books, the relationship between universities and society, the part-time employment of teaching staff, the participation of different interest groups, and the course offerings are discussed only by the faculty and the students.

Figure 2. Topoi based on political speeches and interviews with faculty and students



5.2. An overview of the political speeches and interviews with students and faculty

Spiridon Taliadouros, the Deputy Minister of Education in 2007, and Evripidis Stylianidis in 2008, link the creation of a single European area of higher education that aims towards the modernization of the various national higher education systems, with the need for the modernization of Greek higher education. Taliadouros considers that two important steps in the improvement of the quality of public universities are the provisions to strengthen autonomy and self-government in the proposed law. The Minister of Education, Evripidis Stylianidis, proposes severe penalties for offences associated with the operating conditions of private colleges in Greece. The issue of quality is repeated in Stylianidis' speech, and the terms and conditions and the eligibility criteria, which the state created with the new law to regulate the chaos of post-secondary education institutions, were considered difficult to deal with. These are described in Law 3696/2008. Here, he separates the research institutes from the colleges and prohibits the use of the term 'university', stipulating that the term can only be used for public higher education institutions.

Anna Diamantopoulou (PASOK) focuses on issues of national autonomy, stating that it should be the university's responsibility to decide on all matters concerning access; the method and materials of the national entrance examinations; the content of programs; the modernisation of the administration; the recruitment and development of personnel, finance, internal regulations, and operations, and that these issues should not be determined only by the government, or even in the same way, for all universities. Regarding the operation of private colleges, Diamantopoulou proposes resistance to the universal and unconditional adaptation of the Greek higher education to the terms of the EU agreement.

Alekos Alavanos (SYRIZA) places emphasis mainly on the opposition of the education community to the recent changes in Greek higher education, and criticises the government for its authoritarian attitude in proceeding to implement the proposed law without considering the demands and needs of society and the academic community. His speeches focus on issues of unconstitutionality. The leader of the Communist Party (KKE), Aleka Papariga, and the representative of the KKE, Costas Alissandrakis, focus on issues of competition, cooperation with enterprises, research, and funding in Greek higher education, stating that the proposed reforms support the capitalist ideology. They concentrate on the negative consequences of the proposed laws which would open up new opportunities for business profits through education and would also lead to the production of cheap labour.

Most of the faculty members display a positive attitude toward the new policies (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008); however, they also argue that the introduction of the new structure and functions of Greek universities entail a political duty of the state to protect public and free

education, academic freedom, and asylum. The students also express similar viewpoints to the faculty, although the different ideological groups to which they belong base their discursive strategies on the historical culture of Greek higher education and the democratic and moral values which they see as being at the root of the Greek higher education system. They also introduce a number of new themes in their responses concerning their rights, e.g. to their participation in the administrative bodies of the universities, free and public education, the system of multiple books, the relationship between universities and society, part-time employment of staff, the course offerings, and how these issues would affect the quality of their studies.

The table below (Table 2) shows the political leanings of the various groups of respondents in this study. In the students' responses, two main orientations are displayed: 1) the right-wing students who articulate their needs mainly through groupings that are linked to corporate interests outside of the universities, but who act as the 'student voice' inside the universities; and 2) the left-wing students who articulate their needs, not only through various forms of resistance, but also through particular political groupings that are linked to political organisations outside of the universities, and that also act as the 'student voice' on campus. In the table below (Table 2), the first and third columns present the actors who are involved in the process of change in Greek higher education (political parties and students). The middle column shows the ideology which each political party and student group supports. The third column has a diagonal line showing the trend in the ideological tendencies of the students, and the final column again shows the trend in ideological tendencies, but for faculty who are linked to particular political groupings outside of the universities, and who are elected by the students. Interestingly, faculty partially support the proposed changes, and simultaneously support the national character of higher education.

Table 2. The actors and their political leanings

Political parties	Ideology	Students	Faculty
New Democracy	The neoliberal university is one that responds to the new political, economic, and social trends. This ideology aims at the adjustment of the national education system to the EU agreements, such as cooperation with the private sector (businesses and operation of private universities in Greece), and calls for legislative protection of the quality of higher education.	Right-wing party students	Right-wing
PASOK	The socialist education vision wants a public and state university, with critical adaptation of European policies and consensus between political parties. There is a suggestion that control should take place through an independent body from the government.	Left-wing party students	Left-wing
KKE	According to the leftist ideology, the university combines a public character with state control. This ideology denounces the social inequalities that derive from the privatisation and commercialisation of education.		
SYRIZA			

5.3. Nomination strategies

Most nomination strategies, actions, processes, and consequences are realised in the positive or negative representation of 'the other', and in the arguments for or against the changes in Greek higher education. For this reason, the social and political actors who are mentioned most often in the speeches and interviews with students and teaching staff, and who seem to play an

important role in the implementation of change in the universities, will be presented in this section.

According to van Dijk (1998, p. 69), the general classification of social actors into 'us' and 'them' categories suggests the presence of a conflict between groups and their attempts to build their ideological image against the 'others'. In the political speeches that are examined in this study, the distinction between 'we' and 'they' is used frequently, and the names of the political parties are frequently juxtaposed against opposition parties, e.g. 'PASOK' against 'New Democracy', or 'KKE' against 'New Democracy' and 'SYRIZA', indicating conflict, and highlighting the ideological differences between the political parties in relation to the new policies in Greek higher education.

The discussion of the nomination strategies begins with Spiridon Taliadouros, the Deputy Minister of Education (New Democracy), who used the pronouns 'we' and 'our' to identify himself with the audience, as a citizen of this country, and as a politician, attempting to indicate his political responsibility and the superiority of his government over previous governments. In relation to this, he mentions the names of various official bodies, seeking to emphasize the broad dialogue and the solemnity that the new policy took against those who condemn his government for a lack of dialogue.

> 'We heard yesterday and today that supposedly dialogue did not take place … for the first time in our country, such an extensive and in-depth dialogue did not take place both in the National Education Council and in the meetings of deans and heads of colleges, social partners, the GSEE (The General Confederation of Greek Workers), the ESC (the European Economic and Social Committee), the OSEP-TEI (Federation of Educational Personnel - Technological Education Institutions)' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6290).

In 2008, Evripidis Stylianidis, the Minister of Education (New Democracy), makes comparisons between the New Democracy government and other governments using the pronoun 'we', thus excluding others ('never any government', 'all the previous'), in order to demonstrate the superiority of his party and its political courage in undertaking the resolution of the long-standing and difficult case of the operation of private universities in Greece. On the other hand, he includes the names of the opposing political parties in his speech in order to demonstrate an ideological convergence with the other parties on the problem of allowing private colleges to operate in Greece. More particularly, he repeats the pronoun 'I' when he submits selected publications of other leaders (Georgios Papandreou – PASOK; Alexis Tsipras – SYRIZA; Nikos Alavanos – SYRIZA), as well as when he refers to the European Directive (8948/88) signed by Vaso Papandreou (PASOK). The repetition of the first person singular serves as a high degree of evidence of his participation in the government's attempt to resolve the problem of disorganisation within post-secondary education. While addressing the presidents of the other

parties, ‘Mr Papandreou’, ‘Mrs Vaso Papandreou’, ‘Mr Tsipras’, ‘Mr Alavanos’, and thus, with these nominal references, Stylianidis tries to assign responsibility to them for the situation that exists in the Centres of Liberal Studies. At the same time, by mentioning their positions as published or announced on educational issues which are under discussion in the parliament, he tries to show the public that there is no substantial ideological difference between his party and the leaders of the opposition parties about the proposed law, because all of them follow the directions of the proposed law: that of promoting national sovereignty over private colleges which already operate in Greece but are controlled by foreign states, by creating a system of control and evaluation of their quality by the national state. This manoeuvre may also serve as a political strategy to create public mistrust about the ideological consistency of the leaders of the opposition parties and so to gain the support of his audience.

> ‘And I wonder when Mr Alavanos meant what he said, now or then? When Mr. Papandreou meant what he said, now or then? We therefore indicate consequence, do not play with the dreams and anxieties of children and their parents and move forward, creating real prospects for the new generation with the responsibility expected of a party which is going to rule for many years in this place’ (House proceedings, 2008, p. 827).

In contrast, the left attempts to make their parties appear as different as possible from the neoliberal government while trying to create a sense of unity with those who resist in wider society. In addition, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2009), the construction of social actors in particular ways aims to create a collective identity. Hence, the possessive ‘we’ is used not only to distinguish between opposition parties, but also to include more political and social groups in the achievement of a common political aim which, in this case, is the improvement of Greek higher education for the benefit of Greek society. In an attempt to win public support for its ideology and to broaden the popular reaction against the government policies, Alekos Alavanos (SYRIZA) refers to ‘students’, ‘society’, and exceptional people, including ‘intellectuals’, ‘people of art’, ‘journalists’, ‘parents’, and ‘the Hellenic Federation of University Teachers’ Associations (POSDEP)’, as groups involved in organised resistance against the government’s work in education. Alavanos also referred to the ‘M.A.T.’ (Monades Apokatastasis Taksis, Units for the Reinstatement of (Public) Order (Riot Police)) and ‘Mr Polydoras’, the Minister for Public Order, in order to highlight the violent strategy of the government, which tried to impose the proposed law in an autocratic way. At this point, a person with some knowledge of the political history of Greece would interpret the use of the above names ‘M.A.T.’ and ‘Mr Polydoras’ to demonstrate a threat to democracy, and to the democratic process of dialogue on the proposed policies, so as to resolve the conflict with the students and the other parties.

> ‘You can realize that it is not only the asylum issue that is raised, it is not simply open courtyards and buildings of universities in MAT and the forces of Mr.

> Polydoras. Mr Giannakou assigns responsibility to Mr. Polydoros. A number of students and teachers can be punished by six months in jail. However, Article 7 in the Constitution states that no crime or penalty is imposed without a law that is valid prior to committing the act, and this defines the elements and existence of a specific description of punishable offenses' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6236).

The leader of the Communist Party (KKE), Aleka Papariga, addresses issues of class through the use of terms such as 'youth' and 'workers', in order for her party to gain support for their political views, and also to convince student voters, in particular, that she is on their side. She separates the position of the Communist Party from the common European orientation of New Democracy and PASOK, which do not favour public education. In her view, the political actors that shape the education policies that are under discussion are the 'Bologna Process' and the 'European Commission', and are not the problems of Greek higher education. For this reason, she used the text of the European Commission to express her opposition to the proposed policies and to develop her political views against the bill. 'Enterprises' and 'workers' are presented as contradictory social actors. The workers are used by businesses, and so democracy between these two social classes does not exist.

> 'I would like to read some of the excerpts from the announcement of the European Commission which also took place in the European Parliament and which refers to which changes should be made in education - are recent - from 2007 until this year. That was in March last year. The process started in October 2005. You will ask me what relation this has. Of course it is relevant, because the government had openly said that it delivers and accomplishes pan-European directions, and certainly the spirit of the law which was brought here by the New Democracy confirms it' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

Alissandrakis (KKE) clearly separates the position of his party from others ('Mr Alavanos', 'SYRIZA', 'New Democracy', and 'PASOK') and construes the opposition parties (New Democracy, PASOK, and SYRIZA) as having no substantial disagreement between them because, although they seem to say different things, they agree on the Europeanisation of Greek higher education.

> 'However, when PASOK governed, not only did it not stop business activity in education, but it also pioneered the progressive privatisation of universities and their business operation; we do not forget the agreement with New Democracy for the revision of Article 16 of the Constitution' (Costas Alissandrakis, 2008, p. 812).

Only Anna Diamantopoulou (PASOK) adopts a less vigorous tone against New Democracy than the speakers of the other opposition parties. Using the first person plural 'we' is an attempt to create intimacy and trust with the members of the parliament and the public in order to encourage their acceptance of her proposal at the beginning of her speech, namely that there still remains much to be done in education than simply addressing the proposed policy (Law

3549/2007). After introducing this ‘we’, she invites the potential voters from the government to join her position, thus presenting her party’s critics in a negative light.

> Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, apparently we are debating a particular bill of the Ministry of Education, but we cannot forget that soon we will be all required to vote and to be posed accountable not only as parties but also as Members against an arrangement which rings the core of European social rights that have been built over the last thirty years (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 824).

In the interviews with the faculty and students, the first person singular ‘I’ is used to express their personal points of view (e.g. ‘I believe’), or to highlight their opposition to the new policies (e.g. ‘I do not agree with those’). The first person plural ‘we’ is used to express the requests of the educational community (e.g. ‘We were the first who raised ...’) or when the students deliver their personal negative or positive experiences regarding the dysfunctions of the new law, as well as when they declare the determination of their party against those who undermine their values. According to the Discourse Historical Approach, the above strategy suggests the exercise of power of particular groups over other groups within the universities. ‘Political parties’ are presented as having their own supporters within the universities, and ‘student factions’ or ‘students’ are depicted as powerful bodies with the ability to intervene and shape the political and educational circumstances inside the universities, which inhibits, in the view of the faculty, the scientific and social missions of the university.

What is worth noting here is that, in the interviews with faculty and students, mostly inanimate subjects are used as subjects of the modal verbs ‘must’, ‘can’, or other verbs in the passive voice, in cases when the interviewee wants to emphasise the subject and the action needed; for example, in the need for ‘funding and reinforcement of the public university’. Other examples include: ‘universities need to cooperate with businesses’; ‘the law should contain’; ‘private universities, having financial power, have already secured a high quality of studies’; ‘university asylum must be maintained’; ‘academic freedom ensures’; and ‘public and free education helped children’. The attribution of an active or passive role to agents of social practice is viewed by van Leeuwen (2009) as political manipulation which is designed to create or reproduce relations of domination. The above examples from the responses of the faculty and students metaphorically describe the situation in the public universities as if they are inanimate objects, e.g. universities, asylum, academic freedom, are agents that have the power to influence according to the roles they have taken, or to control human actions. This power derives from the Greek Constitution that establishes the political, social, and mission values of universities, and limits the exercise of absolute power by those who hold that power. In the above examples, the government, or the new economic and administrative actors, such as the EU as a political entity, try to create a common European space where Greece is included, and so is committed to complying with European agreements, and to invest in, and dominate, the higher education

space. Drawing on the Discourse Historical Approach, the use of such words, which are identified with the strong political values of the Greek university, aim to retain their domination over the political power of the government and the economic power that the private sector possesses in higher education.

This section, drawing on the Discourse Historical Approach, has provided an account of the most important nomination strategies that have been used by the political speakers, the faculty, and the students to positively or negatively influence opinion about the new policies (Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008). The political speakers and the interviewees have attempted to make an impact on the perceptions of the audience by combining features from various historical discourses in past and recent history. In so doing, they have looked to preserve or create a new identity by aligning themselves to a national system adapted to EU directives, or a more national public education system against the EU directives, according to the ideologies they represent. Taliadouros (New Democracy) and Stylianidis (New Democracy) attempted to establish a collective identity that supported the new policies in order to build a more inclusive, sustainable, and effective Greek university system and nation at the European level. Papariga (KKE) used the European Commission's text to refer to the political and economic intervention in higher education as being against the cultural, political, and social elements of the national Greek higher education system. Alavanos (SYRIZA) referred to the undemocratic period of Greece and the revolution of the students. The speakers of the leftist parties, Papariga and Alavanos, built a collective identity as they identified the ideology of their parties with those groups inside and outside of the universities that resisted the new policies. Students and faculty referred to the laws that had particular cultural and political meaning for Greek universities, e.g. asylum and academic freedom, which were used as metaphors to support or oppose changes to Greek higher education. Finally, the role of the EU in education was conceptualised by the opposition parties as an affiliation to a particular political entity aligned with a particular political ideology, that of New Democracy.

In the next section, the qualities attributed to social and political actors, actions, and processes concerning change in Greek higher education are presented. According to van Dijk (1998), the positive or negative representations reflect values that constitute the ideologies of the various groups.

5.4. Predication strategies

The discussion of the nomination strategies began with Spiridon Taliadouros (New Democracy), the Minister of Education in 2007. The 'crisis' of Greek higher education institutions was discussed as being the result of the bad quality of public universities: 'the excessively bureaucratic existing legal framework of institutions', 'phenomena of democratic deficit in the

election and appointments of governing authorities', 'abuse of the concept of asylum', 'insufficiency in the economic and administrative government', 'stifling supervision', and 'indifference to the international landscape'. The above problems were seen by Taliadouros as the reasons which hindered Greek universities from applying the changes. While all the speakers agreed with the problems raised by the speakers and the need for change, they disagreed on the measures taken by the neoliberal government to address the problems.

> 'Indicatively, I mention phenomena of democratic deficit in the election and appointments to their governing authorities. Abuse of the concept of asylum and of the operation of the institution. Deficiency in their financial and administrative management. Stifling supervision by the state, which alters the meaning of government. Indifference of the international landscape' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6290).

According to Taliadouros, the focus of the new policy (Law 3549/2007) is mainly on university autonomy or, in Taliadouros' words, 'self-governance' (see Figure 2, genre A). In his speech, he states that the results of 'self-governance' are displayed in positive performance indicators used at the EU and international levels for higher education institutions in the following categories: diversity of institutions and their staff ('differentiation'), production of specialized knowledge ('specialisation'), proliferation of research and knowledge ('specialisation'), competition and attraction of students ('to compete with institutions and to attract students'), financial freedoms, accountability, and internal incentives for the improvement of institutions ('internal incentives' and 'to advance the academic community'). However, 'self-governance' takes place within a framework of state control established through internal regulations and a four-year development plan required under the proposed law (3549/2007), which constitutes, according to the speaker, regulation of economic control and accountability ('financial control', 'secretary of economic opportunities is accountable to the Rectors … to take economic decisions and not lose money and resources'). The above characteristics attributed to the 'self-governance' of public universities describe a business model rationale for the improvement of economic performance. Drawing on the Discourse Historical Approach, which examines the language use of those in power (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 88), 'self-governance' should not only be seen as an organisational change in its functional sense, but also as being embedded within an ideology which is used to persuade others of the correctness of the implementation of the changes within the public universities which the word represents. As indicated below, the disagreement of the opposition parties, students, and faculty about autonomy lends support to the above claim.

The participation of Greece in the European Treaties on education required the recognition of private colleges which already operated illegally in the country, despite the fact that they were forbidden in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution. The phrase 'grey area', a metaphor used by

Stylianidis (New Democracy), refers to disorder, social injustice, and political indifference, and the general educational and social impasse in the field of post-secondary education in Greece, which was created by the absence of the correct regulatory framework for the proper functioning of private institutions in Greece.

> 'Ladies and gentlemen, the draft law which we submitted today to the National Agency seeks to regulate and establish rules, to establish order in the grey area of post-secondary education and training … The most insightful and responsible choice, which from time to time was also suggested by most opposition parties, was the setting and the continuous control of this grey area in the field of post-secondary education and training, aiming at improving quality (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 825).

Stylianidis also uses noun phrases such as 'the most insightful and responsible choice', 'systematic and responsible work', 'a bold reform', and 'this strict framework', when referring to the law.

> 'The Bill is a systematic and responsible work that skilfully balances the Greek Constitution and Community Law. It contributes to the harmonization of Greek law with the European reality, aims at ensuring quality, and facilitates, despite the difficulties that arose from one revision of Article 16, to guarantee a significant degree of national competence in education' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 826).

These nouns indicate the following processes and goals of the government:

i. Selection of the best policy solution to deal with the problem of private structures operating in Greece, and the provision of course offerings of doubtful quality and non-recognized qualifications (choice).

ii. The law is the result of a responsible law-making process of the government and does not constitute the product of lazy and/or superficial work (work).

iii. The improvement of the existing policies in relation to private institutions (reform).

iv. The implementation of a set of principles which must form the basis for the development and delivery of private higher education in Greece (framework).

The above nouns construct the idea of the quality characteristics of the new policy and legitimize the policy process of the government, indicating the responsibility of the government towards the public interest. They also indirectly denounce the inaction and inability of previous governments to vote for effective laws to resolve the issue of post-secondary education in Greece. Adjectives such as 'uncontrolled' (quality), 'doubtful' (quality), and 'high-risk' (research institutes) are used to refer to the negative characteristics of the course offerings and

programs provided by the post-secondary education institutions operating in Greece. For instance, he stated:

> ‘Such a situation would allow foreign education institutions of uncontrolled quality and reliability foreign educational to together abusively exploit the young Greeks … The second, to close all these centres illegally and anti-constitutionally, and the third, to regulate the area, as did all previous governments, fearing the political costs would remain unchecked in the space of post-secondary education and training, by putting to the same fate major investment initiatives and doubtful quality and often high-risk laboratories [research institutes], which do not hesitate to present themselves as supposed universities while playing with the dreams of thousands of young’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 826).

In addition, in stating that the post-secondary education institutions are ‘disorganised’, ‘misleading’, ‘uncontrolled’, and operating ‘with anarchy’, despite their legitimacy that has existed since 1935 and in Law 1966/1991, the speaker delegitimises previous governments, which had apparently been unable to effectively manage post-secondary education in Greece. Adjectives or adverbs that refer to actions allowing the operation of private colleges in Greece, also have important positions in Stylianidis’ (New Democracy) speech, e.g. the adjectives ‘legal’, ‘illegal’, ‘anti-constitutional’, and ‘anti-EU’, and adverbs such as ‘illegally’ and ‘unconstitutionality’, are repeated several times. The repetition of the above adjectives and adverbs by Stylianidis indicates the important roles that the Greek and the European Constitutions play in the development and negotiation of the issue of post-secondary education institutions operating in Greece. The constitutional discourse of the Greek and European space is a field of ideological battle between different groups, political parties, students, and faculty, because, according to the Discourse Historical Approach, they create different relations of power between the state, the government, the groups who are involved in decision-making in the universities (faculty and students), and society (the new social, political, and economic actors). The commitment of Greece to European law on educational issues, as will be seen below, creates a conflict between the neoliberal government and its supporters, and the opposition political parties, students, and academic staff, who argue for the autonomy of Greece to regulate its own educational issues according to the national interest and national law.

Finally, the terms ‘validation’ and ‘franchising’ are used in English to show the hegemony of globalisation at the national level. They express the new functions for the operation of the Greek education system; for instance, by meeting the different expectations of students. They also offer the possibility of Greek higher education attracting foreign students.

> ‘An exclusive privilege of colleges which have all these standards is the right of partnership with foreign educational institutions, in the form of the certification agreement - ‘validation’ - or of a franchising agreement provided that colleges want it. The terms and conditions of this partnership are checked’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 826).

Through the use of the following three noun phrases: ‘ideological inconsistency’, ‘political timidity’, and ‘encapsulation in micro-partisan interest’, Stylianidis (New Democracy) interprets the opposition of Georgios Papandreou (PASOK) to the organisation of private institutions and centres of education in Greece, as being the result of his encapsulation in his party’s policy. Actually, Papandreou, as claimed by Stylianidis, did not express his own position in the Greek parliament, but he did adopt the view of his party’s supporters to possibly attempt to attract voters. Article 16, according to an interview with Papandreou published in the newspaper ‘TA NEA’, excludes any form of legal education, and is seen to hinder from effectively pursuing European developments in the field of higher education. The Centres for Liberal Studies, which operate illegally in Greece, are under no form of quality control by the state; however, they are assessed by foreign universities. This political manipulation of Papandreou’s opposition to the proposed policy by Stylianidis is a particularly smart manoeuvre in attempting to win the support of most of the members of parliament and to create doubts about the honesty of the motives of Papandreou’s party’s opposition to the proposed changes.

The phrase ‘schizophrenic policy’ is a ‘personification’ uttered by Mr. Alavanos (SYRIZA) (in a press interview on 29.8.2002) which is communicated by Mr. Stylianidis (New Democracy). It demonstrates the contradictory policy of the government in the field of post-secondary education. While the government had the option, according to the European Directive, to not allow the operation of post-secondary education institutions to operate alongside foreign universities, it did in fact allow this, but to this day, it still persists in not recognizing diplomas given to graduates from these institutions. According to Alavanos, this attitude of the government towards education is a political game which is played at the expense of families and students and shows ignorance of the European legislation. Stylianidis transfers this Alavanos’ metaphor into his own speech in order to strengthen the fight for hegemony and to support his opinion and the imposition of the proposed law. Therefore, it can be concluded, from the information given by Stylianidis about the views of the leaders of the political parties, that the issue of private colleges is a chronic problem which all the speakers recognise needs to be resolved, but also that it clashes with a range of political, economic, and social interests due to the conflict with existing Greek higher education law which does not enable the operation of private colleges in Greece.

The government proposals to increase autonomy within higher education institutions from state control resulted in major resistance by the opposition political parties. Anna Diamantopoulou (PASOK) describes the government’s proposals in the bill (3549/2007) as a ‘fuzzy approach without a plan’, expressing the lack of a government strategy which had to be implemented in order to solve the problems of Greek universities, and the absence of clarity in the proposed changes under the new law. The ineffectiveness of the new laws to solve the problems of Greek

higher education is also expressed by Anna Diamantopoulou in her speech of 2008 on private colleges. In particular, she uses the personification, 'the government closing its eyes', which implies the deliberate indifference or apathy of the government in relation to the problems of Greek higher education.

> 'The government, using communicative strategies, through a barrage of interviews with the minister, tries to promote that law in order to manage an area where there is chaos. The government meets the incomprehensible, by closing its eyes and saying that nothing happens, there is no problem. There is no need to move' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 824).

Whereas the speaker from the neoliberal government, Taliadouros (New Democracy), argues for the autonomy of public universities within a framework of state control, Diamantopoulou argues for complete autonomy. Complete autonomy is suggested within a framework of accountability. The word 'autoteleia', used by Diamantopoulou, is an important action that differentiates the political actions of her party from that of New Democracy. The word 'autoteleia', which is contrasted by Diamantopoulou against 'self-administration' which is proposed by the speaker from the neoliberal government, is given a different meaning and entails different relations of power between government, the university, and society. It should be the university's responsibility to decide on student numbers and all matters concerning access, the method and material of the national entrance examination to higher education, the content of programs, the modernization of the administration, the recruitment and development of educational personnel, of finance, and of internal organization and operations that cannot be determined only by the government, or even in the same way for all universities.

> 'But let's be even in this, one of the five, being namely the question of the structure of universities and tertiary institutions. What does the famous 'autoteleia' mean? We have dealt with central elements in our proposal from last year and, with the deposition of fifteen points in the House in November, included the issue of 'autoteleia'. The government uses this word. 'Autoteleia', as I said before, according to all the analyses which have been carried out, is the central idea. What are the key elements? It is the link of the university with access rules … the second key element is the governance model … the third important issue is the recruitment and staff development and independence from Ministers; independence is linked with funds. The fourth key element concerns the internal organization and operation, the issue of internal regulation … the fifth and key component is accountability' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

Although Anna Diamantopoulou (PASOK) expresses her stance towards the Europeanisation of Greek higher education in her 2007 political speech, in her speech of 2008, she links autonomy with the 'independence' of Greece to decide on the issue of whether private colleges would be allowed to operate or not according to national needs.

> 'So, European law had to be integrated in order for us to be able to proceed in such a way that we choose the developments in the field of education, to move forward with sound policies' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 6316).

A number of important consequences are denoted to Law 3696/2008 through the use of the terms ‘commercialisation’ and ‘privatisation’, as used by Diamantopoulou (see Figure 2, Genre A). These terms contain both political and ideological content. They are used to describe the subordination of education to economic interests and the exchange of education products based on market rules. They denote the idea that education is alienated and has lost its orientation of safeguarding scientific knowledge and values that aid in the citizens’ happiness and productivity. Here, applying the DHA, the new policies changed the boundaries between the state, the public universities, and society as secured under the previous laws, and challenged the dominant ideology which had shaped the structure of the public universities. This is also evident below, in the negative representations attributed by other political speakers from the opposition parties about the new policies.

While the political speakers from the New Democracy government and PASOK disagree over the issue of autonomy from the state, the leftist parties resist the notion of autonomy from the state for moral reasons and support national independence from the requirements of the European Union. The identification of the political views of New Democracy and PASOK is noted by Kostas Alissandrakis (KKE) who expresses distrust of all the parties in the parliament which, according to his view, although they seem to say different things, they agree on the European education policy and the Europeanization of Greek education. The political speakers from the Communist Party (KKE) differentiate their position from the other parties, stating that the proposed policies were adjusted to fit the Bologna declaration, and thus the debate over what changes should be implemented in Greek higher education have a specific content and aim, which is to adjust the Greek higher education system to fit the Bologna declaration. For this reason, Papariga (KKE) based her criticism against the proposed Law 3549/2007 on an announcement from the European Commission about higher education. She uses the noun ‘anti-reform’, an example of political irony, in her attitude towards Law 3549/2007 proposed by the government. More particularly, Papariga suggests that, while for the government, the law is a reform for educational improvement and innovation, from her perspective, the law would disrupt education, hence it is seen as an ‘anti-reform’ measure. However, terms, such as ‘independence’, ‘autonomy’, ‘self-management’, and ‘self-government’ are used by Papariga to explain her opposition to the policy initiatives of the government which aimed to increase autonomy so as to promote competition, science, innovation, employment, accountability, and quality. These are mentioned as terms that are denied by her party, asserting that universities do not operate independently from society, but are actually considerably affected by complex and diverse social actions.

> ‘To clarify things. As you know, we do not use the term ‘independence, autonomy, self-government’, etc. because education - whatever the organisation of society is - is an integral part of society; it has general and

> direct relation to the economy. Our disagreement is first of all political, because education serves this particular economy. As you are adjusting the education bill (3549/2007) to the needs of the economy, we disagree because we are against the construction of the education system on the economy' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6295).

The quality of the law in relation to post-secondary education institutions (see Figure 2, Genre A) is denounced by Costas Alissandrakis (KKE), who uses phrases such as 'transporting the directive', 'notorious directive', and 'difficult balance (European and national legislation)'. These phrases aim to indicate that New Democracy attempted to implement the policy imperative of the EU towards the recognition of professional qualifications. 'Mechanism' is a metaphor which is used to describe the new law as one of the EU mechanisms to impose its political and economic interests. However, the recognition of the Centres for Liberal Studies would have negative effects on the higher education system and would open up new opportunities for business profits through education and lead to the production of cheap labour. The noun phrases 'commercialisation of education', 'devaluation process', 'degraded operation', 'erosion of higher education', describe the consequence of the policies, which is the complete subjection of the Greek education system to various economic and business interests. For example,

> 'The result is the erosion of higher education and the disintegration of the whole education system. Also the production of cheap labour and opening new opportunities for business to profit from educational services. Then we will have a real raid by all kinds of businesses that will offer educational services of all kinds' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 812).

Alissandrakis (KKE) denies the plausibility of the intentions of the bill through the use of strong metaphors, such as 'Coal, the treasure'; 'behind the backs of the House'; and 'hunting customers'. The speaker refers to the insidious attempts of the government to discuss the bill during the summer season when the universities were closed, as a strategy to minimise resistance from the academic community. The term 'hunting' describes how the government brought the bill into parliament for discussion in the summer in order to help entrepreneurs/owners' educational structures to gain more clients before the following school year. Also, Alissandrakis characterises franchising as a 'degenerative phenomenon', wanting to show the government's inability to handle matters concerning franchising and the negative effects on the quality of public higher education. The asyndeton or unconnected figure, 'the people will pay, monopolies will be richer' is used by the speaker to highlight the political objectives of the government as well as the negative consequences of the adaptation of the education system towards the profitability of capital, and the associated implications of the proposed law for citizens and for (the benefit of) business. Therefore, it is seen that the bill

would lead to the commercialisation of education and that it was highly unpopular; it did not serve the interests of the citizens, but it did serve the economic interests of business and market needs.

Alekos Alavanos (SYRIZA) follows a similar anti-European stance as the Communist Party (KKE) against the new policies; however, he argues for the autonomy of higher education institutions from the state, as the political speakers from PASOK and New Democracy do; however, in a somewhat different way. He uses the word 'autoteleia', which means that a university should manage its own administration to meet its social and scientific roles (see Figure 2, Genre A). In Alavanos' words, to be 'autoteles' is to 'not be a servant of the government'. His opinion, however, coincides with the view of the speakers from the Communist Party, adding to the above that the autonomous university is 'not a servant of business', which he suggests that the proposed law tried to establish through internal regulation and the four-year development plan. Alavanos (KKE) opposes the law on private colleges in Greece (3696/2008), explaining the consequences of a franchising model in higher education. Franchising refers to the rapid consumption of education and its adaptation to the rules of business and financial markets. In addition, the practice of franchising seemed to lead to the homogenisation of educational products, services, and goals, and that students would receive the same product and services wherever they went. Alavanos characterises the government's attempt to allow the private colleges to operate in Greece as illegal or as acting against the Constitution ('illegitimate government', 'a government of constitutional aberration') as its political decision to allow private universities in Greece was unrelated to public education, instead serving financial and business interests (see Figure 2, Genre B). Alavanos comments on the selection of the summer session for discussing the proposed law as a deliberate ploy.

> 'The first point I want to make is to say that it is a shame. It is a shame for a government to make a central matter of education in the summer. It's insidious. And especially a Minister of Education should learn to make an example, and also government and a prime minister, to students, to operate openly, not to wait an hour to turn their backs on the other side in order for you to shove the knife in their backs. Because I believe that you 'shove' the knife today into the back of the student movement', the moment that universities do not operate' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 835).

The metaphor 'to shove a knife in the back', refers to the political methods of the government that aimed to pass the legislation during the summer session of the House, at a time when the universities were closed and when those that had some sway were not focused on the decisions of the House, but in serving economic and political interests. Another metaphor, 'You muddy the waters', is used by Alavanos to show that the government intentionally used the European

legislation and the Greek Constitution to justify its tolerance of the illegal operation of the Centres for Liberal Studies, and to further its aims to re-arrange these centres.

However, as Alavanos (SYRIZA) explains, the European legislation did not require the establishment and operation of the Centres for Liberal Studies, but would allow them if they had been previously established and were currently in operation (at the time of the speech). For this reason, he proposes national autonomy from the EU on the issue of private colleges, in contrast with the speaker from the Communist Party (KKE) who completely rejects the adjustment of the Greek higher education system to the EU directives. The quote, 'here we see raptors, crows and others shout over public property, over the public space, more than public universities', is a hyperbole that expressed Alavanos' views about the government policy which, as he says, aimed to satisfy all interests (financial and business) at the expense of public education.

The Discourse Historical Approach considers the relationship between different genres (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 90). In terms of discursive practice, it appears that the order of discourse that dominates in Greek universities associates the discourse of the contemporary institutional culture (mission, values, and symbols) with that of the neoliberal culture that the new policies attempted to implement. That is, the negative representation of the new policies concerned the goals and values that these were designed to serve, rather than changes in the functions of the universities. More particularly, in the interviews with the faculty, the state is characterised as a restrictive force on the educational and economic development of universities by retaining financial and administrative control, and through the implementation of the new education policies 3549/2007 and 3696/2008, which were seen as insufficient solutions to the problems in Greek universities, e.g. 'the Ministry of Education still controls'. Autonomy, as detailed in the new law 3549/2007, was denied. For example, the phrase 'two timid steps towards independence', expresses distrust towards the effectiveness of the internal regulations and the four-year development plan in being able to provide adequate autonomy.

> 'The main interventions were two timid steps towards independence involving the internal rules of many issues that had previously been regulated by the Ministry of Education and the four-year program' (TS_1m).

Also, the phrase 'financial control' indicates that control, when paired with the term 'financial', casts financial in a restricted, i.e. controlled, context. For example,

> 'But the fact that the state has financial control shapes the educational conditions … a university is also unable to organize its entry qualification system because the Ministry of Education still controls the functions and the organization of universities ...' (TS_{4f}).

Hence, drawing on the Discourse Historical Approach, the new policies are considered to preserve the hegemony of political power over the structure and functions of public universities.

In the same vein, in the interviews with the students, the new policies are considered to reproduce unequal relations of power between universities and the government. Autonomy, as detailed in the new law, is perceived as being inadequate for resolving corruption (see Figure 2, Genre B). Autonomy also seems to be influenced by the intervention of political parties in the administration of universities. The new policy (3549/2007) concerning the autonomy of educational functions, are seen as not resolving the problem of the dishonest or illegal behaviour of interest groups in the academy. For example, S_{5mPASP} stated: 'The appointment of the academic secretary […] like other laws that serve extra-educational interests and are often a way of misleading or deceiving public opinion' (S_{5mPASP}).In another example, autonomy is defined as 'financial autonomy', in which the university increases its financial resources by exploitation of its property ('the greater wealth of universities should be exploited') and entrepreneurial actions ('its cooperation with the labour market and with any other possibilities'). It is seen that these activities should support the state funding of universities, in contrast with the new policies that limit the autonomy of universities to develop the use of existing opportunities.

Both the faculty and students characterise the establishment of private universities in negative terms, except for a few cases. The issue of public and free education is juxtaposed against the private universities (see Figure 2, Genre B), and is seen as being threatened by the government's measures in favour of the private universities. For example, S_{5mPASP} stated '[…] we do not agree with the revision of Article 16 because it will allow companies to invade higher education'. The invasion of companies is a metaphor that shows the great extent of manipulation of higher education by the business sector, according to the aspirations of the government. Also, the noun 'gap' in the claim: 'Public and free education […] broadens the gap between the classes with weaker and higher incomes (TS_3f)' is a political and sociological metaphor that emphasises an increase in the inequality of opportunities (better quality of education and more employment opportunities for more economically-powerful groups) that the education system creates for the different financial classes owing to the indifference of the state to improving the quality of public universities. The history of the Greek university seems, in light of the DHA, to have reproduced an ideology that is opposed to the new policies. This is evident in the discourse about asylum. Historical elements are introduced to support the need for maintaining and protecting asylum law against the new policies; and the discourse that served the values of free and public education in the past.

Law 3549/2007 on asylum is criticised by both faculty and students as being insufficient to protect the university campus and academic freedoms (see Figure 2, Genre B). For example, the

phrases ‘it should be determined’, ‘must get rid of’, ‘cannot prevent’, ‘no-one activates’, ‘political extremism’, ‘clientelistic relations, ‘anarchistic space’, and ‘a place of crime’, deem the governmental measures as being ineffective in resolving the issue of political attacks in universities, and so characterise the asylum law as being inefficient in protecting academic freedoms from political parties. Students refer to various actions such as ‘transferring the political duty’ and ‘limiting asylum to places’, which imply that the real intention of the government was not protection, but the abolition of university asylum. The explanatory clause that follows, ‘because the university is a place for spreading ideas’, and the three gerunds ‘by allowing students to be active’, ‘giving them the freedom to express and exchange ideas’, and ‘teaching them to criticise and resist’, link the concept and values of democracy to the university. It is seen that the university is a place that, apart from scientific knowledge, cultivates the possibility of resistance in students, encouraging them to share, express, criticise, and resist ideas, and to fight or even reverse government policy. The quality of a public university is connected with the asylum law. Asylum is presented as protecting free education, academic freedom, and transparency in the decision-making processes of universities. As can be seen below, the new policies regarding evaluation and assessment, the participation of students, and private universities are associated with these values that the asylum law protects. So, it can be argued that the discourse about asylum created a sphere of cultural hegemony in the university as much as it shaped the discursive practices and the order of discourse used by groups in the university.

Evaluation and assessment is also criticised by faculty in terms of goals, desired objectives and outcomes, and process assessment (Figure 2, Genre B). The phrases ‘quantitative indicators’, ‘in favour of private universities’, ‘will undermine’, and ‘(functions) are different’, indicate the negative consequences of evaluation on public universities. For instance,

> ‘If evaluation is conducted by managers they will measure the quality of universities with quantitative indicators which cannot evaluate the educational and cultural effects’ (TS_1m).

The words ‘seats’, ‘funding’, ‘administration’, ‘students’ involvement’, and ‘games’, refer to the sectors that display a lack of technical infrastructure, the methods of administrative and financial management of the public universities, and the participation of students in administrative decisions, and so their quality is lower when compared to private universities. For instance, a member of the faculty (TS_7f) stated: ‘If the above conditions change, then we will not have anything to fear from private universities. Its worth will be shown in the arena.’ Contrary to what evaluation should be, the evaluation system covered by the new law, 3549/2007, tended to reinforce the disparities, rewarding those universities with high levels of productivity, or reducing and excluding the funding from universities with low productivity. The

students also justify the need for evaluation in public universities that would be supported, for example, by characteristics attributed to higher education, ‘the public good’ and ‘free education’, while students textbooks are characterised as having ‘many weaknesses’, ‘bad versions’, ‘lack of science’, ‘scientific unilateralism’, and ‘lack of organization in the distribution’. The above representations regarding the evaluation law indicate that evaluation was rejected partially by the faculty and students in terms of the pre-established grounds created for the implementation of evaluation, and that the goals, processes, and instruments through which this would be implemented should serve the public interest.

The new law, 3549/2007, regarding the participation of students in the electoral bodies (see Figure 2, Genre B), is criticised by faculty as being insufficient or ineffective in resolving corruption, e.g. the phrases: ‘This was not accomplished in all cases’, ‘The government should take further measures’, ‘cannot be simply resolved’, denounce the changes that failed to resolve the problem of alliances between interest groups in the electoral bodies of the universities, as well as the mismatch between the conditions of the universities and the requirements for the enforcement of the law. Students who participated in the dialogue about educational issues in the administrative bodies are characterised as being passive listeners who pursue political or personal interests rather than direct participation, e.g. ‘listeners’, ‘their demands’, ‘prohibited us’, ‘elements of corruption’, ‘limit’, ‘afflict’, indicate phenomena that restrict ‘democracy’ and erode transparency in the decision-making processes of the administrative bodies. Here, continuing to work with the DHA, the discourse around the participation of students demonstrates the attempts of the neoliberal government to preserve the hegemony of political power exercised by the student groups in the decision-making processes of the universities. However, this created a conflict with the faculty who tried to restructure their own power in the university, demanding the limitation of the power of students through the new policies.

The issues that are particularly focused on by the students are in relation to the law concerning course offerings and the establishment of part-time teaching staff (see Figure 2, Genre B). The students consider these measures to be unfair. Phrases such as ‘hold a seat for the title’, ‘to supply their income’, ‘do not offer’, and ‘do not help’, link the government’s employment of part-time staff in universities to the poor quality of education. This negative representation of the new policies regarding teaching, and the proposal of possible measures for the improvement of teaching quality, indicate the power that the students have to influence change within the universities.

Following the examination of the positive and negative representations of the actions and processes, it appears that the cultural elements of Greek higher education, as ascribed in the previous laws, prevailed against the negative representation of the new policies concerning academic freedom, asylum, the participation of students, and public and free education. More

particularly, the faculty and students alike attributed negative characteristics to the new laws regarding academic freedom, democracy, transparency, and the quality of courses and facilities.

In the next section, the argumentation strategies used by the political speakers, the faculty, and the students, for and against the new policies, will be examined.

5.5. Argumentation strategies

Following the Discourse Historical Approach, this section will address the arguments of the political speakers, the faculty, and the students for and against the new policies. The themes that emerged from the examination of the political speeches and interviews with the faculty and students regarding Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008 will be presented below. These themes are centred around business, the EU, the Ministry of Education, limitation of student participation, asylum-academic freedoms, evaluation, the system of multiple books, part-time employment staff, and study programs and course offerings (see diagrams Genre A and B). The discursive strategy of the argumentation strategies, and the arguments which the political speakers and the respondents of this study use to defend and legitimize their views for and against the neoliberal policies, including linguistic and rhetorical characteristics, metaphors, and hyperboles, will be examined below (Wodak, 2007).

The examination of the argumentation strategies in this section takes place within the categories or themes associated with the relevant arguments of the political speakers, the faculty, and the students who are for and against the new policies. Extracts from the political speeches and the interviews are presented to show that the new policies set limits to the selection of the particular concepts and discourses upon which the actors draw, according to the ideology they support; thus, the actors vary in the ways they construct their arguments. In the resistant discourses, for example, in order to be persuasive, arguments combine elements of scientific discourse (for example, what is autonomy?), economic discourse (what is the relationship between the university and the economy?), ethical and political discourses (we are required to provide particular solutions), and policy discourse (what is the Greek university and how might it be changed for the better?). These elements are combined into a more or less coherent whole.

The EU

The examination of the argumentation strategies will start with the theme ‘Europe’, as the education legislation which concerns this study took place under European Union law. The theme that emerges from the political speeches is that of ‘the EU’ (see Figure 2, Genre A). The political speakers suggest either differing levels of integration of the EU directives in the national higher education system of Greece, or the absolute rejection. In his political speech of 2007, Spiridon Taliadouros (New Democracy) uses the topos of modernisation to emphasise the

need to adapt education to the developments of technology, science, knowledge, and innovation, areas that Greek society needs in order to progress. According to Taliadouros, these points have been adopted in the European legislation, and Greek education needs to adapt to the needs of the new European economy.

> 'We want and believe that our universities can contribute to the social and economic development of our country, for all Greek citizens, in all economic situations, especially those who are needy, who are poor. We want to support them in the measures we take. Besides, the growing importance of science, research, technology and innovation for the welfare of all citizens has transformed society with the essential features of modern times. The information and development of knowledge have highlighted the main carrier of development' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6289).

The need for the modernisation of Greek universities is reinforced by the topos of crisis. The topos includes a description of the deadlocks faced by, and the problems of, Greek higher education. It is seen that the severity of these problems enhances the government's proposals for change and for the implementation of the proposed law (354/2007) which makes necessary the modernisation of Greek higher education.

> 'General findings were - and remain, I would say - that Greek higher education is undergoing a crisis. Gaps, abuse, and the non-implementation of the excessively bureaucratic existing legal framework of institutions have created a phenomenon that does not identify higher education institutions with increased prestige and high quality higher education establishments' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6289).

This topos is followed through arguments ad populum in Taliadouros' attempts to manoeuvre his audience and to gain public support. As we know, during this time, there was much resistance against the government, so Taliadouros was, in fact, required to resolve the dispute not only with the opposition parties but also with the public, in order to gain the support of his audience for the new policies. For this reason, Taliadouros speaks as if the public is an ally, so as to limit this resistance. For this reason, he states,

> 'For the first time in our country such an extensive and in-depth dialogue and debate took place both in the National Education Council and in the meetings of deans and heads of colleges, social partners […] Having being shaped, the draft of the proposal was publicised and a new round of dialogue in the Permanent Educational Affairs took place, providing a chance for all above, plus members and parties, to expose their views and to be heard by representatives and authorities. In addition, over 500 proposals of academic teachers were given on the website of the Ministry of Education. It was an unprecedented consultation process. It gave results. It activated university groups who enriched the public debate' (House Proceedings 2007, p. 6290).

The main topos employed by Taliadouros is that of the autonomy of universities. This topos is discussed under the theme of the EU here, because the new law, which was made by the

European Union, was the first time that autonomy had been set, that is, the adoption of administrative responsibility by university staff to resolve the problems related to their functions. 'Self-government' was central in the proposed law (3549/2007) serving European Union agreements on competition, differentiation, production of specialised knowledge, proliferation of research and knowledge, attraction of students, financial freedom, accountability, and internal incentives for the improvement of institutions. In the topos of self-government, it is claimed that:

> 'The current bill presents an interesting challenge for the academic community concerning the strengthening of government. Because of the support of 'self-government', which is provided for in the main body of the bill, this will result in the increase of the responsibility of the academic community … The strengthening of 'self-government' will also provide answers to a multitude of topics, such as differentiation, specialisation, and the existence of internal incentives to improve the institutions. What are now the incentives that exist in institutions, in order to improve, and what are the incentives to advance the academic community and to compete ahead of one institution to another and to attract students?' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6291).

The topos of autonomy is followed by the topos of control. The proposal of Taliadouros is to distinguish the controllers from the controlled; that is, the control of the legitimacy of the action and the operation of universities to be exercised by the state. In contrast with those measures prevailing before the proposed law, all the functions of universities needed the approval of the Ministry of Education.

> 'I must say that the controls of expediency are removed, a system of national public control is established, and financial control is within the framework of autonomy, so that it is not controlled itself and controlling, within the same institution' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6291).

This system of control would be exercised through 'internal rule' which aimed to strengthen the autonomy of the universities, as well as the Academic Secretary, which is an institution aimed at securing transparency in the decision-making processes of the administrative bodies of the universities.

The need for Greece to adjust to the European legislation is also claimed by Anna Diamantopoulou (PASOK) who proposes the topos of commonality; that is, for decision-making through addressing the common problems of education that exist in the European Union context. According to this view, laws should be based on common European educational needs, but would be designed to solve the problems of Greek universities. This topos provides a European dimension to education policy for Greek higher education institutions and is at variance with the proposals and aspirations of the leftist parties (the KKE and SYRIZA).

> ‘Anyone who sees the reality today can see that in all European countries, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the centre of the debate concerns the reform of universities. And this is because we have big changes and common problems … there is a need for a jump. Greece must be involved in this change. It must be involved in major reforms, taking into consideration of what has been done in the rest of the world’ (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

Diamantopoulou also implements the topos of competition, claiming:

> ‘And that is the university we want, an open university, a competitive university, a university where all have equal access; a university which is not afraid, but develops and does not require guardians over it. That university, however, should have all the appropriate conditions in order to be able to be competitive - without being a part of the European market - but to be within the education system providing equal access to education for all, and, of course, a high level of education’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 824).

In the above arguments, it is implied that the Greek university is isolated from political, technological, and social change, is characterised by a lack of competition, and excludes people from access, thus creating inequality according to the ‘old logic’ and a conservative mentality. Also, the universities do not benefit from opportunities provided by the global economy, lack innovation, are threatened by competition, and lack new technology, new research, and innovative teaching. However, while Diamantopoulou (PASOK) accepts the need for change which would increase the competitiveness of the university system, as proposed by the speaker of the neoliberal government, she does not accept its introduction into the European market as a product exchange. She does not want education to be adapted to market interests, but instead to remain independent from it in order to protect the universities from the power of the market and to remain outside of subjection and commercialisation. According to this view, the market should not dictate the curriculum and educational goals. On this point, the choice of the concepts of the ‘market’ and ‘competition’, which are also mentioned by the leftist parties, are intended to show the public that PASOK differs from the government who actively subordinates higher education to the economy. In contrast to the neoliberal government and the leftist parties, the adaptation of Greek education to the European framework should be based, according to Diamantopoulou, on the topos of major reform:

> ‘We need a large reform to respond to five major sections within the area of universities. None of these can be viewed separately. We need to see the issue of access, the issue of structure, the subject of research and its connection with production, the issue of postgraduate studies and networks, and the issue of evaluation and validation’ (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

The above proposals show the correct path to change in Greek higher education, according to Diamantopoulou’s view, and also the inability of the proposed government law to solve the problems of Greek higher education.

The central idea of her proposals for change is autonomy, which is a similar position to Taliadouros (New Democracy). However, Diamantopoulou (PASOK) characterises autonomy as 'autoteleia', and gives a particular meaning to the word, connecting it to the new functions of the universities, which Taliadouros had not reported on. In the words of Diamantopoulou:

> 'What does the famous 'autoteleia' mean? We have dealt with central elements in our proposal from last year and, with the deposition of 15 points in the House in November, included the issue of 'autoteleia'. The government uses this word. 'Autoteleia', as I said before, according to all the analyses, which have been carried out, is the central idea. What are the key elements? It is the link of the university with access rules. There is no 'autoteleia' if the university does not play a role in the entrance of students' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

Later, she continued,

> '… so there are five key points relating to 'autoteleia'. These are: access, the governance model, the development of staff, the issue of internal regulations and organisation, and the issue of internal accountability' (House Proceedings, 7 March 2007, p. 6316).

In the above topos, she characterises 'autoteleia' as the 'central idea', stressing the importance that it must play within higher education reforms. However, autoteleia did not exist in the universities and the law offered no provision of autoteleia for the universities. For Diamantopoulou, 'autoteleia' must be increased through the enhanced role of universities in determining the rules relating to access for students. The two terms, 'internal regulations' and 'autoteleia' are linked. She uses this association to denounce the government's proposal, which assigned formulations of the internal regulations for all universities. She also uses it to support the need for internal regulations to be different for each university, depending on the needs of the university, and therefore internal regulations could not be shaped by the government and imposed on all universities:

> 'The fourth key element concerns the internal organization and operation, the issue of internal regulation. There cannot be a standard regulation from the government, which is identical for medicine, the University of the Law, and the School of Theology. And this approach only agrees that the government has no sense of what 'autoteleia' means in universities' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6316).

Similar to Diamantopoulou, Alavanos (SYRIZA) argued for the autonomy of universities to design their own internal regulations in accordance with their needs, and not separately, by being provided with a model of internal regulation from the Ministry of Education. On his party's proposals for autonomy, he states:

> 'Internal regulations are factors of autonomy ('autoteleia'). Each university for itself. This is the most important conquest that can be made, and not through submission to the government' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6237).

However, he differentiates himself from Diamantopoulou (PASOK) when he focuses his speech against the constitutionality of the new policies that obey the rules of the EU; for example, cooperation with business or the establishment of private colleges in Greece, as shown below in the analysis, while Diamantopoulou maintains a critical stance towards the EU, without completely rejecting or accepting the EU directives.

Aleka Papariga (KKE) starts her speech by using a circumstantial fallacy which attempted to create suspicion about the motives of the government towards implementing the proposed law:

> 'It was well known, from 1999, that the reform would be anti-reform - as you want to say it - in education. It was a dialogue with predefined topics, a beginning and an end, and got into a matter of strategies' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6292).

In the above fallacy, she indicates that the government acted as a mediator for the EU, and that the proposed policy implemented the Bologna Process, and that it had already been determined that it would be applied. Hence, the debate that took place in the Greek parliament regarding the bill (3549/2007) was a strategy, since the government had already decided that the law would be enforced, rather than creating a substantive dialogue on the problems of Greek higher education.

The above fallacy is followed by the argumentum ad populum:

> 'Of course, as it seems, the bill will become law. We have no choice - and this is a democratic choice, because after all it is based on the will and in the formation of the consciousness of the majority of the people. Certainly, the bill's framework will become law. We want this law to be inactive, to put obstacles in the way of implementation of the law both inside and outside the universities so that the government will not implement it, to launch the actually needed radical reforms because we all agree that change is needed. The issue is in what direction' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

The verbal phrases 'we were interested in gathering the attention of workers and youth', 'we want this law to be inactive', '(we want) to put obstacles', '(we want) to launch the actually needed reforms', 'we resist', 'we reject', 'we do not participate', and 'we are not recognized populist, unionist character of European Union', are used with a clearly political aim, and indicate the total denial and rejection of the government proposals for change, in that the European education policy should not have been applied because it is an extension of the European Community, and a policy which the Communist party rejected.

Similarly, the European legislation, the Bologna Process, and the commitment of Greece to recognise professional rights, is claimed to be a means by which the EU tried to realize its economic and political aspirations. Alissandrakis (KKE) introduced the topos of 'mechanisms of the EU' (see Figure 2, Genre A) by claiming:

> ‘But beyond the legislative mechanisms, the European Union has equally effective non-legislative mechanisms, with a classical paradigm, the Bologna Process. This is one of the ways in which its member states make the same decision and pass through the Community legislation, because there is no ground for regulation; each member state separately legislates the same policy’ (House Proceedings, p. 812).

The claim here is that the EU has implemented an expansionary policy in two ways: through the mechanisms of law and regulation, or through the legislative adaptation of each country to the terms of the EU if the previous mechanisms fail to deliver. He proposes the rejection of the proposed law which serves the expansive education policy of the EU.

The participation of Greece in the Bologna Process created the impetus for a number of political and economic commitments by the government to establish local partnerships between universities and business. Law 3549/2007 attempted to increase the autonomy of public universities so that they would need to broaden their financial base, rather than being funded only by the state. The analysis of those who resist the partnership of universities with business reveals the cultural aspects of the Greek university which serves to hinder the changes that the government and the EU wanted to implement.

Business

A common topic of the political speeches of the opposition political parties, and of the interviews with faculty and students, is cooperation with ‘business’ (see Figure 2, Genre A). More particularly, in relation to the financial aspects, the four-year development plan defined, among other issues, ‘the planning of other financial resources, except for the state budget’ (Law 3549/2007, Article 5, par 3). For the first time, public universities were given the opportunity to cooperate with the business sector in order to increase their funding. Although the political speakers from the neoliberal government (New Democracy) and PASOK, do not mention the word ‘business’ in the 2007 debate, the leftist parties, as well as the faculty and the students, discuss it broadly. This is noticed in other measures which the new law predicted and may be explained by the fact that the government aimed to avoid or reduce the resistance within the parliament so as to pass the new law more easily, since the concept of business was first imported into the political discourse on higher education, and which had already caused the resistance of the universities and society, as described in the political speeches by the opposition parties.

Diamantopoulou (PASOK), while interpreting the changes in Greek higher education to be based on a social and economic realignment to the European education system, does not position her party either for or against the cooperation of, and funding from, business; however,

she mentions the need for increasing the funding of public universities by the state. In her words,

> ‘The European University Association, having considered all the reforms made in the last 10 years, resulted in coming to two basic conclusions. One is that it is not possible to fund reform without reformation, and no results can be achieved without generous funding of reformation’ (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

In the above extract, she firstly implies that there is a need for the state to fund the universities and then to make changes. For this reason, she contests the significance of the changes which the neoliberal government proposed to parliament in Law 3549/2007 in several parts of her speech. For instance, she uses the following argumentum ad populum which appeals to the emotions or the prejudices of the audience,

> ‘But today, with all universities closed by the university community in a frontal impact with the students travelling through Greek society, to look at what happens in amazement, without being aware of what it is and what is proposed by the government, apart from the eternal students and asylum, we, as a political party, have a great responsibility. To offer the clearest political and symbolic way to Greek society to understand that what is happening today has nothing to do with reform, that what is happening today is not going to change anything in Greek universities and that the country needs a revolution for the cause of education’ (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

The above fallacy is addressed to the Greek parliament, the education community, and to Greek society in order to highlight a significant contradiction occurring in the education sector. On the one hand, the Greek government promised that it intends to improve the quality of education; on the other hand, nothing had changed. The Greek people required clarification that the proposed law would not lead to changes in education. For this reason, the education community resists because it demands the improvement of higher education and that such improvement should be offered by the Greek state.

In another part of Diamantopoulou’s speech, she uses the topos of radical change to oppose the unilateral policy of the government on the autonomy of higher education institutions.

> ‘We need a large reform to respond to five major sections within the area of universities. None of these can be viewed separately. We need to see the issue of access, the issue of structure, the subject of research and its connection with production, the issue of postgraduate studies and networks, and the issue of evaluation and validation’ (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6316).

While Anna Diamantopoulou considered state funding to be important for the implementation of the reforms in public universities, Aleka Papariga, the leader of the Communist Party (KKE), displays the topos of incompatibility; that is the incompatibility of education with any gain, just as between workers and firms, where usually business profits are not identical to the profits of the workers. So, this measure is seen to serve the interests of business, and to exclude the working class from equal opportunities for education.

> 'In education, as in other areas, I would say that corporate democracy and workers' democracy are contradictory, as well as the rights of enterprises and workers' rights. These are incompatible with each other' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

Additionally, Papariga uses the topos of competitiveness to identify the negative effects of economic competition on public universities, the subjection of universities to market rules, and the commitment of knowledge and research to extra-educational interests.

> 'Competitiveness and education only means a large 'dive' of the education system in the market and in particular of universities, which produce new knowledge' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

A similar topos is that of commitment, which is repeated twice in the data, and which is used to provide emphasis to the political disagreement about the dependence of higher education institutions on business to improve institutional and social profit:

> 'To provide, say, the incentives for capital incentives for structured partnerships with the business community'. Although European universities should retain the character of their public mission, their general social and political missions should increasingly act as economic factors capable of responding better and faster to market requirements, and they should develop partnerships with the aim of exploiting scientific and technological knowledge. This implies that they must recognize that relationships with the business communities are of strategic importance, and that these relationships are part of their commitment to serving the public interest' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

The commitment of public universities to profit would affect the quality of research and knowledge, as only research and science that bring profit to the university would be promoted. According to Papariga (KKE):

> 'What research will therefore take place? It is done primarily for research on products that businessmen order and even products that have further efficiency in the labour market. Tangible research must have a quick impact on the market, while research on a product, which has no direct effect, will not be conducted. That means partnerships between universities and businesses. And this is the international trend within capitalism' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

In the context of competitiveness and commitment, which the EU policies created for the universities, the topos of classification is also situated. That is, the competitiveness and

commitment of the universities to business and profit is seen to be able to lead to the separation of universities in terms of their funding (see Figure 2, Genre A). On this point, Papariga (KKE) stated:

> 'The universities with active research activities will not be evaluated and funded on the same basis as other universities. Less active in research, but stronger for the introduction of students from disadvantaged or active promotion of local industry of services'. Here a distinction is made: Universities are not a criterion if the universities take children from poor families, etc. Here, does this follow the case of the TEI? This implies a complete categorization of universities, as classification can be based on a scientific subject, not a knowledge subject' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

For Papariga, the dangers of the intervention of profit in universities would result in corruption; that is, interpersonal or corporate conflicts of interest, with the aim of establishing domination of some groups over others for the purpose of increasing profits, and thus, having serious consequences for the morale of university governance. The topos of corruption can be seen in the following claims:

> 'Groups and corporations will be created in the academic community. They will be more interested in harming each other, and not in contributing to knowledge and research development. Each university will be looking to see with what industry or monopolistic, multinational business it can be related to acquire recommendation. They will not think about knowledge transfer and research development. Each university - with its interests and its corporations - determining how many will enter the university, student grades, and whether there are tests' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6294).

Along the same lines, the following claim attributes serious moral implications in education to the European Union directives under which the new policies in Greek higher education were designed:

> '[The Commission says: "Universities should be able to attract the best scientists and researchers, to recruit them through flexible, open and transparent processes"]. Here, hunting for brains with redemption like football game. Here scientists will be bought' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6294).

The above extract shows the degree of subordination of the universities, the faculty, and the education system, to profit. The metaphors 'hunting for brains', 'the purchase of scientists', and the analogy 'like a football game', aim to point out the inequality in educational opportunities offered by the European education legislation. The best scientists would be in advantaged and privileged positions because the education system intended to pursue and attract them. The above claim leads to the conclusion that there would be universities that would not have the financial capacity to acquire the best scientists, and which would therefore be neglected. This would lead to the classification of universities as either economically powerful, or weak and

powerless. The classification of universities has already been mentioned in the previous extract regarding the consequences of evaluation. The above rhetorical schemes aim to degrade education functions to the level of a football game in order to depreciate it and its terms of operation and conditions within the European education system.

Drawing on the DHA in relation to the topoi that connect such arguments to their conclusions or general claims, the above topoi allude to the violation of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution. However, Papariga (KKE) does not make any direct mention of Article 16, but instead, draws upon a European Commission text, as her party had previously expressed its complete rejection of a single EU higher education area which serves the interests of capital.

However, the arguments expressed by Alavanos (SYRIZA) against the partnership of the universities with business, which was predicted in the law of 2007, is framed through the topos of unconstitutionality.

> 'The unconstitutionality is diffused in all articles and all over the letter and spirit of the law. What does that do for New Democracy? It aims to revenge. It cannot proceed to the revision of Article 16 and attempts to undermine Article 16 through settings within the current law' **(**House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6235).

The unconstitutionality was revealed through the individual articles of the law of 2007, which refers to Alavanos' (SYRIZA) political speech, and which were in complete contrast to what was stipulated in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution. According to Law 3549/2007, Article 7, the funding of public universities is arranged as follows:

> 'Universities are subsidised by the state to fulfil their mission based on the general principles as they are defined in collaboration with the state and the four-year academic development programs and program agreements. A system of internal financial control is created in all universities. By a decision of the Ministers of Education and Economy, funds may be transferred during the period of the four-year academic development program, from one university to another, if there are delays in the implementation of these programs' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6236).

The above extract indicates that the new policies violated Article 16 of the Greek Constitution concerning the obligation of the state to provide funding for education (paragraphs 1, 2, and 4). As a result, the rights of Greek citizens to free education were violated, because they created inequalities by allowing a minority of students with the economic means to attend, while others were excluded. According to Alavanos:

> 'The provision in Article 7, which sets out the terms and conditions for the funding of higher education institutions, is contrary to Article 16, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution. Article 16 of the Constitution says that institutions are supervised by the state, they have the right to financial assistance from it and operate in accordance with state laws and not work

> as long hours as per the conditions that are set by New Democracy. It's a clear violation of Article 16' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6236).

For the above reasons, Alavanos (SYRIZA) proposes that economic planning should come from the state instead of the university. He uses the following argumentum ad hominem:

> 'Four-year planning of the state: Here you can see the joke in the bill that proposes a four-year economic program of universities without four-year planning, economic and investment of the state, to see to what schizophrenic situations, in my opinion, we have arrived at from the side of New Democracy' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6236).

The government's lack of concern with protecting education and research from profit through the new policy, 3549/2007, is an issue raised in several of the faculty's responses. The topos of autonomy and the topos of danger or threat for research are common in their responses (see Figure 2, Genre B). The topos of autonomy and the topos of danger or threat are closely tied to the presumption of the political duty of the state to protect the quality and interests of public universities from the intervention of businesses in their funding. For example, a member of the faculty agrees with the necessity for the cooperation of public universities with business, but he also believes that the 'self-determination' of Greek public universities is associated with the distinct possibility of universities determining their mission in terms of 'educational and cultural, instead of political and economic benefits'.

Extract 1 Interview

> 'Universities need to cooperate with businesses, but it is necessary for the content of studies and education to be disconnected from the drive for profit, in such a way that a public university can maintain its autonomy and does not depend on financial factors, the way that happens in private universities. Universities must remain self-determined, and decide and determine their cultural and other educational goals themselves, without being affected by economic pressures or political interests which do not have a relation with education' (TS_{1m}).

Another member of faculty (TS_{2m}) feels a possible danger or threat to research, in reaction to the decision of the New Democracy government to allow the uncontrolled distribution of funding of research in public universities by businesses (see Figure 2, Genre B). Although he agrees with the funding of public research by business, he emphasises the purpose of financing and highlights the risk of neglecting basic research which was not intended to bring in commercial benefits in favour of 'technology', 'vocational training', and 'applied sciences', due to the uncontrolled distribution of funding by businesses. The relative clauses which characterize the nouns 'framework' and 'philosophy' ('which can be beneficial for society and the private sector, and at the same time help public universities to benefit from that sector'), express mutual benefits for both the public and the private sectors that can arise from the

cooperation of public universities with business by implementing a proper law for the funding of basic and applied research.

Extract 2 Interview

> 'The law should contain a framework for the funding of public universities by businesses for the accomplishment of research and educational programs. Such funding can be provided so that basic and applied research can be developed, not just technology, or vocational training and applied sciences, but basic research must also be encouraged. The new legislation does not create such a framework and does not contain such a philosophy which can be beneficial for society and business, while at the same time, helping public universities to benefit from that sector' (TS_{2m}).

Only one member of faculty (TS_{3m}) responds positively to the new policies, which would seek to implement measures borrowed from private universities in the public universities. He introduces the topos of the inefficiency of public education, denouncing the inability of the state to fund public education, so that cooperation with business, strategic plans, and tuition fees could be beneficial. In this topos, he emphasises his ('I') opposition towards others ('those') who refuse to consider the cooperation of public universities with business, or the implementation of measures borrowed from business or private universities ('fees', 'strategic plans'). He states:

Extract 3 Interview

> 'I do not agree with those who say that cooperation with businesses, or the incorporation of fees or strategic plans, will make public universities act like businesses interested only in increasing their profits. Cooperation with the private sector can improve the quality of studies in public universities. At present, higher education is not free because the state is unable to provide education efficiently, forcing families to spend an excessive amount of money to prepare their children to succeed in university' (TS_{3m}).

A student from a right-wing party (S_{2mDAP}) considers 'internal regulation' and the 'four-year development plan' as strategies that give individual universities the opportunity to cooperate with private companies in planning and organizing activities. He states:

Extract 4 Interview

> 'The internal regulations of higher education institutions (AEI) to whom the political duty is transferred from the state in institutions, the four-year development plan, which moves within the provided limits of the state budget, and the public investment program for higher education, increase the autonomy of universities. Universities can organize their affairs within the framework of state funding and have the opportunity to search for other sources of funding. The Greek university must finally find its own financial resources! The four-year development plan, in cooperation with evaluation, can contribute to better evaluation of how funding is used for research or to cover running costs' (S_{2mDAP}).

S_{2mDAP} introduces the topos of financial autonomy, claiming that internal regulations, the four-year development plan, and evaluation are positive measures because they reinforce economic and financial autonomy, as well as transparency in financial allocations for research and other expenditures of the public universities. The adverb 'finally' implies that the cooperation of public universities with actors outside of the government is unavoidable in order to ensure that financial resources meet operating needs.

The disappointing picture of the internal state of the universities, and the lack of interest shown by public universities and their inactivity in attracting private capital investment that could aid the financial situation, is stated by another student (S_{7fPASP}) who introduces the topos of the lack of private capital.

Extract 5 Interview

> 'Today, there are serious issues to be resolved. The state funding of universities should be based on the scientific and research work which they produce and not on their size, history, or the number of students. Unfortunately, minimal efforts are made to attract private capital by universities, which can improve the physical infrastructure and provide more loans to financially-weak students who will pay them when they find work. The dormitories should be increased to improve and become competitive, serve students, and maintain rents at affordable levels, especially in provincial towns. Better quality catering conditions must also be made' (S_{7fPASP}).

According to the above topos, the state budget should be supported by universities in co-operation with private capital sources, which could be used for the development of the universities' material and technical infrastructure, and for the support of financially-weak students. The claims of the faculty and students for, or against, cooperation with business do not show complete disagreement or rejection of such cooperation, instead accepting the extent to which the for-profit private sector serves the public interest. This, in turn, illustrates (according to the DHA) the ideological struggle that the new policies create between the different sets of values; the market-oriented values imposed by the EU through the new policies, and the national institutional values established through the previous laws and supported by faculty and students at the university level. However, the qualified rejection of the new policy by people within the academy indicates the possibility that a synthesis of the above opposing ideologies and functions could assist the government to reduce resistance to change, at least within the universities. Below, the examination of the arguments against private universities confirms that the neoliberal government failed to reconcile the new administrative and economic functions of public universities, dictated by the EU treaty, with the existing culture of the public universities.

Private universities

Private universities were legalised to operate under certain conditions in Law 3696/2008 (see Diagram 2, Genre A). Alavanos (SYRIZA) uses the topos of anarchy to refer to the inefficiency of the proposed law for resolving the problem of post-secondary education while, at the same time, he tries to create suspicion in his audience against the proposed law. Anarchy in the operation of colleges is evidenced by the lack of a legal framework. One of the paradoxes of Greek higher education is that expressly prohibited private colleges had been in operation for many years before the introduction of Law 3696/2008.

Alavanos, contrary to the bill that proposed the recognition of colleges in Greece, proposes greater educational independence, namely the resolution of the prevailing anarchy by enacting a law based on the interests of, and elements within, the educational culture of Greek higher education, and closing the training centres that already operated in Greece and which acted in collaboration with foreign universities. In his words:

> 'Nobody forces us to work here in the Centres of Liberal Studies in co-operation with foreign universities. [The European law] obliges us, if they operate and produce degrees, to recognise them. You are not at all exposed to community law, if you do this that you have to, and there is no alternative. That is, those centres of free studies cooperate with foreign universities, to remove their permission' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 835).

The topos of independence is used to demonstrate how the government deceived the public by ignoring European directives on national independence in educational issues (in 1988 and 2004), and continued its policy towards non-formal education and its inconsistency with public education. He reinforces his argument for the need for independence from what the EU directives predicted for the operation of colleges in Greece, by using a circumstantial fallacy. In a critical tone, Alavanos accuses the government of using insidious methods to enforce their decision about post-secondary education, in order to lead higher education in the direction of privatisation. He uses short questions to which the answers appear to be obvious at times. At other times, he answers these questions himself and, through these questions, he intends to reveal the purpose of the government and to raise questions about its intentions:

> 'And you and MPs in the same way today appear and confuse things in order to do what you want. What you want? What is the purpose behind this, in a deconstructed political system of a government which currently has no identification, no respect by Greek people?' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 836).

The above fallacy resorts to the topos of franchising. Franchising is presented as an action that aims to convert universities into a commercial product, and hence, the government should not apply it:

> ‘What central landscape is the government trying to hide with all these diversionary things it is doing? The franchising, ‘τη δικαιοχρηση’. We knew from the franchising of Goody’s. That is, a small businessman with the company ‘Goody’s’ buys the standards in order to sell hamburgers. We knew from Everest. We knew from MacDonalds. We knew from the small meals ‘Gregory’s’, and now you want to apply the franchise to universities. And from ‘Germanos’. You want to apply the franchise and the opportunity to present the various lanes of harmony or, according to some northern suburbs, supposed branches of foreign universities’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 836).

In the above topos, Alavanos (SYRIZA), in order to explain the effects of a franchising model in higher education, refers to the application of franchising in restaurants or business chains (Goody’s, etc). Through this metaphor, he identifies the practice of franchising with commercialisation. Here, Alavanos refers to the rapid consumption of education and its adaptation to the rules of business and the market, and also that the practice of franchising seems to lead to the homogenisation of educational products, services, and goals, and that students receive the same products and services wherever they go. Hence, the educational functions and educational productivity would be given to commercial enterprises and, as a result, the education product would be commercialised. This exchange of financial interests between the government and buisness is what, according to Alavanos, the government attempts to conceal by pretending to restore the functional anarchy of private colleges, and not to privatize higher education, which would cause resistance from other political parties to the proposed law.

The above topos results in an argumentum ad hominem in which Alavanos directly accuses the government of making an illegal decision that undermines Article 16 of the Greek Constitution.

> ‘You violate the Constitution. You are an illegitimate government. You are a government of constitutional aberration’ (House Proceedings, 31 July 2008, p. 836).

Alavanos’ (SYRIZA) claim for public education constitutes an example of national education policy and educational sovereignty in Europe. A similar claim can be identified in his arguments against Law 3549/2007, about the structure and functions of Greek universities, in the topos of unconstitutionalism, which was examined above.

Similar to the above speaker, Costas Alissandrakis (KKE) uses the topos of privatisation to indicate his opposition to the government decision to allow private colleges in Greece. The topos of financial burden and the topos of the erosion of public higher education repeat the same values that oppose privatisation, commercialisation, and the independence of the Greek higher education system by the other opposition speakers, which have been analysed above.

> ‘The draft law prepares the way for the integration of Directive 36/20005 of the European Union in Greek legislation, which will open the door to private universities.’
>
> ‘Huge financial burdens will be added to the working class and university studies will be degraded, since some will be able to provide the same professional results with studies of shorter period and of much lower levels.’
>
> ‘The result of the recognition of professional qualifications is the erosion of higher education and the disintegration of the whole education system’
>
> (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 812).

He reinforces his arguments against the new law, by using the following fallacies:

> ‘Indeed, the integration of the notorious directive will presumably occur through a presidential decree, i.e. behind the backs of Greek people’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 811).

In the above extract, it is implied that Greek people should, according to the speaker, oppose the government’s insidious efforts to impose the European Directive because its application is contrary to the interests of Greek education.

> ‘Moreover, we do not consider that the choice of summer is random. On the one hand, the government is attempting to minimize the reactions, although we do not imagine that it is naive enough to believe that its work will go unnoticed when the universities open. On the other hand, it helps the centres of free study in hunting customers in view of the new school year’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 811).

The above fallacy contains a threat against, and an attack on, the government. The speaker was confident that, because the discussion took place in the summer when the universities are closed, that the students and the academic community would not react strongly against the bill. Thus, according to the speaker, the government attempted to minimise the resistance of the academic community by discussing the proposed law during the summer season for the passage of the bill. In another attack, Alissandrakis (KKE) claims:

> ‘But the preferences of the New Democracy government, like the PASOK governments that have preceded it, are on the side of community. The government has found an original way to secure, as it claims, sovereignty and national responsibility. It legislates those prescribed by the European Union even before the European Union requires it’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 812).

In the above extract, the speaker refers to the speed and ease with which the Greek government adjusted Greek education to European standards, without debate, opposition, or at least the

attempt to alter the European imperatives according to the conditions of the Greek education system. The above fallacy is followed by an argumentum ad populum:

> ‘Here we see, once again, the value of the proposal of the Communist Party of Greece for disobedience and insubordination towards the European Union, and to further the release of our country from the policies of the European Union and the European Union itself, as a prerequisite for change towards a populist direction’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 812).

The basic policy stance of the Communist Party (KKE) is summarised in the words ‘disobedience’ and ‘insubordination’. These words indicate the absolute conflict between the Communist Party and the policy stance and ideology of the EU. These words also show an intransigence and refusal for dialogue towards the potential adaptation of the Greek system to the European legislation.

Diamantopoulou (PASOK) uses the topos of independence from EU directives; however, in different ways from the other opposition parties. That is, the Greek government should choose those conditions that can help Greek education by strengthening the public universities. Diamantopoulou implements the topos of independence, claiming that:

> ‘Compliance with EU space, however, and the integration and application of European law in universities, does not mean that the country is an open vineyard, that it takes orders and implements them. The transposition of directives in which we participate as a country, leads each country to prepare the ground to create the conditions’ (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 824).

According to the above argument, Diamantopoulou (PASOK) did not reject, as did Alavanos (SYRIZA) and Alissandrakis (KKE), the implementation of EU policies in Greek higher education in relation to private colleges in Greece. More particularly, Diamantopoulou points out that Greece has no structures, conditions, or terms to protect the country from the intervention of foreign states and to exclude political arbitraries in any area of politics and education. Greece, therefore, received commands that hindered educational development that served the interests of both the citizens and society. She maintains a critical stance towards the recognition of colleges operating in Greece under the European Union directive, claiming the need for the establishment of an independent authority that would act to ensure the quality of the Centres for Liberal Studies, and to set up healthy competition between the Centres for Liberal Studies and the public education system, so as to serve the interests of citizens and society.

> ‘Regarding the Centres for Liberal Studies, first they cannot be called colleges. Secondly, by no means can the operation of the Centres for Liberal Studies be profit-making. And they must be certified by an independent authority, or else it opens a

> huge door of commercialisation, dangerous for universities' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 825).

Diamantopoulou reinforces her arguments against Law 3696/2008 by using the following argumentum ad hominem:

> 'The current debate is about the Centres for Liberal Studies. The debate in the House again regards the conflict between two dogmatisms: yes to all and no to all. The government, using communicative strategies, through a barrage of interviews with the minister, tries to promote that law in order to manage an area where there is chaos' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 824).

This is an attack against the government which, using the issue of the colleges, suppresses its true intentions, which is the recognition of the Centres for Liberal Studies as colleges. Also, the government is accused of pretending to conduct dialogue about the issue of the uncontrolled operation of post-secondary education institutions in Greece so as to avoid negative reactions and create appropriate conditions to proceed with the legislation for the Centres for Liberal Studies to become colleges. In another argument (ad populum), Diamantopoulou (PASOK) displays pure political and partisan content and addresses the feelings and the political experiences of PASOK supporters. She uses the political memory and sympathy of the Greek people towards PASOK, which had a populist policy, in order to impose its ideology.

> 'PASOK now has the same principles and supports public and free education. 'PASOK is a governmental party. It is a party in which the positions, movements, and logic have to do with reality, and which responds to the real problems of the Greek people. Of course, our proposal is realistic, based on the values, principles and key pillars on which PASOK was built as a party and movement. And one of them is the safeguarding of public education at all levels' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 825).

The speaker closes her speech with the following fallacy (argumentum ad populum):

> 'The student movement of each generation responds in its own way and nobody has the right, even more the LA.OS. (Popular Orthodox Rally), to slander the student movement and its struggles in this room' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 826).

This fallacy is unattached to the previous arguments and content of her speech. This displays deliberate support for the student movement, in order for PASOK to increase the number of student supporters. It also constitutes a political manoeuvre in that it differentiates PASOK from those parties which oppose the student movement and its struggles against the proposed law, and to be inclusive of the parties who praise the student movement (KKE and SYRIZA) in the parliament.

Stylianidis (New Democracy) responded to the opposition parties by stating that the abolition of the existing structures of non-formal education would cause many economic and social problems, so the government should take the initiative to place conditions on the operation of non-formal education. This represents the topos of history, and is used to show the historical depth of the problem of the operation of post-secondary education institutions in Greece, thereby pointing out the amount of political courage required by the government to resolve the problem, unlike previous governments. In his words,

> 'These structures derived from their legitimacy from the Metaxas legislation of 1935 and Law 1966/1991. They were authorized and existed previously by the Ministry of Commerce and later by operating trade tax with economic services of the state' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 825).

According to the above topos, the abolition of private institutions operating in Greece would act against the interests of investors and shareholders of these institutions. It would also deprive students from financially-advantaged families of training opportunities. As a result, the government initiated arrangements to facilitate the reinforcement of post-secondary education and the needs of the national economy for students and families.

Through the use of this topos, Stylianidis (New Democracy) responds to the Leftist parties, which had resisted the implementation of European legislation that required the legalisation of private colleges operating in Greece. He also repeats the topos of harmonisation (See Figure 2, Genre A) several times, in which European Community law and the Greek Constitution are presented as superior forms of policy-making. For example:

> 'The bill is a system and responsible work that skilfully balances between the Greek Constitution and European Community law. It contributes to the harmonisation of Greek law with the European reality, aims at ensuring the quality and facilitates, despite the difficulties that arose from the revision of Article 16, to guarantee a significant degree of national competence in education' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 826).

For this reason, negative adjectives are constructed or attributed to the prohibition of the operation of the post-secondary education institutions, such as 'illegally', 'anti-constitutional', and 'anti-community'. Thus, in European Community law, the provision of post-secondary education should be safeguarded legislatively. Stylianidis (New Democracy) frequently refers to the articles of the Greek Constitution (Article 16, Article 5) and the European Directive or Community Law (8848/88, 36/2005) to convince them that the proposed law is the right choice. For example, he excludes the closure of post-secondary education institutions operating in Greece, since this is against Article 16, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution and the EC Directives. He also excludes the prohibition of 'franchising' because this would be against Article 5 of the Community Law. Thus, he gives both his speech, and the law-making process to allow post-secondary education institutions to provide programs and degrees under the quality control of

the state, more prestige, and thus it became necessary to dissolve the problem of the illegal structures operating in Greece, while at the same time corresponding to the European Community directives and the National Constitution.

His claims for harmonisation are included in the topos of control, as expressed through the following claims which reinforce his argument for voting for the new law:

> 'No government has dared to control their quality, and to adopt rules to bring order to this anarchic landscape shaped by the labor market, which needs to create people with new skills, and by the trade of hope in which unscrupulous individuals take advantage of the desire of the younger generation and their parents to find a job in the labor market' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 825).

In the above topos, the metaphor 'trade of hope' aims to emphasize the bad education policy of previous governments which, in combination with the illegal functioning of the Centres for Liberal Studies, create the illusion that students who are not able to study in public universities can be assured of professional qualifications and jobs; in fact, these professional rights are not recognised by the market. Stylianidis (New Democracy) accuses the private centres of exploiting the desire of Greek families to provide education for their children by providing poor quality education options for students. Statements such as 'taking advantage of the desire of the younger generation and their parents', 'do not hesitate to present themselves as supposedly universities', 'to exploit abusively (the young Greek people)', and 'playing with the dreams (of thousands of young people)', provide a moral sense for the need to re-arrange the structures of non-formal education. That is, they did not honestly meet the real needs of students and the quality of education required by the market, but instead, they mainly satisfied their own financial interests, providing knowledge through speculative motives.

Stylianidis tries to weaken the resistance of the opposition by revealing that this raised the issue of private colleges and caused the prevention of a European decision against Greece (ad hominem fallacy):

> 'I submit this in the proceedings in order to see who opens the issue and at the European level, the issue that we have to adjust now, to see who is consistent and who uses the methods of bilingualism' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 826).

The above fallacy is an ad hominem argumentum and contains the presupposition that PASOK was already dealing with the issue of the recognition of professional rights/qualifications awarded by the non-formal education structures operating in Greece, and therefore, the opposition of the PASOK party to the proposed law was now considered hypocritical. The argumentum ad hominem is frequently used by Stylianidis (New Democracy) when denouncing the opposition parties for 'ideological inconsistency', 'political encapsulation', 'bilingualism

and populism' and 'hypocrisy' to make comparisons between governments in the past and the New Democracy government, which dared to resolve the problem of the uncontrolled operation of post-secondary education institutions in Greece. These comparisons are used by Stylianidis to emphasize the political supremacy of the New Democracy government. A similar example to the above ad hominem argumentum is found in the following example of indirect questioning. Extracts from articles and interviews by Mr Papandreou (PASOK), Alavanos (SYRIZA), and Tsipras (SYRIZA) were mentioned in order to support the arguments about the need for the re-organisation of private higher education and the recognition of professional qualifications awarded by the structures of non-formal education operating in Greece, and that these were true since the presidents of the opposition parties had stated the same views. For example,

> 'The author of this article says: 'First, there is no quality control from the state. Secondly, it is a for-profit sector, and thirdly, it is dependent on evaluation of foreign universities, some with dubious profit targets. When the European Court', continues the author, 'forces Greece to recognise the aspects of these centres, we have the following worldwide originality. We are the only country that has private profit universities whose diplomas are certified by foreign educational institutions without any evaluation of educational institutions of our country in which they operate.' Ladies and gentlemen, the text I read is an article of George Papandreou' (House Proceedings, p. 826).

Also, Stylianidis (New Democracy) utilises populist appeals to young people and their families, and addresses the emotions of these demographics with the following:

> 'We therefore indicate consequence; do not play with the dreams and anxieties of children and their parents and move forward, creating real prospects for the new generation with the responsibility expected of a party which is going to rule for many years in this place' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 827).

The teaching staff and students who refused to accept the operation of private colleges base their arguments on the conditions under which public institutions operated, during the time in which the new policies were announced, and the mission and values of public and free higher education, which they contrast with private education.

Free and public education

The resistance of the faculty and students to the government's decision to allow private universities in Greece involves a criticism of free and public education (see Figure 2, Genre B). Most of the arguments express the fear that the economic autonomy of private universities, the good quality of their infrastructure and libraries, their research facilities, their increased income derived from tuition fees, and the provision of competing degree courses, would increase the popularity of private universities and undermine public universities, creating conditions of

inequality and unfair competition. Hence, the following topoi are recognised: the topos of commercialization; the topos of the loss of public and free education; the topos of privatisation; and the topos of inequality. These topoi express the same ambiguities and values as the speakers from the political parties, expressing distrust. These topoi imply the need for the enhancement of public universities' finances by the state in order to prevent the economic power of private universities from provoking the abandonment of public universities. According to one student from the faculty (TS_1m),

Extract 6 Interview

> 'The intention of the government behind the revision of Article 16 is to privatise higher education. With the operation of private universities, public universities will be undermined. Most students will prefer to go to a local private university, which offers the same qualification as a public university, instead of moving to another city. Thus, families will be faced with the dilemma of whether to send their children to a good peripheral university that will cost 10,000 Euros per year, or to go to a college in Athens where they will pay 5,000-6,000 Euros and will eventually take a degree offering the same value within the labour market. Higher education must remain public and free and meet the needs of children who do not study in private universities' (TS_1m).

TS_1m evaluates the operation of private universities by employing the topos of privatisation. The privatisation of higher education would come about because of the problems faced by public universities associated with the 'high cost of studies', e.g. for the preparation of students entering university, competitive university national exams, and accommodation fees for studying in a university in a city other than in the student's hometown. Due to the high cost of studying at a peripheral university and the employment market's recognition of degrees provided by private universities, students would be forced, or would prefer, to study in their hometown in a private university, thus leading to the decline of the public universities.

Another member of faculty (TS_3f) appears knowledgeable about the history of Greek higher education in relation to the role that education policy has played in the country's social and economic development. She compares the past ('helped') to the present ('today') concerning 'public and free education'. She states:

Extract 7 Interview

> 'Public and free education helped children from classes with low incomes to acquire higher social status, and secure jobs. Today, the quality of public universities does not favour the weaker economic classes. It broadens the gap between those with lower and higher incomes. If there are private universities, students who belong to the wealthier classes will not face problems; they can choose to study in a private university, receive a better quality of education, and have easier access to the employment market' (TS_3f).

In the topos of the history of public universities, free and public education is presented as a means of overcoming poverty and unemployment in the past, while today it has become an obstacle to social equality. The key issue here is what 'quality' was actually comprised of then, and what it means now. Here, quality is interpreted as the provision of opportunities for free choice, access, and employment. The opportunities provided by the public universities implies the weakness of the state, or the decrease in its abilities compared to the past, to provide more educational opportunities and to make universities accessible for all classes.

Another member of the faculty (TS_4f) introduces the topos of low funding, referring to the particular educational conditions that prevail in Greek higher education and the prerequisites required for the integration, recognition, and operation of private universities in Greece. This topos is followed by the topos of equality enactment. In this topos, the terms 'public' and 'private' are used comparatively, and the passive voice ('is undermined') is used to emphasise the consequences of unequal operating conditions in public and private universities in Greece. Negative meanings are attributed to financial resources, facilities, and services required for the proper functioning of public universities ('insufficient funding', 'lack of funding', and 'lack of infrastructure').

Extract 8 Interview

> 'In a free market, there must be public and private universities, but in Greece, the situation is very different. The distribution of education by private universities under current conditions may undermine public universities, which receive insufficient funding from the state. I think that the problems in public universities are the lack of funding for buildings and the lack of infrastructure, because the teaching staff members have important research and teaching experience and their employment selection is clear and objective. Therefore, before the Ministry gives permission for the operation of private universities, public universities need funding so that they can compete with private universities in equal conditions. Private universities, having financial power, have already secured a high quality of course offerings, and so they function under unequal conditions with public universities, which have inadequate state financial support. As a result, the public university has been undermined. Private universities should operate under the same laws as public universities; have the same structure and the same regulations for the recruitment of staff and academic freedom' (TS_4f).

The political duty of this topos revolves around the potential inability of public universities to compete with private ones, and the potential for indifference and abandonment of state support to public universities in order to support the private universities.

Another member of faculty (TS_{5m}) demonstrates a negative stance towards private universities, associating the problems of Greek universities with the lack of finance, bad management, poor organisation of European funds and the state budget, and claiming that the state was obliged to

implement more effective interventions to ensure free and public education. The topos of the lack of strategy is recognised in the following extract:

Extract 9 Interview

> 'We must invest in public higher education and leave the issue of private universities and the revision of Article 16. There is money. What is missing is a program regarding the allocation of European funding and the state budget' (TS_{5m}).

According to another member of faculty, TS_6m, the topos of ideological contradiction occurs as an implication of the failure of the government to provide answers to questions about the new policies serving partisan interests, without offering any solution to the education problems. More particularly, TS_6m claims:

Extract 10 Interview

> 'Those who have discussed the establishment of non-state, non-profit universities do not tell us how these universities are going to operate, how students will enter and how teaching staff will be evaluated and elected. And those who argue for the revision of Article 16 do not tell us what should be done in order for universities to resolve their problems. So, the debate about universities has proceeded within a number of ideological contradictions' (TS_6m).

The ideological contradiction mentioned in the above extract shows that conflict is mainly ideological rather than concerning real issues that require change. For this reason, there are gaps in the ways in which the implementation of these changes are mentioned.

Students who belong to the neoliberal group responded positively to the law about private universities. For example, S_{1mDAP} uses the topos of law-making efficiency to argue for the positive consequences of the revision of Article 16, therefore justifying the reasons for his agreement. He states:

Extract 11 Interview

> 'The revision of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution will allow private universities to operate in Greece. This is a positive step because, first, the educational needs of young people are increasing, and private universities will cover these needs. The second is that it will resolve the problem of awarding degrees from colleges and IEKs where students pay expensive fees but have minimal potential for employment' (S_{1mDAP}).

The employment market would recognise the quality control of private institutions and the degrees offered by colleges and, because public universities do not cater to the educational needs of young people, private universities would provide the opportunity to fulfil those needs.

Similarly, S_{2mDAP} denounces the lack of competition in public universities due to the exclusive privilege of the state when delivering higher education. Public universities are characterized in negative terms, 'to get rid of the state control', 'stationary', 'not be forced', 'poor economic management', 'bad management', and 'poor quality curricula'. These verbs imply actions, such as freedom from state intervention, autonomy, competition, and the development of teaching and research, and also imply that autonomy and competition between public and private universities can have positive effects because this will contribute to the improvement of the quality of course offerings and services in public universities.

Extract 12 Interview

> 'The operation of private universities will not cause the introduction of tuition fees in public universities, but it may help public universities to get rid of state control, which the government tried to achieve through the revision of Article 16. Currently, the state monopoly has led public universities into being stationary and not being forced to improve their curricula, or make efficient use of resources, and not provide good administration' (S_{2mDAP}).

S_{2mDAP} employs the topos of independence in responding to those who resist private universities, claiming that the establishment of private universities will force public universities to set fees in order to strengthen their financial status.

In particular, students who belong to the leftist parties oppose the provision of higher education by private universities in Greece, focusing mainly on the problems of public universities. They claim that private universities act as businesses (with fees, competition, the evaluation of performance, the employment of temporary staff, and calibration to market needs). These policies aim to turn the universities into profit-oriented enterprises, and for this reason, they increase social inequality. Therefore, free education and academic freedom would also be undermined. In their view, academic freedom and free education play significant roles in society and help to reinforce democracy. In the topos of devalued degrees expressed below, the devaluing of degrees is presented as an inevitable consequence of the connection of knowledge to the demands of the market. The verbs 'undermine' and 'devalue' refer to the effects of private education on academic freedom.

Extract 13 Interview

> 'Private education undermines academic freedom because it relates the production of knowledge to the demands of the market. This will devalue degrees, forcing students to acquire new skills when the market needs change' (S_{8fCOM}).

In the above examples, there is an insistence for universities and political parties to fulfil Article 16 of the Greek Constitution for free and public education, and an obligation of the state to

protect and encourage the development of public universities as a measure of a democratic society that would ensure academic freedom and equality.

Another student (S_{6mPASP}) attributed responsibility to Mr Chatzidakis (New Democracy) and a member of the European Parliament, for the involvement of Greece in the issue of the Centres for Liberal Studies. He states:

Extract 14 Interview

> 'With the initiative of Chatzidakis, the country was referred to the European Court and the European Court decided to impose the implementation of the European Direction in the Greek state, and so the issue of the Centres of Free Studies was updated. Of course, we do not discuss the revision of Article 16 because this will finally put an end to free public education, and higher education cannot become the privilege of a few people, but should be public and free for all. Thanks to the mobilisation of student movements and the withdrawal of PASOK from the revision process of Article 16, the government retreated. The recognition of qualifications will also influence the processes of recruitment in the employment market. The degrees of these schools are planned to give their holders all the privileges of graduates of universities: namely professional and wage developments. The state must ensure funding and evaluation to help the management and transparency to identify shortcomings and improve the quality of studies in order to substantially upgrade our degrees' (S_{6mPASP}).

In the above extract, one can recognise an argumentum ad hominem, which refers to the government's lack of willingness to compromise with those who resist change. It indicates that the process of change attempted by the New Democracy government had lost its democratic character and that change should have taken place through dialogue and consensus. It also accuses the government of attacking the public university system in order to subjugate it to the rules of neoliberal market ideology, once again showing the anti-democratic attitude of the government against those who resist it. This argumentum ad hominem is reinforced by the topos of commercialisation which follows, and describes the negative consequences of the revision of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, which would result in the alienation of higher education from the social and public interest, and its manipulation by the aspirations and needs of the economy.

Extract 15 Interview

> 'The governmental intransigence for the abolition of Article 16 caused the closure of schools because it attempted to impose a neo-liberal market ideology in the public university. We ask for the transfer of the political duty for creating study programs to the university departments, and without any state or private sector involvement. The objective of the government is the commercialisation of public higher education and our transformation to consumers, and because of this, we do not agree with the revision of Article 16 because it will allow companies to invade higher education' (S_{5mPASP}).

S_{5mPASP} uses an argumentum ad hominem and refers to the government's lack of willingness to compromise with those who resist change. The phrase 'invasion of business' in higher education is a metaphor which shows the great extent of manipulation of higher education by the business sector, as also characterized by the aspirations of the government. Contrary to the neoliberal ideology supported by the New Democracy government, S_{5mPASP} proposes the strengthening of the autonomy of public universities, which will protect their interests from the disastrous tendencies of the 'invasion' of the market, and the authoritarianism of government intervention in higher education.

The poor financial support of public education by the state, the lack of a legislative framework to protect free knowledge and research and to prevent them from being too closely linked to profit, were not the only reasons for resistance within academia. The new laws, as shown below, did not provide the necessary autonomy from the Ministry of Education. This dependence seemed to be the reason for low funding, as the public universities were seen as not exploiting the opportunities which the new economic world provided for them. Also, this dependence seemed to create ideological conflicts on a consistent basis, as well as constant intervention by the Ministry of Education or the political parties in the operation of public universities.

The Ministry of Education

The interviewees assign more attention to the autonomy of the public universities from the Ministry of Education (see Figure 2, Genre B), as predicted in Law 3549/2007, than to autonomy from the EU directives. However, considering the focus on autonomy that the new law suggested, they reveal their consent to the EU educational agreements. The interviewees emphasise that the new measures were considered to be constraining, which would be ineffective for resolving the problems of Greek universities. As TS_1m states:

Extract 16 Interview

> 'This law seriously intervened in administration. The problem is that it did not intervene in a manner that could solve the previous problems of the administration and operation of the universities. The main interventions were two timid steps towards independence involving the internal rules of many issues that had previously been regulated by the Ministry of Education and the four-year program. Before this, universities were obliged to create rules of procedure, but most universities do not apply this. When this law was voted in, only eight universities had internal regulation. Now more do. The four-year development plan was something that universities demanded since regulations would take a long time to be applied. It suggests the idea of a strategic plan; however, it is still far away from where it should be. It is unable to provide autonomy, because the Ministry of Education makes decisions concerning the employment of staff and other university issues, and universities continue to receive poor funding from the state, so the state does not connect the provision of resources with the obligations of the university' (TS_1m).

TS_1m uses the topos of limited autonomy to argue for the need to increase the autonomy of universities from the Ministry of Education. According to this view, despite offering positive contributions to the strengthening of university autonomy, as the new law provided each school with the possibility of taking responsibility for its internal functioning by formulating or implementing internal regulations, it did not fully restore the autonomy of the universities (‘timid steps of independence’). Because the universities tended to repeat, or to rely on, a pattern of internal regulation provided by the Ministry of Education, they also continued to receive poor funding (‘low funding’), and the Ministry of Education still decided upon the terms and conditions of the employment of teaching staff.

The same interviewee continued by explaining the meaning of the word autonomy.

Extract 17 Interview

> ‘Autonomy is not the word in Greek, but the term ‘αυτοτέλεια’, ‘αυτοδιαχείρηση’, full self-government. There’s a legal and a political issue. The legal one is that, in the Constitution, universities are legal entities in public law. This means that whatever you do with the law governing universities, you are bound by the general rules on public entities. So, then a new law can give full government, but this does not mean that general settings cease to apply and even then there is a risk e.g. assuming an extreme scenario that comes a law that universities are only totally self-governed, if they do what they want. This may be worse than the current situation because you will fall into the general legal provisions of the public law that may be more restrictive than the present law. This is the legal issue. The political one is purely an issue to each government whether it wants to leave universities free to grow and where to administer them. But the role of the state is to provide national planning and beyond that, universities should develop each only of its own characteristics e.g. What is the mission and what is the vision? If you come into a Greek university and ask, they will say ‘what do you mean?’ The ‘mission’ is by law. Another is the mission of the Aegean, University of Athens, Polytechnics, etc. The vision is not by law, it is up to each school as far as the mission; all do not have the same mission’ (TS_1m).

The above extract introduces the topos of autonomy. The speaker differentiates the word autonomy, as used in different cultures, from the word ‘full self-government’, which characterises Greek higher education institutions. Greek universities, according to his view, cannot be totally independent as there are public laws which are restrictive. Autonomy, in this sense, depends on the degree of freedom that the government will allow the universities for their internal operations. He therefore proposes autonomy in the design of the mission and vision of public universities according to their history, in contrast with the current situation in which all the public universities have the same mission, which the law imposes.

Another member of faculty (TS_{4f}) identifies the limited autonomy of universities in regards to the following issues: ‘programs’, ‘study guides’, ‘new programs’, ‘textbooks’, ‘approval’, ‘election’, and the ‘entry qualification system’. She considers that economic control has limited

universities in making, and acting on, decisions regarding internal issues. In addition, the preposition of cause 'because of the contradiction of different political and social forces' interprets the lack of autonomy of public universities to exist intentionally in universities, as being derived from, and also serving, political-ideological interests.

Extract 18 Interview

> 'We have autonomy concerning what we will teach, how we will teach, what research proposals we undertake and publications, etc. But the fact that the state has financial control shapes the education conditions. For instance, the number of students; we are a central university which has no rooms for making lessons. We invite 50 students annually and the Ministry sends us 300. However, there is full autonomy in the way we work. A university is still unable to organize programs or any other change, e.g. study guides, new programs, or textbooks that we will deliver for our course, or a list of our modules without the approval of the Ministry of Education. When colleagues think that they should recommend some textbooks, I find it unacceptable that a committee or an employee is necessary to decide on a typical approval or that these people set the prices of books to be sold, etc. And also, following the election of a new colleague, the Ministry must sign their approval. A university is also unable to organize its own entry qualification system because the Ministry of Education still controls the functions and organization of universities, and because of the contradictions between the different political and social forces' (TS_{4f}).

Also, students from all groups saw the importance of autonomy from the Ministry of Education. For example, one student (S_{5mPASP}) comments on the four-year development plan and the appointment of a secretary in each university as being unsuitable for satisfying purely educational interests. He states:

Extract 19 Interview

> 'The appointment of the academic secretary is a political position, an intervention of each government in the internal affairs of the university, like other laws that serve extra-educational interests and are often a way of misleading or deceiving public opinion. But governments cannot interfere with the function and productivity of education, so there must be a strategy based on the existing conditions and the conditions shaped in the future' (S_{5mPASP}).

In the above extract, the topos of intervention negatively characterises the imposition of the Academic Secretary. It is argued that the government used this law for intervention in the affairs of a university and to mislead public opinion. The topos of intervention is followed by the topos of political duty, which provides a proper basis for educational planning. According to this position, the government strategy should be based on realism ('existing conditions') and the provision of challenges and opportunities created in the future.

Another student (S_{7PASP}) accuses the government of dishonest dialogue about education problems while imposing decisions. She states:

Extract 20 Interview

> ‘Fake dialogues have been used, at times, to legitimise the actions and decisions of the government. But these decisions had nothing to do with dialogue and were a party trick in order for the government to impose decisions which had already been made concerning higher education. Apparently, the attempt to revise Article 16 and the new law have these characteristics. They are ineffective in resolving the problems of higher education. For instance, the new law determines the period of study, the prerequisites for the accomplishment of a degree, internal regulations, and funding. If a university does not meet the objectives of the four-year development plan, the state deprives funding from that university. So, the funding of public universities is used by the government to blackmail and impose its decisions. The same philosophy is found in the evaluation of universities, so if universities raise their productivity, their funding will be raised, while if productivity is low, the funding will be reduced or will cease, thus deconstructing public and free education’ (S_{7fPASP}).

Using the fallacy of argumentum ad hominem, S_{7fPASP} accuses the government of authoritarian and undemocratic behaviour through which it looked to impose its views. Firstly, she claims that it created the impression of an intense dialogue (‘fake dialogues’) about the changes, in order to legitimize its actions and/or decisions. Therefore, as described here indirectly, students and universities did not participate in an objective and creative way but, instead, participation was used for governmental interests (‘a party trick’). Thus, the new law essentially served the choices of the government and was not the result of an objective and legitimate dialogue (argumentum ad hominem).

This fallacy is followed by the topos of threat. In this topos, the functions of ‘funding’ and ‘evaluation’ are presented as being used by the government as methods (‘party trick’, ‘blackmail’) to force (‘to impose decisions’, ‘impose its decisions’) new measures on others, such as the reduction of funding (‘the state deprives funding’, ‘the funding will be reduced’) and the classification of universities according to their productivity (‘raise their productivity’). The interviewee finishes with the noun phrase, ‘Deconstruction of public and free education’, which is a metaphor. The conclusion that the interviewee draws in relation to the new government measures for higher education is that the measures would end public and free education.

Another student (S_{6mPASP}) introduces the topos of financial autonomy, claiming that the political duty of public universities is to acquire their own financial resources by initiating the exploitation of their property assets and their research products and capabilities.

Extract 21 Interview

> ‘Our view, the view of the Socialists, is in favour of the public character of higher education, which we consider non-negotiable. As far as the financial autonomy of universities, we believe that the greater wealth of universities should be exploited and for the university to acquire its own financial resources. By university property,

> we mean the real estate and the research. The possibility of universities raising funds from their actions must also certainly be enhanced by increased state funding for education. All this of course, we believe, should not be at the expense of the main mission of the university, which is the conquest of scientific knowledge and research that should be combined with the action of the university and its cooperation with the labour market, and with any other possibilities it has to raise funds for its improvement. But the pure university issues such as the preparation of curricula and internal regulation should be governed exclusively by the university and it should not allow other factors to interfere, such as the state, professional associations, etc. Obviously, we support each activity of the university and transparency and meritocracy in every administrative operation' (S_{6mPASP}).

Autonomy, in the above topos, is defined as 'financial autonomy' in which the university increases its financial resources through exploitation of its property ('the greater wealth of universities should be exploited') and entrepreneurial actions ('its cooperation with the labour market and with any other possibilities'), and that these activities should support the state funding of universities. The interviewee also refers to academic autonomy, an element which is, in respect of the possibility of democratic institutions, to administer their own operations without state intervention, stating that 'all this of course, we believe, should not be at the expense of the main mission of the university, which is the conquest of scientific knowledge and research that should be combined with the action of the university and its cooperation with the labour market and with any other possibilities it has to raise funds for its improvement'. Here, he refers to the autonomy of the scientific and cognitive mission of universities, which should lead graduates to accessing the labour market independently of economic or political forces.

Students who belong to the leftist group do not openly mention the autonomy of the universities. They do however focus on academic freedom and asylum, and the relationship between universities and society, which is related to the autonomy of universities from political and other factors. However, their responses are examined under different themes below, as these concern different changes in the law.

A measure that appears to be linked to the issue of autonomy is that of the participation of different interest groups in the electoral bodies that worked to protect the universities from political interests and to ensure transparency and democracy in the decisions of the university (see Figure 2, Genre B). Under the new law, the election of rectors and professors was transferred from the General Assembly which was attended by the representatives of the students in the department, limiting the students' voices in the decision-making process for electing rectors, vice-rectors, and lecturers.

Participation of different interest groups

Out of all the political speakers, only Alavanos (SYRIZA) uses the topos of unconstitutionality to express his opposition to Article 24 in Law 3549/2007, which violates the autonomy of the institutions. In his words,

> 'In Article 24, in order for the government to undermine the autonomy of educational institutions, it turns into an evil idea. Various teachers who wander from university to university will participate in the electoral bodies in the elections. But this is in stark contrast to the government of each university within Article 16, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution, which says that higher education is provided exclusively by institutions that are public entities with full self-government' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6236).

Article 16 supports strong institutional autonomy in research and administration, thus forcing the Ministry of Education to take the initiative of mandatory funding of public universities for all their needs.

In the view of the academic staff and students, the intervention of different interest groups did not facilitate the implementation of a transparent and fair system of evaluation. In spite of the implementation of the new law, corruption and a lack of transparency still existed in the evaluation and election of academic staff to higher grades and positions in teaching and administration.

Extract 22 Interview

> 'The law gives students 40% of the voting electorate, regardless of the number of students participating in the electorate, thus encouraging the development of cliques. There are comic and tragic events, obviously funny phenomena. In University X, once a single student participated and 40% of the voting power was in his hands. Changing the system to a universal system of student participation can only solve corruption. Moreover, a change that the law brought was the participation of external electors in the election of faculty members, which should be seen positively. The logic there was to stop the corporations at the department level, so that they cannot guide the election with corporations, etc. One way to stop this is to not be from the same department. However, the law has failed to resolve the pressing needs of external electors to travel, and to cover travel and accommodation [expenses] (TS_1m).

TS_1m implements the topos of law-making inefficiency. The involvement of students was intended ('to ensure', 'to secure', 'the effort behind', 'the logic', 'the idea') to be a democratic function in the election of the rectors. Also, 'external electors' is a measure intended to lead to greater objectivity in the selection of teaching staff. While TS_1m, in regards to these two measures, agrees with this policy, he expresses his doubts about their effectiveness in ensuring democracy.

Using phrases such as ‘this was not accomplished in all cases’, ‘the government should take further measures’, ‘cannot be simply resolved’ and ‘to increase transparency’, TS_1m denounces the changes which had failed to resolve the problem of alliances between groups of interest in the electoral bodies of the universities, as well as the mismatch between the conditions of the universities when the law was passed, as well as the requirements for the enforcement of the law. The adjectives ‘comic-tragic’ and ‘funny’ attribute negative characteristics to the results of the new policies in the functions of the universities. The adjective ‘democratic’ refers to the purpose of the change in the processes of election of rectors, vice-rectors, or teaching staff. An example of this situation in Greek universities is described by the speaker when he refers to a regional university where only a single student participated while having 40% of the electoral body voting power, thus emphasizing the ineffectiveness of the law in securing transparency and objectivity in the results, and showing the extent of corruption and the inability of university staff who participate in the administrative bodies of universities to address this situation.

With the new law 3549/2007, it was interesting to note that only one member of the faculty felt that their participation in the electoral bodies of the universities was limited (see Figure 2, Genre B). However, she insists on democracy, as the other interviewees do (in different words), as a value of the public universities which can be achieved through the participation of students who have voting power - not only academic and research staff - in the electoral bodies of the universities. More particularly, TS_{3f} claims:

Extract 23 Interview

> ‘Democracy in our universities is pluralistic, and derives from the democracy in ancient Athens, where all could participate through the assembly. Everyone was equal and had the right to vote and to participate in decision-making. In the law of 2007, the government tried to limit the democratic processes in universities, limiting the participation of students in administrative bodies, so that there would be no resistance against government decisions. Until then, when we had a process of selection for a professor, the position should have been published and an electoral body should have been formed. Both of these procedures until then were undertaken by the General Assembly of each Department. In this, 50% of participants were students. So, it took place in the presence of students. With the new law, those powers, those processes, have taken the political duty from the General Assembly and been given to another special meeting which deals with general issues of postgraduate research in which students do not participate. Now students have been dismissed from it and many oppose this, both student parties and members of the Federation of teachers’ (TS_{3f}).

In the above extract, the topos of ‘history’ is identified, in which the memory of the perfect Athenian democracy is reflected in the following sentence: ‘Everyone was equal and had the right to vote and to participate in decision-making’. The interviewee emphasises the desired objective of the structure of public universities, according to which everyone can participate in

the government of universities through discussion and cooperation. The limitation on students and faculty participation in the law of 2007 in a pluralistic democracy, such as that of a public university, was a restriction of democracy and decreased the transparency of decision-making within the administrative bodies. The topos of history is followed by the topos of democratic deficit, which supports the claim that the government tried to limit democratic processes in the universities by limiting student participation in the administrative bodies of the universities.

Most students expressed their preference for maintaining the previous arrangements of the law of 1982, which was seen as a crucial stage in the history and democratic development of Greek higher education. The new policy was considered as being insufficient to establish a fair system that would secure objective results and that would represent the views of the students. One student (S_{6mPASP}) claims:

Extract 24 Interview

> 'The new law does not provide an effective resolution but it was passed for communication purposes. Only the law of 1982 of the then PASOK Government initiated a new era for the democratisation of the functions of universities and established substantial participation of students in the administrative bodies of higher education institutions. The student faction often revealed many cases of mismanagement and corruption within the university. The New Democracy government tried to limit our participation. Of course, there are cases in which candidates and teachers in the rector elections collected votes from their students during the period of examinations, seeking support, and reciprocating this support with good grades. In many cases, the degrees are shared between serving the interests of some teachers, and student factions respectively blackmail teachers for the acquisition of degrees, for achieving better grades in any subject, for money, for a position in postgraduate programs. For this, we need change in the structure of universities in order to limit these corporations that afflict democracy, to fight to restore democracy' (S_{6mPASP}).

In the above extract, we can recognize an argumentum ad hominem, in which the government is accused of using this law hypocritically, to mislead or to impress the public, without providing real solutions to the problems of Greek public universities. The topos of history follows, which is a recall of the historical memory of the period of 1982 as the year of establishment of a higher educational law accepted by all. This recall intended to provoke a comparison between the law of 1982 and the present law, and to prove the inferiority of Law 3549/2007. The topos of history is followed by the topos of corruption, which shows the interviewee as being realistic. According to this claim, in many cases, students are presented as being responsible for tolerating, protecting, or even encouraging situations that are corrupt. But here the speaker does not deny the rumors of corruption, but instead emphasizes the role of the participation of student factions in the administrative bodies of the universities, which are to identify such phenomena, fight against corruption, and to ensure transparency. The metaphor 'afflict democracy' shows the emotional sensitivity of the interviewee in protecting the public

university from political and personal attacks. The metaphor implies that the new law limiting student participation is unable to prevent corruption and therefore cannot guarantee democracy.

From the above, it seems that the legislation under which higher education institutions had operated since 1974 created a highly politicised institutional culture, one which remains significant to this day. As previously noted, the operation of universities under Law 1268 in 1982, created opportunities for the development of corruption and clientelistic relations within the universities among political parties, students, and teaching staff. That is, political parties used student groups to favour their supporters with students giving their votes in response to personal or political inducements. However, all the actors involved in the process of change (political speakers, academic staff, and students) did not reject the role of the students, but instead want a change in the institutions to ensure that student participation takes place in more democratic and transparent ways.

The role of students, however, did not appear to be limited to the governing bodies of the universities, but seemed to serve the social and political values of society for government control and protection of democracy through resistance. Their right for resistance was protected by academic asylum, which is discussed below. However, we can say that the call of academic staff to history, expresses the interactive relationship between the university and society. That is, the public university reflects the values and historical experience of its nation. In turn, the national values are a significant part of the university's identity which the new policies fail to reconcile with neoliberal ideologies and functions. The leftist students display this interactive relationship between the university and society in their responses, however through a more polemical attitude and within the framework of the communist ideology.

The relationship of universities to society

One student (S_{10mCOM}), from a leftist group, comments on the importance of the university and the student struggle for society against the authoritarian power of the state (see Figure 2, Genre B). He argues that:

Extract 25 Interview

> 'The new policies aim to limit our participation, and to limit our reaction, collective action and freedom in universities. We ask for free and public education, and the restoration of democratic functions in universities. Universities, through occupations and demonstrations by students, play an important role in the opposition of society against the authoritarian power of governments. For this reason, we are in a strong ideological conflict with the political system and that has been expressed through violence against students and strikers, and arrests' (S_{10mCOM}).

The topos of threat is introduced by S_{10m} to denounce the objective of the government policy to restrict the participation of students in the functions of universities. The topos of threat is

followed by the topos of conflict where the interviewee indirectly denounces a government that made decisions that were not compliant or profitable for society, and refers to the active role of students (‘demonstrations’, ‘occupations’, ‘conflict’) in political life and in the struggle against, and the conflict with, the government. It is also indirectly claimed that the social mission of the university, which is the resistance and awareness of society to the authoritarian power of the government, was accomplished through the political behaviour by, and disagreement of, students.

Here, S_{8f}COM puts forward a political connotation of the events that marked social and educational life during the years of the dictatorship, during which students of the resistance managed to overthrow the seven-year dictatorship. The political ideologies ‘conservative’ and ‘communist’ relate to the opposing political ideologies that are expressed freely in Greek universities, and which provoke agitation and conflict.

Extract 26 Interview

> ‘Of course, there should be politics in universities because it is an integral part of university life. There must be ideological conflict in universities because the university is a place for spreading ideas. Whatever the idea, conservative or communist, it must be represented in a university’ (S_{8fCOM}).

In the above topos of conflict, the explanatory clause that follows, ‘because the university is a place for spreading ideas’, links the concept and values of democracy to the university. The university is a place which, apart from scientific knowledge, cultivates the possibility of resistance in students, encouraging them to fight or even to reverse government policy. Here, the idea put forward is that the government is accused of attempting to limit the dissemination of different political ideologies which must be heard in a democratic university, using indirect political methods, either by limiting student participation or through re-organising asylum.

S_{9mCOM} uses the topos of freedom to argue for the inappropriateness of the new policies in supporting the future of students and society.

Extract 27 Interview

> ‘As well as teaching history, philosophy, and other disciplines, the university must help students to become contemporary and social citizens and support their future. The university must protect democracy by allowing students to be active in social and political life, giving them the freedom to express and exchange ideas and criticize and resist’ (S_{9mCOM}).

According to the above topos, the university plays an important role in the strengthening of national democracy by preparing students for a better future through their active participation

(‘to be active’, ‘giving them the freedom’), and through promoting critical attitudes towards reality (‘criticise’, ‘resist’).

As previously mentioned, the rights of students for participation in the governing bodies of the universities and having voting power, as well as the resistance of students against the arbitrary power of the government, are protected by academic asylum law. Asylum, according to the relevant law, aims to protect academic freedoms (the freedom of research, teaching, and speech), which however, according to the following examination of the arguments, seems to be suppressed in practice. As shown below, while all agree that asylum and the protective measures of academic freedoms that asylum represents have been undermined, there is disagreement about the way the government attempted to address the problem by limiting asylum to those parts of the universities in which teaching and research take place.

Asylum-Academic Freedoms

Asylum and academic freedom are not discussed by any of the politicians, except by the president of the coalition of the radical left, Alekos Alavanos (SYRIZA). This can be explained by the fact that the other opposing parties based their opposition to the new policies on the fact that they served the interests of the European Union and the economy, which violated academic freedoms. In this way, asylum was violated because it protected the administrative and economic autonomy of education institutions from political and economic considerations.

Alavanos mentions the violation of asylum by Law 3549/2007, as he bases his arguments on the legislative framework of the existing structures of public universities which had been in place since 1975, including Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, which remained unchanged, although the revisions of the rest of the articles on three occasions, and the law of 1982 after the period of the junta. The reminder of the role of academic asylum in the history of Greece is powerful enough to influence the public, as this has created a specific culture inside the universities. Alavanos implements the topos of the violation of asylum by stating:

> ‘Of course, there is the issue of asylum. The issue of asylum comes with the punishment of six months in jail. From this, you can realize that it is not only the asylum issue that is raised, it is not simply open courtyards and buildings of universities in MAT and the forces of Mr Polydoras. Mr Giannakou assigns responsibilities to Mr Polydoros. A number of students and teachers can be punished by six months in jail. However, Article 7 of the Constitution states that no crime or penalty is imposed without a law that is valid prior to committing the act, and this defines the elements and existence of a specific description of punishable offenses’ (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6236).

The violation of asylum took place through the new law (3549/2007) which limited the places on campus protected by the asylum law by allowing the police to intervene on campus. This

topos can also be considered as the topos of unconstitutionalism. The violation of asylum law was considered to be against the Greek Constitution, Article 7. An interesting point to refer to here in the same speech is when Alavanos (SYRIZA) proposes support for university asylum. He states:

> 'We want support of university asylum. Is there abuse? There have been moments that no-one likes in relation to university asylum. There are. And what will be done? Will we abolish it? There are moments in relation to the parliamentary system, which have been disliked? There are no data of corruption or exchanging scandals, of corruption in parliamentarianism? Where are we going? Are we going to junta or to a controlled parliamentarism? We will support our freedom. We have to do the same with asylum and not simply asylum confined to some buildings. And we are awesome! I never thought, I could not imagine that there would be a government interfering with young peoples' rights to work so much, and that the right to work for some professors will be used as an excuse in order to attack the basic freedom of university asylum' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6237).

In the above extract, Alavanos uses argumentation ad hominem as a direct attack on the government by connecting violations of university asylum to limitations of democracy and freedom. He considers university asylum as one of the foundations of democracy and freedom, and that, for this reason, it should be protected and maintained in the university system. Through his mention of the 'parliament' and the rhetorical questions, 'Is there abuse?, 'And what will be done?', 'Will we abolish it?, 'Are there moments in relation to the parliamentary system which have been disliked?', 'Are there data of corruption or exchanging scandals of corruption in parliamentarianism?', 'Where are we going?', 'Are we going to junta or to a controlled parliamentarism?', he equates asylum with the supreme legislative power body of the state, the parliament. Hence, the function of asylum is given supreme power, as it functions to interpret and apply the changes enacted by the government.

The interviewees mention asylum in detail giving a picture of its nature and functions within the university. Asylum and academic freedoms aree an issue in several interviewees' responses (see Figure 2, Genre B). In their responses, academic freedom and public education are interlinked, and are the basis and prerequisites of free scientific knowledge, and seen as something which should be unhindered by financial interests and economic feasibility. The failure of the government to protect asylum, and the exploitation of asylum by hazardous factions which affect the safety of the campus, are displayed in their responses against the new law 3549/2007. A member of faculty states:

Extract 28 Interview

> 'Academic freedom ensures that we can undertake challenging research and even challenge the political authorities without fearing the loss of jobs. And what constitutes public education is that knowledge is produced independently from economic and political benefits. With the abuse of asylum from 'partisan-men',

> public universities lose any educational character. We have good teachers and they do not allow us to do our work, our research and teaching. The university is firstly to undertake research, to teach what I have researched and to have an impact on society. The university provides dialogue, exchange of views. So the first thing is that parties need to leave. The government must protect the national history, academic freedom and asylum. The new law cannot effectively prevent political extremism. The previous law of asylum allowed the intervention of the police in the internal affairs of universities in case of a flagrant crime or a crime against humanity. However, which dean dares to remove asylum? This has not taken place, because the next day he will have gone, he will find his office destroyed, etc. I believe that asylum is an empty legal framework. The police will not come to save us, we are in a hazardous area; this is not logical. Yes, through contrast, synthesis, we can discuss and something good can come out of this. But to end this, violence should disappear; it is a carcinoma that must disappear along with the party factions' (TS_7f).

The topos of academic freedom and the topos of public education are used to emphasise the negative effects of the violation of asylum associated with the democratic functions of public universities (research, knowledge, and dialogue). Then, the topos of threat is introduced and cases of abuse of asylum that violated academic freedom and public education are mentioned by 'partisan men' and 'parties' who prevented the liberal and democratic production and exchange of knowledge and research by teaching and research staff. This topos, in turn, resorts to the topos of the university. The interviewee expresses her view that asylum is a legal concept which complicates matters by protecting hazardous actions and therefore has no reason to exist. The 'dean' or rector, the representative of the university community, is presented as being powerless to intervene and to provide protection for asylum because of political circumstances that had formed around and within the university. Political parties tolerated the criminal activity of groups within academia to such a degree that if the dean requested the temporary 'removal of asylum' to protect academic property and freedom, there was a risk that the dean himself would be removed from his position. Feelings of insecurity and fear were expressed by teaching staff in the university space when faced with the threat of attacks from extremist political actions. The feeling of insecurity and fear was a major obstacle in the accomplishment of the work and mission of the university.

TS_{4f}, introduces the topos of history, which provides an example of democracy, citing 'Plato' and 'Aristotle' to imply that full democracy must continue and include student participation in decision-making processes. She claims:

Extract 29 Interview

> 'I believe that Plato and Aristotle's idea of full democracy in education is positive. I support it. Clearly students are the recipients of a service and they should have a role that involves talking about it. But students who attend the general assembly claim to represent all students. They participate and are present mainly, I think, as listeners when the subjects are not directly interesting to them, in the sense of their demands. I do not think that anything has changed, either in the mentality of students or in the disposition for effective participation. They participate when matters concerning

> them directly enter the debate, and which they consider matters that affect previously acquired rights they can even become undemocratic. Recently, a large group of students went to the General Assembly and prohibited us from making a certain decision because our decision was not in accordance with their own interests. Yes, students can be part of the dialogue about issues that concern them, offer their views and hear our views. However, there are elements of corruption and this must change. They are students and should be here to learn and become good professionals and citizens. Everyone imposes their opinions if they have power to do so in a space that does not function in a democratic way, such as the Greek university. And the reverse is true, and we sometimes cross the boundaries' (TS_{4f}).

In the above extract, the topos of history is followed by the topos of democratic deficit, which is used in negative terms to describe the educational reality regarding student participation in the general assemblies. The phrase 'good professionals and citizens' connects the development of students with 'full democracy' that creates the preconditions for professional training and their social creative integration. The undemocratic attitude of students, the obstruction by students of teaching staff in making decisions, and the obstruction by students of procedures for the operation of universities are denounced. She complains about the inability of a university to ban students ('prohibited') from the decision-making processes of the General Assembly when the judgments of the General Assembly were not supportive of their own interests ('corruption', 'demands', 'imposes').

Extract 30 Interview

> 'With the previous law, the abolition of asylum could take place following the approval of the majority of a special committee consisting of many members, and for that reason, it was difficult to make a decision in critical cases. With the current legislation, asylum, of course, is not abolished as many claim, but the Rector's council makes the decision through the relative majority. The 'removal of asylum' was usually not enforced because there is a fear of conflict with social groups; only in 1985, during the occupation of the School of Chemistry by students 'the removal of asylum' took place, and in 1991 and 1995, after severe damage, objects of great value were stolen, and the University building was torched. This must stop and one solution is that other offenses are to be included for the possibility of police intervention without the approval of the Rector's Council, such as damage, arson and injuries' (S_{2mDAP}).

In the above example, the dates 1985, 1991, and 1995 represent events used by S_{2mDAP} as examples of when the immediate removal of asylum occurred without the need for approval by the relevant administrative body of the university. While the new law is bold in facilitating the removal of asylum, these examples show the weakness of the university, and even of the state, in protecting the campus from various action groups. Finally, this topos leads to the topos of inefficiency of the law, as shown when S_{2m} expresses his proposal that other offenses should be added for cases of immediate 'removal of asylum', implying that the Asylum Act does not include offenses that threaten university space and that, therefore, the law does not protect university space.

Another student (S_{4fDAP}) focuses on the measures that should be taken to protect asylum, as well as the ambiguity of the Asylum Act in determining which spaces are protected by asylum. In the following extract, this is initially recognised by the topos of increasing security, followed by the topos of the lack of clarity of the law.

Extract 31 Interview

> 'Asylum and university property can be protected by increasing security or locating cameras wherever necessary, and police should be able to intervene before university property is damaged, as it has been in some cases. The new law also does not clearly specify the places covered by university asylum and so it limits asylum. We do not agree with the new law on this point because we believe that any place belonging to the university, student halls, registry office, surrounding campus, is an integral part of university life and should be protected by asylum' (S_{4fDAP}).

In the last sentence, the topos of political duty is recognised as denouncing the lack of security on the university campus and the obligation of police intervention within university space to prevent university property being damaged. University asylum is defined as 'any place belonging to the university', 'student hall', registry office', and 'surrounding campus'. These places are characterised as 'an integral part of university life', which means that the interviewee considers that educational, teaching, and scientific work is conducted in all these places; classrooms are intended for teaching, the campus is intended for communication, exchange of views, and dialogue, and the research institutes are intended for research.

While the right-wing students proposed stricter measures for protecting university space, those who disagreed with the new law did not propose stricter measures than those of the government to protect asylum, as measures such as cameras and the prompt intervention of policies would somehow limit freedom in the universities. Instead, they referred to actions that degraded asylum law, as well as the role of asylum during the dictatorship, trying to 'awaken' the moral and social obligation of all who were involved in the education space, to protect asylum policy as a national and social value.

S_{7fPASP} introduces the topos of threat in the following extract, according to which the criminal behaviour in Greek universities was likely to be a prelude to the abolition of asylum. The topos of threat is followed by the topos of history, which reinforces the conclusion that asylum should be maintained and protected. S_{7fPASP} provides a historical review of the role of asylum during the dictatorship, and refers to opportunities provided by the recent laws of asylum for the development of educational democracy. This historical review is an effort to demonstrate that, because history shows the continued beneficial operation of the institution of asylum in the universities in the past, the protection of asylum in universities should continue now. The above topoi are reinforced by examples by the interviewee which cause suspicion on the students' part towards the aspirations of Law 3549/2007 (article) to limit asylum.

Extract 32 Interview

> ‘There are deliberate actions that offend asylum and they create false perceptions, they make it look an anarchistic space in which the institution of asylum is degraded. In the history of university asylum, the period of the junta has shown that asylum protects students against those trying to destroy democracy. Today, it continues to provide opportunities for strong political action and reaction and contesting the choices of governments. The nature of asylum makes it entirely necessary for the protection of educational democracy […] There are images and experiences that show citizens and the educational world that the campus is a place of crime; for example, drug trafficking, theft, deconstruction of public property, and attacks on police forces that also exist outside of the university. All these, and more, indicate that the abolition of asylum is being prepared’ (S_{7fPASP}).

The criminal behaviour in Greek universities is expressed through the nouns ‘drugs’, ‘theft’, ‘destruction of public property’, and ‘attacks on police forces’. However, according to the speaker, these phenomena are provoked by external social groups and are presented by the media on campus as a way to create a false image about academic asylum and to force the government to abolish it. The words ‘political action’, ‘reaction’, and ‘contesting’ refer to democratic actions which can only be developed in the public universities, and which are protected by asylum and provide resistance to government decisions, and therefore, offer a political riposte that protects democracy and creates a dialogue.

S_{8fCOM} also introduces the topos of history. During the junta (‘dictatorship’), the government succeeded in various ways in controlling university functions and eliminating all freedoms. He recalls that during the period of the dictatorship, the government employed teachers who supported them, and there was no freedom of speech. In her words:

Extract 33 Interview

> ‘The right to asylum in universities was created by the history of Greece. Students demanded free education and transparency. During the dictatorship, asylum was abolished and the government exercised absolute control by employing its own staff and imposing its own beliefs. Students had no right to resist and had to accept all policies’ (S_{8fCOM}).

The insistence of the faculty and students in maintaining and protecting asylum and the topos of history indicate a strong institutional culture, which was created through the history of Greek higher education, and which protected the free expression of ideas and educational democracy in universities. The limitation of asylum was likely to be a prelude to the abolition of asylum. The topos of history may imply threat which reinforced the assumption of the interviewee that asylum should be maintained and protected.

The violation of autonomy and democracy by economic and political factors is also used in the arguments against the new law regarding evaluation. As demonstrated in the interviews, while

all agree on measures to evaluate Greek universities, it is argued that the new legislation was ineffective in protecting the academic values of free knowledge and research, and for solving the problem of corruption that existed in the structures of the public university system, making the new law ineffective.

Evaluation

The processes of, and criteria for, evaluation are not mentioned by any of the political speakers in any detail, but there is a brief reference to state control of public and post-secondary education in the framework of the autonomy of higher education institutions, in Laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008, respectively.

Taliadouros (New Democracy) mentions evaluation as a system of financial control and accountability which is established through the four-year development plan or the institution of the Academic Secretary.

> 'a system of national public control is established, and financial control is within the framework of autonomy, so that it is not controlled itself and controlling, within the same institution … The secretary of the economic opportunities is accountable to the Rector and the Rector's Council, without decisive right, but only a right of opinion that will help the institutions to take economic decisions and not lose money and resources, either Community or Greek money' (House Proceedings, p. 6291).

Diamantopolou (PASOK) relates the control of universities to a system of indicators ('validation') and gives emphasis on the improvement of the institutional activities. She characterises 'accountability' in the proposed law 3549/2007 as 'simplified in a submission of a written report of the universities in the House'.

> 'We need a large reform to respond to five major sections within the area of universities. None of these can be viewed separately. We need to see the issue of access, the issue of structure, the subject of research and its connection with production, the issue of postgraduate studies and networks, and the issue of evaluation and validation' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6315).

Alavanos (SYRIZA) mentions the need for control and accountability only at the end of his speech, by proposing, 'Transparency and openness at all times. Accountability of retiring deans and other authorities' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6237). The above indicates that Law 3549/2007 is not effective for exercising control and to resolve corruption in Greek universities. Papariga (KKE) related the evaluation of universities to their funding and stated the consequences of the evaluation system which obeys the rules of the European Union, such as the 'classification of universities' and 'corruption', 'false orders', 'class consciousness', 'active research'. However, the above are only brief mentions of evaluation, probably because the

opposition parties had already expressed their opposition to the constitutionality of Law 3549/2007, as well as to the economic principles that the new law obeys, and therefore of evaluation.

The theme of control appears in the interviews under the theme of evaluation, and includes claims of the potential risks of the evaluation of universities (see Diagram, Genre B). The faculty and students agree with evaluation as a mechanism that needs to be implemented within public universities to improve the quality of educational programs and services. However, they appear to mistrust the actors participating in the process of evaluation, the criteria to be met, the choice of functions to be evaluated, and the aims of evaluation. The general mention of it (the aims, ways, and bearers) demonstrates that the information provided to the teaching community was insufficient, which may possibly be attributed to the law being incomplete and unclear and which therefore created confusion. Also, the assumption that the motive of the government was to change the free and public education character of Greek universities through the evaluation system, displays the existence of a strong institutional culture that encourages the maintenance of cultural values and practices in the higher education system of Greece, as secured in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution.

Many of the interviewees reject the implementation of quantitative indicators in the evaluation process. TS_1m introduces the topos of quantitative indicators and the topos of qualitative indicators:

Extract 34 Interview

> 'If evaluation is conducted by managers, they will measure the quality of universities with quantitative indicators, which cannot evaluate the educational and cultural effects, so it will lead to low funding and the abandonment of universities by the state, because good quality will be considered as the criterion for the funding of universities, while bad quality will lead to the interruption of funding. However, the opposite should happen. Poor quality in universities should lead to the reinforcement of their finances. Evaluation should take into account the social, political, and humanitarian role and mission of education. It should not rate the quality of a programme according to the professional skills that it gives to students but whether graduates can gain a comprehensive knowledge of their professions and an integrated view of life, so that when there are changes in market demands, they can easily adapt' (TS_1m).

In the topos of quantitative indicators, the interviewee rejects the method of quantitative indicators for the evaluation of universities because the evaluation system tends to reinforce disparities, rewarding those universities with high productivity, or reducing and excluding the funding from universities with low educational productivity. The noun 'managers' indicates the actors involved in the evaluation of universities. Their work is rejected by the interviewee because it is connected with increases in funding and the easy adaptation of the individual to the

change of the demands in the employment market through the provision of professional training, scientific knowledge, and knowledge of life. Knowledge of the above helps graduates to adapt productively in life and the labour market. In the topos of qualitative indicators, evaluation is presented as a means of improving university work and, for this reason, TS_1m claims that the criteria of evaluation should be based on 'educational and cultural' factors that support the social, humanitarian, and scientific roles of the university. These indicators express a more philosophical orientation towards knowledge, opposing the neoliberal policies that promote the dominance of the market in the development of university strategies.

TS_2m agrees with the evaluation system of the department to which he belongs. He introduces the topos of criteria, claiming that if evaluation measures the contribution of universities to society, research, and scientific development, it should be implemented in the universities. Using argumentum ad hominem, the interviewee refers to other departments that took a negative stance towards evaluation and tried to create fear, and to deliver threats to the teaching staff of universities about the negative consequences caused by the non-implementation of evaluation, and therefore, to stimulate the need for universities to accept or enforce evaluation. The phrase: 'This does not mean that the university has the opportunity not to apply it but does not apply it as a form of "bullying"' indicates the high degree of institutional autonomy of public universities maintained by powerful groups that are able to block reforms. He states:

Extract 35 Interview

> 'We are the first to raise the flag of evaluation. And the law set out certain criteria. But we, as a department, have placed more stringent criteria. We would like the evaluation of basic and applied research of institutions, of how much research they do, and in relation to which sciences, and of their contributions to society. Evaluation existed under previous law but it was not always applied because there is resistance from the part of universities. This does not mean that the university has the opportunity not to apply it, but does not apply it as a form of 'bullying'. At some time, there will be consequences. That is, at some time, the matter of what will happen with those departments that have not undergone evaluation will be raised. Now, if this will have to do with funding issues, approval of issues of teaching staff of these departments, nobody knows. It probably will happen and then all will have to ask themselves about their responsibilities. Someone will come and say 'those who have not been evaluated will experience cuts'. That is, I find it very reasonable for economic implications to exist in universities that say 'We are not being evaluated' (TS_2m).

Another member of faculty (TS_7f) represents the function of 'evaluation' as having opposing effects on the two types of universities to which evaluation refers. It would degrade ('undermine') public universities and would strengthen private universities. This was attributed to government policy ('terms', 'conditions', 'administration', partisan games', 'structures', 'funding', 'no teaching rooms', 'no seats'). TS_7f supports her claim for increasing funding and

removing partisanship from the public university structure by using the ‘topos of threat’ and the ‘topos of equality enactment’. She claims:

Extract 36 Interview

> ‘The introduction of evaluation in public universities will undermine public universities in favour of private universities. The aims, organizational structures, funding, and decision-making processes are different from private universities. There are no seats in teaching rooms and, as a result, students are standing during my class. So, in the evaluation, the terms and conditions will be in comparison with private universities. Also, we have different administration from private universities. The students’ involvement is unacceptable! There is the need for throwing them away. Certainly, an 18 year-old student cannot have an opinion on the educational policy and strategy. They are motivated by partisan games to vote and fight. This is unacceptable to academia! If the above conditions change, then we will not have anything to fear from private universities, its worth will be shown in the arena’ (TS_7f).

The topos of negative conditions expresses intense criticism of the government policy for failing to resolve the problems of public universities before implementing evaluation. The negative conditions in public universities depreciate their quality when compared to private universities. These sectors display corruption, lack of technical infrastructure, the methods of administrative and financial management of the public university, and the participation of students in administrative decisions. The topos of negative conditions is followed by the topos of equality enactment, in which the terms of the evaluation of public and private universities must take into consideration the real conditions of their educational functions, a point on which the interviewee attempts to convince others that she is correct. It is also an appeal to the ethos and pathos addressed to those who are afraid of the consequences of evaluation in universities. She also implies that public universities had been abandoned and downgraded by the state.

TS_5m employs the’topos of law-making inefficiency’ to express his belief about the ‘four-year development plan’ as being an ineffective measure for the advancement of the public university. The noun ‘crisis’ describes the problems that disrupt the Greek university. Areas of crisis are the ‘old curricula’, the ‘low or insufficient funding’, the ‘limitations of educational democracy’, ‘partisan games’, ‘no evaluation’, ‘(no) effective control’, ‘lack of independent authority’ to support mechanisms for transparency and quality which have not yet been applied.

Extract 37 Interview

> ‘The introduction of a four-year development plan cannot resolve the university crisis, due to the old curricula, low or insufficient funding by the state, the limitations of educational democracy and the lack of an independent evaluation body which could intervene between universities and the Ministry of Education to secure transparency and quality. This evaluation body should evaluate using specific criteria and those who work there should not be appointed by the Minister of Education, it should not include people

> of the Ministry or a governing party. Currently there is a lack of meritocracy in universities. There have been made proposals about evaluation, however it is unknown what will be evaluated; and this happens because I am sure that each leadership of the Ministry will set its peoples' choice. They will play games; we all know that there is no evaluation and effective control. Even if you say yes, academics are corrupted and someone should check the corrupted, who will be the one to control them?' (TS_5m).

The topos of law-making inefficiency is supported by the fallacy of argumentum ad hominem. TS_5m blames the government for employing its own supporters to evaluate the work of universities ('will set their people's choice', 'they will play games'). Therefore, the criteria of evaluation will not be objective, but will vary depending on the interests of the political party which they support. Finally, TS_8m uses the 'straw man' fallacy, referring to the view of those who accuse academics of corruption. According to this, the accusations of corruption addressed to academics, and even to representatives of political life, have no basis in fact since the corruption in universities derives from the corruption of the government and extends to the universities. It can be paraphrased as follows: because academic corruption is a threat for an objective system of evaluation, an independent evaluation body should be established. In this way, TS_8m emphasises the previous claims about the need for the establishment of an independent evaluation body.

Students identified the necessity for the implementation of evaluation and accountability in Greek higher education, but fear that the negative evaluation of universities might lead to a reduction in funding by the state. In their responses, we can identify their insistence on public and free education.

Extract 38 Interview

> 'Evaluation is necessary for Greek universities, because higher education is a public good and society pays for education through taxes. Our party had submitted concrete proposals on how the evaluation should take place. We intervened in the meetings of the National Board of Education and sent a letter to the Ministry of Education and we achieved some amendments in the law. According to our proposal, evaluation should aim to resolve the problems in universities, and it must not reduce their funding or prioritize and score universities. The state should continue to provide free education' (S_{1mDAP}).

S_{1mDAP} uses the topos of necessity when referring to evaluation. His justifications for evaluation are supported by the characteristics of 'the public good' and 'free education', attributed to higher education. This topos is followed by the topos of the aims of evaluation, which are the resolution of the problems of the public universities. In this topos, the phrase 'and it must not reduce' implies that the government, or the opponents of public education, have opposite views with the aim of scoring universities, to reduce their funding, and/or to completely stop the provision of free education.

S_{4fDAP} uses the first person plural ('we') to represent the position of his party, to show their opposition to the delay of the implementation of the law and to highlight their struggle for its faster implementation. It is also an indirect denouncement of those who obstructed the application of evaluation in universities.

S_{5mPASP} implements the topos of law-making inefficiency by denouncing the lack of strategy and corruption in the development of universities. The lack of strategy and corruption are represented as being the result of a force beyond the control of the universities or the state. Following this, he introduces the topos of independent authority, suggesting the need for the establishment and operation of an independent entity. He suggests that decisions should be made in a participatory and democratic manner: students and teaching staff who are involved in education should have the right to participate in the important decisions of the universities ('students and teaching staff will coordinate the development of research, the need to establish new departments, and the proper management of funds).

Extract 39 Interview

> 'Some departments are designed to increase the number of students and funding without considering the usefulness of these departments and how funding is identified with actual needs. The many abuses and the lack of transparency in the selection of teachers, as well as in the financial management, and the almost non-existent infrastructure, the bad quality of textbooks, prove that universities still cannot realize their educational and social mission. It therefore appears that a central entity should be responsible for the design and control of educational and scientific activities in universities. A body consisting of students and teaching staff will coordinate the development of research, the need to establish new departments, and the proper management of funds. A requirement for these, however, is the evaluation of the structures of the university's educational and research work and resources management' (S_{5mPASP}).

The evaluation of the teaching and research work in the public universities appeared to be connected to the system of multiple books. The system of multiple books aimed to financially control the books that are distributed to students by their teachers, and to increase the freedom of the students to choose a book from a list. However, the measure seemed to be used as a form of ideological domination of political actors over their opponents. In other cases, the law appeared to be ineffective in solving the problem of corruption and out-of-date book content.

The system of multiple books

Another law, which is criticized only by the students, is the system of multiple books (see Figure 2, Genre B). The process of selection and distribution of university textbooks to students - with students being able to select a variety of books from a list provided by their department - is considered a positive measure by neoliberal students, which could both improve the quality

of higher education and provide free choice for students. However, it seems that there were obstacles in the implementation of this reform.

For instance, S_{3fDAP} uses the topos of freedom in which the negative words 'abolishes' and 'constraints' are used to emphasise the problems of the previous system which limited the free choice of students and promoted corporate economic interests, and the positive consequences of the system of multiple books. She then introduces the ad hominem fallacy, denouncing those within the university who intentionally obstruct and delay the enforcement of the new system. She expresses the determination of her party to fight against partisan interests, for the establishment of the institution of multiple books. She claims:

Extract 40 Interview

> 'I agree with the system of multiple books because now students can choose which books they would like to read from a list which their department organises. It also abolishes the constraints created by professors, who distributed their own books, and fights the corruption that existed between professors and publishers responsible for the waste of necessary money for higher education. But we are facing many difficulties because the departments were late in making the lists with the proposed textbooks, so we got the textbooks shortly before our exam. However, we will not leave that favourable measure to become a game in the hands of partisan interests and we will try to eliminate the hassle of students in the issue of distribution of textbooks' (S_{3fDAP}).

Another student (S_{7fPASP}) introduces the topos of the lack of evaluation, which is an indirect complaint about the government policy of the multiple book system, which is not rejected outright by the interviewee, but is shown to be inefficient and lacking in transparency. More particularly, the references to time ('1968', 'today') frame the description of the central issue, which is the free distribution of university textbooks. In the present tense, the quality of the textbooks is characterised in negative terms, such as 'many weaknesses', 'bad versions', 'lack of science', 'scientific unilateralism', and 'lack of organisation in the distribution'. The topos of the lack of evaluation results in the topos of political duty, in which the interviewee claims that the problems in the distribution system require the implementation of a system that would evaluate the scientific content of university textbooks ('the textbooks should be evaluated regularly', 'the development of university publishing houses') to safeguard the quality of the content of the textbooks from financial interests. More particularly, the interviewee claims that:

Extract 41 Interview

> 'The knowledge in existing textbooks does not include new science and innovation. The only reasons why university textbooks are distributed are economic interests. It has been many years since the first free distribution of textbooks, in 1968, but today textbooks are distributed freely, with lots of weaknesses, bad versions, lack of science, scientific unilateralism, and lack of organisation in the distribution. Because of all these, students should have the possibility of freely choosing from a list of

> textbooks, the textbooks should be evaluated regularly and their content updated and not just the cover reprinted. This, along with the development of university publishing houses, can resolve the problem of economic manipulation that underlies the current distribution system in universities' (S_{7fPASP}).

S_{6mPASP} makes a comparison between Greece and other countries which apply evaluation, aiming to demonstrate the consequences of evaluation on this knowledge. 'Academic freedom', 'asylum', 'democratic processes', 'basic research' are nouns which express values, actions and processes, and objects that characterise the particular character of public Greek universities and will be undermined.

Extract 42 Interview

> 'The evaluation system proposed by New Democracy does not contain clear criteria for the objectives of evaluation. The law about evaluation does not provide criteria, e.g. how universities will be evaluated. In universities in other countries where evaluation takes place, economic criteria exist and thus non-profit producing knowledge is devalued. The same will happen in Greek universities. Academic freedom, asylum, democratic processes, and basic research will be devalued. The practice of our party, as opposed to other factions, is neither the absolute denial, nor the absolute acceptance of evaluation, but evaluation which will help the upgrading of education, defining the weaknesses of universities and improving the conditions of studies. In particular, students should evaluate teaching staff, student programs, the administration, and services. Our party supports an absolute academic national system that will aim towards the improvement of all terms that serve the content and objectives of the Greek university. This evaluation includes the material and technical infrastructure, the study programs, evaluation of teaching and research work, and the management of the income and expenses of the university' (S_{6mPASP}).

The interviewee introduces the topos of economic criteria, according to which, if economic criteria exist in evaluation, democratic processes and basic research will be devalued. In this topos, the student means that if evaluation measures the profit of the university from research and other education activities, then the basic sciences which have moral, social, and cultural benefits will be neglected by the state. Also, the democratic processes, academic freedoms, and asylum, on which public universities are based, will be devalued. Then, the student implements the topos of the aims of evaluation, or of political duty, in which the nouns 'weaknesses', 'objectives', 'administration', 'services', 'programs', 'management', 'infrastructure', 'teaching', and 'research', all provide evaluation with an integrated character, a process which should cover the entire education system and functions in order to drive the university towards evolving ('improvement', 'upgrading', 'defining', and 'improving').

Also, evaluation appeared to be related to the use of part-time staff by the universities which had proved to be ineffective in covering the increased needs of the universities for teaching due

to corruption, lack of evaluation of the performance of teaching work, and the lack of financial resources, which all have a negative effect on teachers' work.

Part-time employment of teaching staff

The institution of part-time staffing is not discussed by any the political speakers except for the leader of the Communist Party, Aleka Papariga (KKE), when the Minister of Education (New Democracy) intervened by asking rhetorical questions so that she would clarify her position: 'Is there employment if there is no growth?', 'Is it bad for universities to ensure more modern and higher positions for people through scientific knowledge?' She responded by stating that she was opposed to corporate interests of teaching staff which are at the expense of their teaching and research missions. In her words,

> 'You talked about research in universities and teachers. We do not rely on those teachers who are consultants in firms and tied to business. We support the teacher who works entirely and exclusively for the university and has no other job. Why? Because they must have the free time to teach and do research' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6295).

Similarly to Papariga, Alavanos (SYRIZA) refers to the measure of part-time staffing, stating that:

> 'We cannot accept professors or tourists, many of whom are supported in every way by the government plan, because it does not affect full-time employment. We do not want it. We want full and exclusive employment' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6237)

This can be explained by the fact that Alavanos resisted the subjection of education to the European policy that sought to manipulate scientists and scientific knowledge towards the interests of the economy, and also the measure of part-time staffing which aimed to serve capitalism in the academy. Also, members of academic staff from the business and economics departments, who participated in this study and were employed on a part-time basis, did not complain about this situation. This could be explained by the fact that part-time positions in a public university served their interests, allowing them to work for companies outside of the universities.

The establishment of part-time employment for teaching staff is not viewed by the students as contributing to the improvement of education, but instead, that it undermines the quality of academic work. This is attributed to low salaries and little opportunity for promotion (see Figure 2, Genre B). This would then lead to a lack of motivation to work with full commitment. The following quote is taken from an interview with a student and presents a major issue:

Extract 43 Interview

> 'I am opposed to the establishment of part-time staff in universities because they do not offer substantial work, they do not help students, they are poorly paid, and do not have the chance to progress. The government should replace the part-time positions with full-time ones, because then the teacher will be committed to education, research, and teaching work. There are teachers who simply hold a seat for the title or who see the university as simply an employment position and to supply their income. We do not tolerate this situation!' (S_{1mDAP}).

S_{1mDAP} complains about the provision of part-time teaching staff in universities, strategically using the interrelated topoi of full-time work and the topos of political duty, by mentioning the obligation of the state to provide universities with full-time staff. S_{1m} reinforces his claims for the need for full-time staff by using an example. He complains about teaching staff who do not respond to their teaching duties, and who only maintain their university position for meeting personal needs ('for the title', 'as simply an employment position', 'to supply their income'). In the above topoi, it is implied that there is a need to protect the autonomy of the academic profession from profit, by improving working conditions within the universities.

Here, it should be noted that the academic staff in this study do not mention any opposition to the relevant part of Law 3549/2007 about part-time employment of teaching staff in universities, indicating a change in the nature of the academic profession against Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, and a desire for obtaining more autonomy from the university.

The change in the distribution of free textbooks did not resolve the problem of the lack of control and evaluation which already existed in the previous system. Also, the interviewees linked the failure of the new policies to the poor system of student assessment which does not facilitate the learning process, and to the lack of financial support for students. The above dysfunctions, as claimed by the students, have an impact on the quality of education.

Study programs

In relation to study programs, no claims are made by the opposition political parties, the academic staff, or by students from all the political groups, which can be explained by the fact that they refer extensively to the social and economic effects of the new legislation on higher education which, in their view, does not resolve the problems of the universities (insufficient funding, lack of financial and administrative autonomy, corruption, and other issues that undermine the quality of study).

Students make claims of proposals for change; the need for greater financial support for students (see Figure 2, Genre B). One issue, however, raised only by the students, is that of 'eternal students'. Law 3549/2007 deals with issues relating to study programs in the universities and these 'eternal students'. It also recognizes three years of study in foreign

universities as being equal to four years in public universities in Greece. The students consider the above measures as unfair by employing the topos of profit.

Extract 44 Interview

> 'We oppose the law which does not allow students to exceed the normal period of studies, while the government should resolve other important issues: the massive failure of students in certain modules, or the provision of financial support of studies which force students to work. The aim of this measure is to improve performance so that public universities can compete successfully with private universities, but they forget that many students are forced to work because living costs are expensive. There are also students who only attend exams because they do not care about learning science, but just want to pass the courses and the academic year. Evaluation is needed here to assess the educational level of students and the quality of the educational work of universities' (S_{5mPASP}).

The interviewee (S_{5mPASP}) identifies issues that he admits are significant for the improvement of programs in the public universities – students who repetitively fail in exams, the lack of financial support for students, and the lack of interest on the part of students in their studies. S_{5mPASP} relates the change concerning the duration of study programs with competition and a new economic model within universities. The interviewee also considers alternative forms of evaluation that would assess the quality of education and the student assessment system.

S_{8fCom} exposes the lack of equipment in the universities ('equipment', 'building, 'infrastructure', 'research institutes') which prevents the satisfactory accomplishment of teaching and research work. S_{8f} denounces the inadequacy of the infrastructure of the universities ('deficits', 'no materials') by using the topos of deficits.

Extract 45 Interview

> 'There are deficits in laboratory equipment, there are buildings but there are no materials to operate our laboratories [research institutes]. For example, we have one lesson which is called X, where you must dissect a X and examine its organs. Two or three times, these X were bought with the lecturer's money because the department had no money to buy them, or they cut them in half and shared them between students. At the same time, this university is the best funded university in Greece, and this is in relation to the students who are studying here. I have also heard that this year, our textbooks will be late in being handed out' (S_{8fCOM}).

The above participant implements the topos of material deficits. Within this topos, the rhetorical scheme of anaphora is illustrated by the repetition of the words 'there are' ('there are deficits in laboratory equipment, there are buildings but there are no materials to operate our research institutes'), which is used to emphasize the lack of equipment leading to teaching and research deficits in public universities. This topos is reinforced by a fallacy according to which, because this university is the best funded university in Greece, 'it should have an efficient operational

infrastructure to operate', and suggests that the mismanagement of state funding by universities and the lack of control of funding distribution has implications for the curriculum, as research institutes lack materials and students are not provided with textbooks. Therefore, this claim implies that there is a need to improve the management of universities and to ensure transparency in the distribution and allocation of funding. This is an argumentum ad hominem in which the interviewee tries to create suspicion about the political intentions of the government to improve public universities through the new policies, and points out the inconsistency between the political intentions of the government to improve universities through the new laws, and the actual condition of public universities.

S_{9mCOM} refers to the case of a regional university that was created to strengthen the local economy, but the creation of its departments does not serve science and the educational needs of the students. Using this example, he argues the need for a strategy on which the development and improvement of Greek higher education should be based.

Extract 46 Interview

> 'This university was created in the framework of 20 years from a European Union program aiming to reinforce the local society and the local economy without any educational criteria. Some departments do not offer us professional qualifications, and so, after we graduate, we cannot find a job. Thus, we are forced to acquire a postgraduate degree, and the admission policies for such courses make it difficult to obtain one e.g. the number of students is very limited and, in some cases, you need to take examinations which are very competitive' (S_{9mCOM}).

S_{9mCOM} implements the topos of lack of strategy claiming that because there is a lack of strategy or proper management of higher education by the government, a series of problems were created relating to the quality of studies and professional qualifications. This topos contains accusations against state indifference and the need to implement appropriate organization of studies and transparency in the introduction of students to postgraduate studies.

The political speakers used a range of adjectives, adverbs, exclamations, metaphors, and questions to intensify their arguments against the new policies and to mitigate their opponents' views. Most of these have been mentioned in the predication strategies section. Intensification and mitigation strategies, according to the DHA, are methods of creating discrimination or dominance.

5.6. Intensification and mitigation strategies

In Alavanos' (SYRIZA) speech of 2007, adjectives such as 'constitutional', and 'unconstitutional', are used to reinforce his arguments against the new policies. He emphasises

the primacy of the Greek Constitution and indirectly reinforces the obligation of the Greek parliament to respect the Constitution and its institutions. He emphasises the relationship between education and business and the labour market, in contrast with the other speakers who resist the new policies, because he wants to give particular emphasis to the institutional nature of the changes, thus implying that the link between education and business is unconstitutional and so it should be withdrawn.

Adverbs, such as 'immediately' ('we ask for the immediate withdrawal of the bill'), 'all' ('namely that the unconstitutionality is diffused in all articles and all over the letter and spirit of the law'; 'we wanted to welcome all those who fought'; 'based on this, we wanted to put this into effect immediately and Article 100 for discussion on constitutionality'; '[the law] is rejected by the overwhelming majority of teachers'), can be seen as examples of intensification of the absolute and complete denial of law and the universal resistance of the education community to the new policies. Through this strategy, he is seeking to gain the support of the education community. Alavanos also uses short questions to highlight the resistance of the education community to the neoliberal policies. For example:

> 'Can a government build its education policy on the rejection of the views proposed by the education community?' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 6236).

In order to intensify the juxtaposition of the political proposals of his party and the government's proposals, the speaker uses exclamatory proposals, e.g. 'to see in what schizophrenic situations we have arrived!' in referring to the four-year development plan and 'the government is bothered!' in referring to the attempt of the party to maintain Article 16 of the Greek Constitution.

Also, in order to intensify the true intentions of the government, which was the annulment of Article 16 and thus the abandonment of public universities, he uses a number of metaphors. For example:

> 'Because what we see is not the swansong of your government, swans do not sing. Here we see raptors, crows and others shout over public property, over the public place, more than public universities' (House Proceedings, 2008, p. 835).

Diamantopoulou (PASOK) intensifies the need for making more changes in education by using the adverb 'surely' and the quantifier 'more' ('surely we must make more things'), which indicates that there is no doubt that all should believe that more can be done for education. She mitigates the attempt of the government to increase 'autoteleia' by using questions such as 'What is the famous autoteleia? What are the key elements?' The above questions imply that the government proposals for change could not meet the need for Greek universities to gain autonomy. Diamantopouou tries to clarify what autoteleia means politically and to her party,

and under what conditions she and her party believe that autoteleia can be acquired, while also trying to show the greater validity of her party's proposals over those of other political parties in response to the need for universities to change. In the second debate, Diamantopoulou uses questions such as, 'Why am I introducing this? Why is there this obsessive reference to public education?' These are examples of intensification strategies used by Diamantopoulou to emphasise her position towards the need for Greek higher education to respond to the requirements of the EU agreements (Bologna and Sorbonne), to protect public higher education from commercialisation, and to mitigate 'self-administration' proposed by Taliadouros (New Democracy). Also, while Diamantopoulou considered Europe to be the centre of educational developments, she mitigated the commitment of Greece to the European directives.

Autonomy, and free and public education, are two characteristics on which Diamantopoulou focuses in her speech. While it seems that it is considered to be the centre of educational developments in Europe, she subsequently repeats the autonomous and public nature of education in her attempt to emphasize the preservation of these institutional characteristics of Greek higher education within Europe.

Taliadouros uses the rhetorical figure of anaphora to intensify the problems of Greek universities and the need to increase their autonomy, e.g. What are the incentives that now exist in universities, in order to improve and what are the incentives to advance the academic community and to compete with institutions and to attract students?', or 'It (the academic community) alone will define … it alone will determine … it alone will administrate.' Stylianidis (New Democracy) intensifies his arguments for allowing post-secondary education institutions, by using adjectives such as 'illegal', 'anti-community', and 'anti-constitutional', as well as 'bold reform', 'bold and clear choices', and 'strict framework', respectively. Both political speakers particularly stress autonomy from the state, and the acceptance of European directives for education, while mitigating the free and public character of Greek education, which indicate the challenge of these characteristics, the acceptance of privatisation, and the development of university-business relationships.

Papariga (KKE) uses imperatives in order to mitigate the government's work and to simultaneously identify the will and determination of the people to resist this. For example, 'Do not waste time. Promptly react and resist!' A number of questions were then asked to intensify the knowledge and awareness of those people and groups who resisted the government's false educational manoeuvres.

> 'Does this not suggest something? It does not show, that, when the issue was exposed to the public, when massive action developed, then a large proportion of workers understood something that they did not understand previously through a general and formal political debate?' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6293).

Through indirect questions, Papariga intensifies the anti-scientific European views towards education, and declares her firm political stance that the university is the only body responsible for directing and producing knowledge and science, rather than enterprises or other extra-university centres. For example:

> 'The main and basic questions are: Who is the provider (of knowledge and science) and what is the aim of science and knowledge?' (House Proceedings, 2007, p. 6294).

The above question aims to show disapproval towards government policy, the belief that the law would not enhance research and evaluation, and that it would not improve the production of new knowledge. Also, it would not consolidate the administration, resulting in continuing mismanagement and corruption.

With an exclamatory claim, a 'noticeable claim', Alissandrakis (KKE) emphasises that on the one hand, PASOK was against the privatisation of education, and on the other hand, when it was in government, it did everything to encourage the privatisation of higher education and the revision of Article 16. Here, he attempts to mitigate the intentions of the government by emphasising the negative effects of the proposed law, and also attempts to create suspicion about the motives of the government by referring to the mechanisms of domination by the EU in education. He also uses metaphors and analogies to mitigate the value of the bill and to intensify the importance of the party's proposals for free and public education. However, Papariga (KKE) and Alissandrakis (KKE) omitted to mention the methods of funding of the Greek universities, indicating the exclusive funding of the public universities within the framework of the state budget.

The intensification strategies used by the faculty and students emphasise the need for the local authorities to protect the free and public university against its subordination to the rules of the market. To achieve this, they use auxiliary verbs ('must', 'should', 'can') and questions ('which dean dares?') to intensify the inefficiency of the new laws in defining criteria and the aims of evaluation in public universities, as well as for protecting the functions of public universities, asylum, and academic freedoms. By using adjectives, they intensify the issue of the need for administrative autonomy and the inadequacy of the law in providing autonomy ('timid', 'unable'). The repetition of the pronoun 'we' is used to intensify the arguments about autonomy in education work, and to mitigate the ability of the university to have financial control. Metaphors such as 'flag of evaluation', 'they will play games', hypothetical sentences such as 'even if …', and comparatives such as 'stricter', intensify the need for quality control and transparency in the educational functions of public universities.

5.7. Perspectivisation strategies

According to the DHA, perspectivisation strategies are important as they demonstrate ideological differences between political and social actors; that is, how the neoliberal government, opposition political parties, students, and faculty, positioned themselves in relation to the new policies. The views of the politicians are characterised by the following representative positions.

Taliadouros (New Democracy) and Stylianidis' (New Democracy) claims of competition, autonomy, the valuable contribution of universities to the economy, and the free market model of universities in an economy, denote the neoliberal ideology of the New Democracy government in higher education policy, as well as signifying a European-friendly ideology.

Diamantopoulou (PASOK) proposes an education model that is associated with the neoliberal ideology, but which allows the universities to undertake their own management and to follow the values of free market rules; for instance, she refers to the Europeanisation of higher education through competition, linkages to production, the restriction of state intervention, accountability through an independent body, and validation, while at the same time supporting financial support for free and public education.

Alavanos (SYRIZA) expresses an anti-capitalist point of view, emphasising the national, free, and public character of education. Further to this, he develops ideas about the independence of Greek higher education from economic interests and, from the position of a Euro-sceptic, he advocates for the independence of the national education system from EU control.

Papariga (KKE) and Alissandrakis (KKE) express the political ideology of the Communist Party, which is based on Marxism and is therefore opposed to capitalism and the imperialist strategy of the EU, and is also against profit in education. They insist on the distribution of free and public state-funded education. The individual's right to education is protected by the state and hence they reject the involvement of business or business-like activities in higher education institutions, e.g. the establishment of private universities or colleges in Greece as a method of increasing the funding of the university through tuition fees and cooperation with business. They also claim the need for comprehensive knowledge as opposed to specialised knowledge.

All faculty and students accept the new changes; however, within the new framework, they seek to protect the development of public universities from unequal competition with private universities, and the mission of public universities from total subjection to economic demands. Only those students who belonged to the leftist group rejected the idea of profit in higher education in any way, either through the establishment of private universities or through

cooperation with business, and accepted only public and free higher education funded only by the state. They expressed a polarised attitude against the authoritative power of the government.

5.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, although all the political parties agree that there should be changes, they disagree on the implementation of the European directives in the Greek education system. While the two major parties are friendly towards European education policy, and have minimal differences between them, they disagree on the extent to which the European Union would be allowed to influence and formulate the Greek education system, while the leftist parties rejected the European Union policies.

The new pressures on Greek higher education are recognised as increased economic freedom and transparency, competition in attracting students and teaching staff, cooperation with business for ensuring more economic terms, greater specialisation and innovation, the move to the provision of knowledge production and research for society. For the supporters of change (New Democracy and PASOK), the above pressures launched extensive alterations to the decision-making processes in Greek higher education through organisational and management change, different economic strategies, cooperation with business, the pursuit of other income avenues apart from the state, the creation of the vision and mission of what the university would like to achieve in the future, and the promotion of competition. The change in the decision-making process promoted a new kind of thinking about Greek higher education as universities had to abandon their dogmatic insistence on their traditional education mission, values, and the old structures and functions (strict state control, funding exclusively by the state, lack of technological infrastructure, and lack of accountability), which isolated education from the external environment and disconnected study programs from economic needs. Instead, universities, for the supporters of change, should adopt a strategy based on the open and international mission of the Greek university, the recognition of the need to serve the professional requirements of students in the labour market, and cooperation with the modern economy for enhancing the independence, quality, and competition of educational services. The arguments for change express a deontic modality (‘should’, ‘must’), which points to the fact that Greek higher education is under an obligation to change its mission and upgrade its services. This obligation is external, caused by the new conditions determined by the participation of Greece in the Bologna Process.

The use of strategic vocabulary (e.g. ‘control’, ‘businesses’, ‘financial resources’, ‘competition’, ‘business’, ‘self-administration’, ‘private universities’, ‘financial resources’, ‘franchising’, and ‘accountability’), their meanings, and the impact of the new concepts on Greek higher education, are resisted by the opposition parties through alternative interpretations

which expose ideological and political differences in the perception of the economic system, and the relationship of the education system to the economy.

Two types of manoeuvring stand out in the resistance to change. The first concerns the negative consequences of the implementation of change for Greek higher education, evoking a collapse of the values to which the public higher education system is embedded in favour of profit. Those who resist and reject the European policies (the KKE and SYRIZA) argue that the aim of the changes is the direct pursuit of the manipulation of universities and scientists for economic interest. They consider that the adjustments to the EU education policy are a threat to the educational and political democracy of public universities (e.g. free development of knowledge and research, public free education, and the social mission of universities) and, consequently, one of the causes of economic inequality. Thus, the terms ‘autonomy’, ‘independence’, and ‘self-administration’, which the new policies aim to increase, are considered to be the Trojan horse by which economic and business interests would invade and fully manipulate Greek higher education. The positions of the speakers who resist the changes describe the negative impacts of the proposed policies, being that the educational mission of the universities will fail if they are fully commercialised and converted to organisations with the characteristics of enterprises, and that they will become subordinate to the needs of the modern economy and entrepreneurship. The second types of argument are those from positions of authority. The conflict between the political parties, as shown in the analysis, are primarily based around the issue of autonomy, which is protected by Article 16 of the Greek Constitution and seems to have educational, economic, social, and political dimensions; it secures freedom of expression, the free development of research and knowledge, and free and public education.

An interesting point to note is that the faculty and students focus on the need to maintain the institutional characteristics of public universities, and thus they do not diverge far from each other; however, they do converge in maintaining the institutional characteristics of public universities within the new framework. The claims of the faculty and academic staff indicate that the national education system should keep its national characteristics in order to be protected from the pressures and consequences of the commercial models imposed by Europeanisation on their way of governance and on the quality of the study programs. So, the failure of the government to implement policies successfully appears to be associated with a shared culture of commitment on the part of students and staff to preserve the public and social role of Greek universities since its evolution following the period of the dictatorship. This culture formed the basis of the resistance to the introduction of management principles that are perceived to derive from the private sector.

Another common requirement by the faculty and students is the need for reinforcement of the autonomy of the public university from state control. As indicated, the main reason for this need

is seen as the behaviour of the state. State-controlled universities became degraded and converted into spaces which served state interests. Thus, in favour of the future of public education and the younger generation, the government and the political parties, in their view, need to release universities from partisanship and create an appropriate atmosphere for the prevalence of democracy and its characteristics: quality, isonomy, and transparency in participation in university life. The maintenance of different ideological groups in the governance of universities is considered to be necessary as proof of democracy. As indicated in their claims, what is missing, according to the views of the academic community (students and teaching staff), is the implementation of constraining conditions for all, so that democratic processes and the free dissemination of ideas and individual rights are protected. As claimed, it is the government's duty to impose constraining conditions which protect the legitimate interests of the members of the academy, and the university administration should be responsible for recognising, managing, and preventing any situations that may put democratic processes at risk.

In addition, a common claim by the teaching staff and students of all groups, except for the leftist student parties, is that one requirement of the coexistence of public and private universities is the resolution of the problems of the public universities, e.g. the resolution of the underfunding of public universities, partisanship and corruption, and the lack of autonomy which degrades and destroys public universities, as private universities offer better infrastructure and equal levels of professional training and employment prospects for their students. Similarly, teachers and students recalled their experiences and expressed their fears that an evaluation system implemented by the government may become a tool to increase party interests. However, the idea of evaluation for public universities is not rejected by the faculty and students; it is instead accepted as a force for progress, as a potential benefit for the improvement of operating conditions, the strengthening of research, and the provision of a social purpose.

Chapter 6: Application of discourse theory to the political speeches and interviews

6.0. Introduction

As suggested in Chapter Four, CDA has been criticised for stressing the interpretation of context rather than the analysis of language itself (Blommaert, 2005; Montessori, 2009). Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed linguistic analysis of the political speeches and interviews with students and teaching staff. This chapter closely examines how linguistic elements and concepts enable actors to resist social and political power and, therefore, how discourse brings the dynamics of oppression and domination into play in issues around change in Greek higher education. Looking closely at the data, there were important concepts that indicated a struggle for hegemony. A detailed linguistic analysis of the data is required to answer the following questions:

a. What are the concepts that have been established between agents?

b. Are these concepts defined in different ways to previous concepts?

c. Which empty signifiers and nodal points constitute the new articulation?

For the linguistic analysis, Wordsmith Tools 6.0 was used to explore how lexical items were used in the texts.

6.1. Empty signifiers and nodal points

The discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) examines the ways in which language is related to reality. Higher education is a broad field and concepts relating to technology, education, politics, economy, and society influence developments. Within this field, different discourses emerge from the discussions about change in Greek higher education. These discourses contain features relating to society, the economy, technology, and political life. Disagreements exist in relation to the concepts around change, such as ‘autonomy’ and ‘independence’. All of these concepts have no fixed meaning, precisely because of the conflicts surrounding them. At the same time, empty signifiers express universal values. They are used to obscure potential differences as nobody can argue against them.

In the following section, the empty signifiers and nodal points will be examined that create and sustain the identity of a certain discourse by constructing a web of fixed meanings, and thus, act to stabilise and prioritise a particular discourse within the myriad of conflicting discourses of the political parties, the faculty, and the students. , analytical techniques such as frequencies,

clusters, collocations, and concordances are applied in several varying ways. According to Baker (2006), they make it easier for the researcher to manipulate a range of data, and to identify the significant linguistic forms of particular discourses.

Autonomy has been identified as a keyword in the data for this study because different meaning is given to the term by the conflicting political parties and interviewees; the term also is related to the mission and functions of public universities which the political speakers and interviewees claim that are affected or reinforced by the new policies. For those claiming that universities must adapt to the global economy and achieve economic self-sufficiency, the autonomy of universities is considered to be a solution to public demands for increases in university funding, of supporting transparency and democracy in universities, and contributing to the economic growth of the country. Those who resist autonomy, consider that the relevant policy will allow the intervention of economic actors in higher education, and that this is shown to reduce democracy in universities and to create conditions of political, economic, and educational subordination. Thus, both sides consider the other to be repressing their identities and interests, and so they draw upon contradictory ideologies to construct their discourses.

Below, the frequency of the words in the interviews with the faculty and students is presented, which led to the identification of further nodal points and empty signifiers. These are presented in a separate section by the faculty and students, as groups that pursue their own interests and influence the implementation of change.

6.1.1. Frequency of lexical words and terms in political speeches

The WordSmith Tools software package was used to create the frequency wordlist that was used to count the frequency of the words, including those from the political speeches. The wordlist provides information on the subject of the corpus. The focus was on the use of lexical words or terms of highest frequency, excluding grammatical terms such as articles and prepositions. The word ‘education’ appears at the top of the list, with a total frequency of 138. This is explained by the fact that the focus of the political speeches is on education, but there are other interesting issues that have been raised upon further examination (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Frequency of lexical words and terms

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
1	EDUCATION	138	0.94	8	100.00
2	UNIVERSITIES	100	0.68	8	100.00
3	EUROPEAN	77	0.53	7	87.50
4	GOVERNMENT	77	0.53	8	100.00
5	UNIVERSITY	56	0.38	8	100.00
6	PUBLIC	47	0.32	8	100.00
7	ISSUE	44	0.30	7	87.50
8	ARTICLE	41	0.28	7	87.50
9	RESEARCH	41	0.28	5	62.50
10	GREEK	31	0.21	7	87.50

Discourse theory suggests that we need to focus on the capacity of the articulations in order to establish or exclude meanings; as a result, the scope of the analysis was expanded to include clusters. A cluster is a wordlist consisting of two, three, or more words in each line. The identification and exploration of clusters can assist in offering a thorough investigation of a range of discourses. Clusters may include the use of words and concepts to establish dominance over meaning between competing discourses (empty signifiers); and to show which signs have relatively fixed meanings (nodal points). Frequency lists of clusters of words based on a keyword search were created using WordSmith Tools.

Education

Clusters which contain the word ‘education’ were the focus of a search to uncover the ways in which political parties use associated words. The cluster size was specified as being between two and four words, with a minimum frequency of two; the wordlist is shown below (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Word combinations with ‘education’ in the political speeches

N	Cluster	Freq.	Set	Length	Related
1	A PUBLIC	4		2	
2	PUBLIC EDUCATION	4		2	OF PUBLIC EDUCATION (2)
3	OF FREE	3		2	OF FREE PUBLIC (2)
4	PRIVATISATION OF	3		2	PRIVATISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION (2),PRIVATISATIOI
5	OF PUBLIC	3		2	OF PUBLIC EDUCATION (2)
6	COMMERCIALISATION OF	3		2	COMMERCIALISATION OF EDUCATION (2)
7	PRIVATISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	2		4	HIGHER EDUCATION (34),OF HIGHER (11),OF HIGHER EDUC
8	PRIVATISATION OF HIGHER	2		3	OF HIGHER (11),PRIVATISATION OF (3),PRIVATISATION OF
9	PUBLIC HIGHER	2		2	PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION (2),PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATIOI
10	PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION	2		3	HIGHER EDUCATION (34),PUBLIC HIGHER (2),PUBLIC HIGHE
11	PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS	2		4	HIGHER EDUCATION (34),HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS
12	PUBLIC AND	2		2	
13	TO PUBLIC	2		2	

An interesting aspect of the above table is that both the government and the opposition parties use the cluster ‘public education’, while the opposition parties differentiate themselves from the government by using the clusters of ‘commercialisation of higher education’, ‘privatisation of higher education’, and ‘free education’. Hence, it was decided to investigate the context of the above clusters in the political speeches to see which meanings they establish, and how these clusters are positioned in relation to the other elements of the discourses of the conflicting political parties.

‘Public’ and ‘free’ education

The adjectives ‘public’ and ‘free’ operate as signifiers of the word ‘education’. For the political speakers from the government, the adjective ‘public’ is used to describe a closed education system, which is proposed to be opened up by allowing the establishment of private, non-state universities that will create more opportunities for young people to study (lines 4 and 6). In line 2, this means the establishment of a national system of control of higher education institutions which operate in Greece in an era in which changes are required, due to the problems that hinder Greek higher education from developing, and the commitment of Greece to the Bologna agreement. In line 3, ‘public’ refers to the students in the public universities and their financial support, which Law 3549/2007 puts in place for them. In line 5, the word ‘public’ is used to describe the equal terms and conditions of the transparency under which post-secondary education institutions will operate in Greece, as they will be controlled by a member of faculty from a public institution. The opposition parties also consider public education to be ‘free’, meaning being free of charges or fees, condemning the decision of the government to allow the establishment and operation of private colleges in Greece (lines 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24). In line 12, the word ‘public’ refers not only to the maintenance of the Centres for Liberal Studies, which already operate in Greece at public expense (free) so as to be in the service of the public, but it also indicates the need for an independent authority which will assure their quality, to ensure that these centres are not driven by profit. The words ‘shout over’, ‘pay’, ‘absence’, ‘safeguarding’, ‘pretending’, ‘establishment’, ‘exclusively’, ‘should be reserved’, ‘should retain’, ‘will affect’, and ‘commitment’, symbolise the outcomes of a dysfunctional education policy proposed by the new government that does not resolve the problem of post-secondary education, but which instead creates social inequalities, because only students who are able to pay can study in a private institution, and hence a system of charging fees is thereby effectively established through the policy.

Figure 5. Concordance of public, public education, free public, public and free, and public higher education

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent. #	File	%
1	goal, as I said before, the upgrading of **public higher education** institutions	public higher educatio	607	32	taliadouros.txt	40%
2	are removed, a system of national **public** control is established, and	public	1,239	60	taliadouros.txt	78%
3	such as interest-free loans for **public** students - which will pay the	public	1,417	66	taliadouros.txt	90%
4	'university' from all, since in Greece only **public** higher education institutions that	public	1,035	32	stylianidis.txt	43%
5	other things - a faculty member from a **public** institution of higher education,	public	1,298	39	stylianidis.txt	55%
6	to private universities. The status of **public** universities is not affected by	public	1,976	65	stylianidis.txt	83%
7	should retain the character of their **public** mission – with the although they	public	755	34	papariga.txt	33%
8	part of their commitment to serving the **public** interest. But what else do you	public	827	35	papariga.txt	37%
9	to separate research institutes from the **public** area, because the government	public	956	44	papariga.txt	42%
10	And one of them is the safeguarding of **public** education at all levels. In Europe,	public	304	12	Diamantopoulou 20(	52%
11	The first regards the investment in **public** university, which also concerns	public	778	34	Diamantopoulou 20(	139%
12	First, there must be an independent **public** authority for all these schools,	public	930	44	Diamantopoulou 20(	167%
13	what they will pay for the completion of **public** education, but also through	public	1,094	44	Alissandrakis.txt	61%
14	model of the colleges will affect the **public** universities. That is, the time, for	public	1,145	46	Alissandrakis.txt	64%
15	tertiary level, and should be reserved for **public** institutions offered freely, rather	public	1,552	64	Alissandrakis.txt	88%
16	which, with the deliberate absence of **free public** and professional education,	free public	1,607	67	Alissandrakis.txt	91%
17	pretending to be an advocate of free **public education** leaves its defence to	public education	1,639	68	Alissandrakis.txt	93%
18	in education and the establishment of **free public** and vocational schools for	free public	1,687	69	Alissandrakis.txt	95%
19	the setting of a true single exclusively **public and free** higher education, whose	public and free	1,749	71	Alissandrakis.txt	99%
20	liberal studies or other institutions of the **public** which should be at the centre,	public	417	18	Alabanos2008.txt	18%
21	of those who do not want to pursue a **public** university education. These are	public	440	18	Alabanos2008.txt	19%
22	that the field of higher education is a **public** place. I lay out the background on	public	926	38	Alabanos2008.txt	39%
23	the constitutional victories such as the **public** university, these could be	public	1,760	92	Alabanos2008.txt	75%
24	crows, and others who shout over **public** property, over the public space,	public	2,308	113	Alabanos2008.txt	99%
25	exclusively by institutions that are **public** entities with full self-government.	public	892	44	Alabanos.txt	44%

In Figure 5, the government defines 'public education' as an accessible system for all through the creation of more education opportunities for citizens through the adoption of EU directives to allow the operation of private universities in Greece. The opponents define 'public education' as a system that is free of charge. The above struggle over the meaning of public education indicates two competing myths: 1) that of the openness of Greek higher education to the citizens and the EU, which enhances competition and sovereignty in Europe; and 2) the maintenance of free education supplied only through state institutions.

Commercialisation-privatisation

The suffix '-isation' indicates the outcomes of the proposed policies. The words 'commercialisation' and 'privatisation' are intentionally used by the political speakers from the opposition parties to demonstrate a contradiction with the quality and aims supported through the aforementioned cluster of 'pubic and free education'.

Figure 6. Concordance of commercialisation/privatisation

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	File	%
1	this rota - believe that the line of full **commercialisation** of education exists,	commercialisation	237	papariga.txt	10%
2	which is to open a big door for the **commercialisation** of higher education	commercialisation	234	Diamantopoulou 2008.txt	40%
3	of liberal studies, a Government of the □**Commercialisation** of Studies□, at all	commercialisation	608	Diamantopoulou 2008.txt	109%
4	authority, or else it opens a huge door of **commercialisation**, dangerous for	commercialisation	1,068	Diamantopoulou 2008.txt	192%
5	that the main opposition party is against **commercialisation** of education.	commercialisation	561	Alissandrakis.txt	31%
6	but it also pioneered the progressive **privatisation** of universities and their	privatisation	587	Alissandrakis.txt	33%
7	the bill we discuss, that, in fact, is the **privatisation** of higher education,	privatisation	169	Alabanos2008.txt	7%
8	The second is a matter for the issue of **privatisation** of higher education, that is	privatisation	366	Alabanos2008.txt	16%
9	try to remove the focus from issues of **privatisation** of education. Third. Another	privatisation	475	Alabanos2008.txt	20%
10	the Government Bill, which enabled the **privatisation** of universities, expresses	privatisation	1,352	Alabanos.txt	66%

In line 1, ‘commercialisation’ is used by Papariga (KKE) from the beginning of her speech in 2007, to characterise the directions within Law 3549/2007, which are identified with the content of the European directive, the ideology of which she rejects as she considers it as being incompatible with the interests of the Greek education system. The ‘commercialisation’ of education is associated with social inequality that will occur as a result of the introduction of fees which the universities will utilise to raise their income, the financial inequality of the institutions, and the low quality of higher education studies and research that purely serve profit interests. Commercialisation requires the commitment of science and knowledge because they must adapt to the demands of the economy and the labour market. In lines 2, 3 and 4, ‘commercialisation’ is used by Diamantopoulou (PASOK) against the decision of the government (New Democracy) to allow private universities in Greece, and is identified with the total subjugation of the national education system to EU law, with a disregard for the public education system within the European directive, and with the profit of institutions and the lack of independent authority from the state to control their functions.

In lines 7, 8, 9 and 10, the term ‘privatisation’ is used by Alavanos (SYRIZA), and is identified with ‘an open violation of the Constitution’ and the restriction of education opportunities caused by the poor quality of post-secondary institutions, which already operate in Greece. The word ‘privatisation’ is also used in a similar way. Privatisation is identified by Alissandrakis (KKE) with the enforcement of Law 3549/2007 in public universities which implements strategies that align public universities to enterprises (lines 5 and 6), which then must use financial statements, and a common set of rules and conventions that have been developed to guide the preparation of internal regulations and a four-year development plan, in addition to the transfer of the responsibility, educational functions, and management of private colleges operating in Greece, to the business sector. Therefore, ‘commercialisation’ and ‘privatisation’ act as nodal points used only by the opponents to construct their discourse against the new policies.

At this stage of the discourse analysis, the aim is to establish the nodal points, so as to show how various articulations reproduce or challenge other discourses. Referring to the frequency list, Baker (2006, p. 57) argued that ‘sometimes what is not present in the frequency list can be

as revealing as what is frequent'. Drawing on this point, other words were scanned and related to the remainder of the frequency list to see whether any related concepts appeared. The concepts of 'autonomy', which appeared in different forms such as 'independence', 'autoteleia', 'self-government', and 'Constitution', are of interest and are therefore examined. They can be seen as related words because the result of the concordances for the clusters 'public and free education', 'commercialisation', and 'privatisation' indicate that the autonomy of universities is threatened by the private for-profit business sector. Also, the objective of the new policies is the harmonisation of the national higher education policy to the European Constitution.

Autonomy

It was expected that the term 'autonomy' would be used more than twice as often as shown in the word list; however, the term was often replaced by other words, e.g. 'independence', 'self-government', and 'autoteleia'. Political speeches were searched using the string *autonom**, *independen**, *autotel**, and *self-govern** in order to define more variations. An asterisk (wildcard) was used to search for suffixes and prefixes. This led the researcher to the following concordances (Figure 7):

Figure 7. Concordance of autonom, independen*, autotel*, and self-govern**

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent. Pos.	File	Date	%
1	government. Because of the support of 'self-government', which is provided for	self-government	960	23%	taliadouros.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	62%
2	utilises its money. The strengthening of 'self-government' will also provide	self-government	1,059	18%	taliadouros.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	67%
3	control is within the framework of autonomy, so that it is not controlled	autonom*	1,251	69%	taliadouros.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	79%
4	we do not use the term 'independence, 'autonomy', 'self-management',	autonom*	1,837	31%	papariga.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	83%
5	lost.The education system is neither independent nor autonomous, and these	independen*	2,145	24%	papariga.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	97%
6	autonomous, and these claims about the independence and autonomy of the	independen*	2,153	56%	papariga.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	98%
7	claims about the independence and autonomy of the universities, you know	autonom*	2,155	64%	papariga.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	98%
8	university with access rules. There is no 'autoteleia' if the university does not play	autotelei*	897	28%	Diamantopoulou.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	76%
9	recruitment and staff development and independence from Ministers;	independen*	965	65%	Diamantopoulou.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	82%
10	and independence from Ministers; independence is linked with funds. The	independen*	968	80%	Diamantopoulou.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	83%
11	conditions. First, there must be an independent public authority for all these	independen*	929	39%	Diamantopoulou 20(	2014/Sep/02 00:00	167%
12	And they must be certified by an independent authority, or else it opens a	independen*	1,057	41%	Diamantopoulou 20(	2014/Sep/02 00:00	190%
13	Government to enable undermining the autonomy of educational institutions, it	autonom*	834	61%	Alabanos.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	41%
14	that are public entities with full self-government. Of course there is the	self-government	896	100%	Alabanos.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	44%
15	Secondly, fully ensuring the terms of autonomy of institutions of higher	autonom*	1,603	22%	Alabanos.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	78%
16	and rejecting the large enterprises, independence and rejecting the	independen*	1,615	56%	Alabanos.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	79%
17	Internal regulations are factors of autonomy ('autoteleia'). Each university	autonom*	1,884	88%	Alabanos.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	92%

In lines 1 and 2, 'self-government' is presented in Taliadouros' (New Democracy) 2007 speech as a requirement for increasing the responsibility of the academic community towards the university, which would ultimately help to improve the national higher education system. Self-government is presented as the ability of universities to regulate their internal, educational, and administrative matters. Transparency and accountability are needed for 'autonomy' and 'independence' to occur.

For Diamantopoulou (PASOK), ‘autoteleia’ is lacking within the government policy (Law 3549/2007), and therefore, lacking as a requirement for the holistic changes that need to be made in the universities. The method of university access, the number of students who are able to access universities, the structure of universities, staff recruitment and development, independence from the Ministry of Education and funding, and internal regulation, all require extreme modification to meet the needs of each faculty (lines 8, 9 and 10). In lines 11 and 12, ‘autoteleia’ is based on the emergence of a strong and independent university entity from the state, and profit for making decisions concerning administrative, scientific, teaching, and research issues. For Alavanos (SYRIZA), ‘autonomy’, ‘self-government’, and ‘independence’ are based on the provision of public and state-funded education, while selective funding, the limitation of asylum, and a single internal regulation applying to all universities, are factors in the limitation of ‘autoteleia’ (lines 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17).

‘Autonomy’, ‘independence’, and ‘self-management’, in lines 4, 5, 6 and 7 by Papariga (KKE), are concepts that are presented as false promises because the social mission of universities is dependent on the universities acknowledging social needs and developments. Here, they are made into a statement about the ethical purpose of universities in offering education without considering customers or stakeholders.

Autonomy acts as an empty signifier in the struggle between the discourses of the government and those of the opposition parties. It is a vehicle that allows different meanings to be attached to it by political speakers, according to the ideology to which they are aligned. As can be seen, the government uses the concept of autonomy in the sense of administrative autonomy. For the opposition parties, autonomy is the seeking of national independence from European legislation on education, and the distancing of economic interests from education, thus linking autonomy to the public and free nature of education. The mention by the opposition parties of ‘businesses’ and the clusters of ‘free education’, ‘commercialisation’, and ‘privatisation’, are used as nodal points to define the meaning of the word ‘autonomy’.

Constitution

The word ‘Constitution’ is repeated either as an adjective, a noun, or as a compound word consisting of the prefix ‘un-’ or ‘non-’. For this reason, as seen in the following figure, the word ‘Constitution’ and its derivatives provide a framework for discussion (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Concordance of the Lemma[1] Constitution

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	File	%
1	was the executive of paragraph 7 of the **Constitution.** Today it is executive of		1,531	taliadouros.txt	97%
2	it is executive of paragraph 5 of the **Constitution,** this draft law, and it		1,541	taliadouros.txt	97%
3	to close all these centres illegally and **anti-constitutionally** and the third, to		217	stylianidis.txt	9%
4	strike Article 16, Paragraph 1 of the **Constitution,** GREEK and sets of EC		360	stylianidis.txt	15%
5	because it would strike Article 5 of the **Constitution** as well as Community Law.		396	stylianidis.txt	17%
6	that skilfully balances between Greek **Constitution** and Community law. It		456	stylianidis.txt	19%
7	Constitution. You say that Article 5 of the **Constitution** says that everyone is free		1,552	Alabanos2008.txt	66%
8	on the rights of others or violate the **Constitution** and morality. Article 16 of		1,587	Alabanos2008.txt	67%
9	political development, who held the **constitutional** victories such as the public		1,755	Alabanos2008.txt	75%
10	contrary to Article 16, Paragraph 5 of the **Constitution.** Article 16 of the		769	Alabanos.txt	38%
11	months in jail. However, Article 7 in the **Constitution** states that no crime or		978	Alabanos.txt	48%
12	and Article 100 for a discussion on the **constitutionality** of the law. It is not that		1,031	Alabanos.txt	50%

The word 'Constitution' is used as a nodal point that governs the debate for, and against, the proposed policies. The political speakers from the government and the opposition parties refer to the national and European Constitutions to support their claims.

In Lines 3, 4, 5 and 6, Stylianidis (New Democracy) presents Article 16 of the Greek Constitution in accordance with the European Constitution. Paragraphs 5, 7 and 16 of the Greek Constitution are mentioned (in lines 1, 2, 7, 8, 10 and 11) in order to demonstrate the lack of accordance of the proposed education policy laws with the principles of the national education system, in which universities are defined as 'self-governed' institutions, state-owned, and funded only by the state. Against this, Article 16 of the Greek Constitution is presented as a historical achievement of the students which the new policies, which the new policies tries to abolish (line 9). In line 12, the proposed bill (3696/2008) is presented as being authoritative since the majority of the parliament resisted, rather than as a product of dialogue and consensus, as Article 100 of the Greek Constitution suggests.

6.1.2. Frequency of lexical words and terms in the interviews with faculty and students

The word 'university' and 'universities' appears at the top of this list, with a total frequency of 149. The word clusters associated with 'universities' were examined, and the most frequent phrases identified were 'private universities' which was repeated 20 times, and 'public universities' repeated 17 times (Figure 9).

[1] Lemma are similar words that belong together.

Figure 9. Wordlist of two-word clusters

N	Cluster	Freq.
1	THE UNIVERSITY	24
2	OF UNIVERSITIES	21
3	PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES	20
4	IN UNIVERSITIES	18
5	PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES	17

Public university

The cluster of 'public university' is described in comparison to the term 'private university'. In Figure 10, the issue of the funding of public universities is repeatedly mentioned (e.g. 'fees' in line 2, 'funding' in lines 7, 13, 14 and 24, and 'financial in line 16), which expresses a demand by people in the university for an increase in the funding of public universities. It also indicates that the implementation of such policies will be unsuccessful unless the government provides increased funding for Greek universities. The words 'monopoly' (line 3), 'laws' (line 6), 'quality' (line 10), '(current) (unequal) conditions' (line 15), 'partisan-men' (line 19), 'performance' (line 23), 'undermined' (lines 5, 12, 16 and 20), and 'qualifications' (line 17), construct a negative discourse about the particular state of public universities in Greece as opposed to private universities, which are set to be the future of quality education having more financial power and better organisation. Hence, the new laws, according to those who oppose the laws, have failed to resolve the aforementioned problems of public universities and, therefore, do not serve the public good which should be about ensuring equitable access to high quality education, but instead have acted to further undermine public universities. The words 'state' (line 3), 'profit' (line 4), 'laws' (line 6), 'businesses' (line 9), 'secure' (line 11), 'democracy' (line 18), and 'market' (line 22) relate to the different functions of public universities as opposed to the private universities, and therefore, the 'public university' is seen as providing a social benefit. Thus, there is the need for the state to design more effective and efficient policies in order to protect the public university as a social benefit.

*Figure 10. Concordance of public universit**

2	fees in public universities but it may help public universities to get rid of state	272	DAP.txt	29%
3	16. Currently, the state monopoly has led public universities into being stationary	298	DAP.txt	32%
4	the drive for profit, in such a way that a public university can maintain its	31	Faculty.txt	1%
5	With the operation of private universities, public universities will be undermined.	105	Faculty.txt	4%
6	which offers the same qualification as a public university, instead of moving to	128	Faculty.txt	5%
7	contain a framework for the funding of public universities by businesses for the	816	Faculty.txt	28%
8	while at the same time helping public universities to benefit from that	888	Faculty.txt	30%
9	of fees or strategic plans will make public universities act like businesses,	1,119	Faculty.txt	38%
10	can improve the quality of studies in public universities. At present, higher	1,143	Faculty.txt	39%
11	and secure jobs. Today, the quality of public universities does not favour the	1,204	Faculty.txt	41%
12	under current conditions may undermine public universities, which receive	1,480	Faculty.txt	50%
13	by the state. I think that the problems in public universities are the lack of funding	1,495	Faculty.txt	51%
14	for the operation of private universities, public universities need funding so that	1,539	Faculty.txt	52%
15	function under unequal conditions with public universities, which have	1,575	Faculty.txt	54%
16	state financial support. As a result, the public university is undermined. Private	1,587	Faculty.txt	54%
17	should operate under the same laws as public universities, have the same	1,600	Faculty.txt	55%
18	contradictions. Educational democracy in public universities is undermined, due to	2,429	Faculty.txt	82%
19	the abuse of asylum from 'partisan-men' public universities lose any educational	2,596	Faculty.txt	89%
20	factions. The introduction of evaluation in public universities will undermine public	2,797	Faculty.txt	95%
21	in public universities will undermine public universities in favour of private	2,801	Faculty.txt	95%
22	a neo-liberal market ideology in the public university. We ask for the transfer	25	PASP.txt	1%
23	is to improve performance so that public universities can compete	430	PASP.txt	23%
24	from that university. So, the funding of public universities is used by the	1,861	PASP.txt	97%

Drawing on discourse theory, the concepts of the 'public university' and the 'private university' are nodal points around which the arguments against the changes are structured. The public university is constructed as part of a democratic system formed through modern political history, and for this reason, the teaching faculty want this structure to be improved. Also, public universities are distinguished from private universities in terms of entrepreneurial activities and culture (e.g. profit, competition, acting as businesses).

Public universities, when contrasted with private universities in terms of quality, equity, and functions, e.g. financing and study programs, reveal particular values which are in danger of being neglected in the private universities. At the same time, the public university is associated with universal values connected to national history and political strategy, as to which no policy is opposed, but all the actors ask, along with the operation of private universities, for the improvement of the public university. However, the establishment of private universities in Greece is not rejected openly, but is instead accepted under the condition that the government establish a system of equal terms of operation for public and private universities. This suggests that there should be a sense of equality throughout the education policies which would allow for the support of public universities, and therefore, for the security of fair competition between public and private universities.

Competition between private and public universities is a proposal that paves the way for the new economic behaviour of higher education institutions. Private universities are also nodal

points used to build the discourse of the opposition for the need to resolve the problems of public universities and to reinforce public higher education. Thus, the public university becomes a universal signifier of democracy and equality. Claims of equality in educational opportunities are universal; for example, when considering equality issues in the education opportunities offered by higher education private institutions and public universities, respectively, to those who have not succeeded in gaining entry into national exams. The social myth promises quality education and training and enough facilities for the families of the students.

Until now, what we know is that the law that allows the operation of private universities is evaluated repeatedly in negative terms, such as through the term ‘undermine’. However, people in the universities do not indicate an absolutist stance against the private universities, but only within the framework of the negative conditions that exist in public universities. In other words, if the government would manage to resolve the problems of the public universities, then people within the academy, or at least the majority of them, would accept the coexistence of public and private universities in Greece. Another point which is noted is that the public university seems to be connected with actions or processes that have significant historical meaning, and that these are deeply embedded in the mentalities of the people in the academy (students and teaching staff).

Words that describe the particular conditions that are discussed in relation to public universities were also analysed, indicating the particular identity of public universities and the reasons why their members resist neoliberal policies. Figure 11 below presents the collocations of the public university.

Figure 11. Frequency of lexical words and terms

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	UNIVERSITIES	161	2.57
2	STUDENT	82	1.31
3	EDUCATION	63	1.00
4	FUNDING	39	0.62
5	ASYLUM	34	0.54
6	EVALUATION	32	0.51
7	STATE	24	0.38
8	RESEARCH	22	0.35
9	DEMOCRACY	19	0.30
10	POLITICAL	18	0.29
11	GOVERNMENT	16	0.25
12	QUALITY	14	0.22
13	TEACHING	14	0.22
14	FREE	13	0.21
15	TEXTBOOKS	13	0.21
16	MINISTRY	12	0.19
17	CONDITIONS	10	0.16
18	INTERESTS	8	0.13

Funding

Funding (Figure 12) is presented as being related to all academic functions: competitiveness (line 25), evaluation (line 33), research (lines 20, 21 and 22), autonomy (lines 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 38 and 39); and control (line 31). As reduced state funding is seen as the main cause of the deterioration of Greek universities, when threatened by the private sector for this reason, increased funding is seen to be required (lines 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26 and 27). All of these academic actions are undermined due to the inability of the state to provide sufficient funding and to liberate the universities from the financial control of the state, which would help the universities to diversify according to their various needs and missions.

Figure 12. Concordance of funding and financial

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent	File	%
17	and cultural effects, so it will lead to low **funding** and the abandonment of	funding	421	16	Faculty.txt	14%
18	be considered as the criterion for the **funding** of universities, while bad quality	funding	441	16	Faculty.txt	15%
19	bad quality will lead to the interruption of **funding.** However, the opposite should	funding	453	16	Faculty.txt	16%
20	law should contain a framework for the **funding** of public universities by	funding	814	36	Faculty.txt	28%
21	and educational programmes. Such **funding** can be provided so that basic	funding	829	37	Faculty.txt	28%
22	raised. Now if this will have to do with **funding** issues, approval of issues of	funding	1,034	47	Faculty.txt	35%
23	universities, which receive insufficient **funding** by the state. I think that the	funding	1,484	68	Faculty.txt	51%
24	in public universities are the lack of **funding** for buildings and the lack of	funding	1,500	69	Faculty.txt	51%
25	universities, public universities need **funding** so that they can compete with	funding	1,541	70	Faculty.txt	53%
26	conditions. Private universities, having **financial** power, have already secured a	financial	1,556	71	Faculty.txt	53%
27	universities, which have inadequate state **financial** support. As a result, the public	financial	1,580	71	Faculty.txt	54%
28	etc. But the fact that the state has **financial** control shapes the educational	financial	1,976	94	Faculty.txt	67%
29	regarding the allocation of European **funding** and the state budget. The	funding	2,185	105	Faculty.txt	74%
30	to the old curricula, low or insufficient **funding** by the state, the limitations of	funding	2,210	106	Faculty.txt	75%
31	mentalities in the universities due to **financial** and professional interests. We	financial	2,480	116	Faculty.txt	85%
32	The aims, organisational structures, **funding,** and decision making processes	funding	2,809	139	Faculty.txt	96%
33	universities, and it must not reduce their **funding** or prioritize and score	funding	81	3	DAP.txt	9%
34	affairs within the framework of state **funding** and have the opportunity to	funding	378	15	DAP.txt	42%
35	to search for other resources of **funding.** The Greek university must	funding	389	15	DAP.txt	43%
36	Greek university must finally find its own **financial** resources! The four-year	financial	398	16	DAP.txt	44%
37	contribute to better evaluation of how **funding** is used for research or to cover	funding	415	17	DAP.txt	46%
38	who enter, and should manage their **financial** issues without needing the	financial	723	27	DAP.txt	79%
39	an impact on staff development and the **funding** of universities by the state. It is	funding	765	29	DAP.txt	83%

The repetition of the concept of funding shows the paramount importance that is given to economic and state aid for the improvement of Greek higher education. It appears that this issue provokes university resistance and influences its evolution. Funding is a nodal point and constitutes one requirement, without which the development of knowledge and research cannot be achieved. The concepts of democracy, autonomy, and commercialisation are linked to the condition of funding, because this is the basis upon which the academic functions of public universities can grow.

Asylum

In Figure 13, asylum is used 34 times and is described as ‘empty’ in line 1. In lines 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14, it is used to express a fear of the ‘abolition’ of asylum in the new policies, while in lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10, asylum is presented as being removed due to the criminal actions of particular social and political groups. In lines 4, 13 and 14, ‘asylum’ is seen as a victory of national history. The discourse about asylum contains a positive view of asylum by students and the faculty as a key element of academic life, and that it should therefore be maintained and protected through more stringent measures.

Figure 13. Concordance of asylum

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	File	%
1	of Chemistry by students 'the removal of asylum' took place, and in 1991 and 1995,		524	DAP.txt	57%
2	achieving the application of evaluation. Asylum and the university property can		830	DAP.txt	90%
3	the places covered by the university asylum and so it limits asylum. We do		879	DAP.txt	95%
4	by the university asylum and so it limits asylum. We do not agree with the new		884	DAP.txt	96%
5	of political parties. The university asylum must be maintained but also be		1,674	Faculty.txt	57%
6	actions which threaten to abolish it. The asylum that we want is that which allows		1,691	Faculty.txt	58%
7	and political benefits. With the abuse of asylum from 'partisan-men' public		2,593	Faculty.txt	89%
8	national history, academic freedom and asylum. The new law cannot effectively		2,667	Faculty.txt	91%
9	However, which dean dares to remove asylum? This has not taken place,		2,710	Faculty.txt	93%
10	his office destroyed, etc. I believe that asylum is an empty legal framework.		2,734	Faculty.txt	93%
11	the political duty for abolishing asylum from representatives of the		98	PASP.txt	5%
12	to the Rector's assembly and limiting asylum to the places where research		113	PASP.txt	6%
13	and teaching take place aims to abolish asylum in universities. We demand		126	PASP.txt	7%
14	Greek universities. Academic freedom, asylum, democratic processes and basic		1,122	PASP.txt	59%
15	space in which the institution of asylum is degraded. In the history of		1,478	PASP.txt	78%
16	is degraded. In the history of university asylum, the period of junta has shown		1,486	PASP.txt	78%
17	and more indicate that the abolition of asylum is being prepared. Fake		1,740	PASP.txt	91%

Asylum acts as a nodal point around which individual identity is organised against change. Asylum is constructed in the following ways: as a tradition based on national history; in terms of society-government collaboration as a social form of resistance; as an end in itself to be pursued (democracy, equity, demands, and so on); a means to achieve a further end (e.g. a means to achieve a political transition to a new society and to educational reform) (lines 8, 15 and 16); a political form of manipulation used by political parties outside of the universities to intervene in the activities of universities and to direct pressure to act in ways that are favourable to their own interests; as the education axis that builds the ground and principle of academic freedom, freedom of speech, research, and democracy (lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 17); and as a means to achieve educational quality (lines 5 and 6).

Asylum is linked to the new laws about educational management and to the evaluation of economic and financial strategies. It is constructed as being equivalent to democracy, pluralism, civilian values, national identity, a cultural approach, social development, and progress. In terms of history, because asylum was created after the dictatorship, it constitutes a universal value on which to debate the new law. The social myth that arises is the conservation and utilisation of the efforts to improve higher education institutions, while maintaining asylum as a historical and political element. Thus, the introduction of the collective participation of students in the electoral bodies challenges the traditional discourse about asylum.

Research

In Figure 14, we can see the word combinations 'basic and applied', 'research and teaching' or 'teaching and research', 'scientific knowledge and research', and 'scientific and research work'.

These combinations suggest a negative discourse about the new policies, one implication being that the new policies have been unsuccessful in protecting or reinforcing the development of teaching, research, and knowledge. The areas in which the new policies are denounced are as being due to a lack of concern about the 'evaluation' of research in relation to the contribution to science and society (lines 2 and 8); the violation of 'asylum' that confines free teaching, research, and distribution of ideas (lines 1, 9, 10, 12, 16 and 19); the failure of the new policies to respond to the demands of students and teachers to take up their responsibilities and duties (lines 7, 8 and 9); the lack of funding (line 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13 and 14); the lack of a body consisting of people in the academy that would ensure transparency in the funding of research (line 12); and the lack of a policy that would determine the size and rate of growth of money supply for basic and applied research (6, 15, 17 and 18).

Figure 14. Concordance of research

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	File	%
1	teacher will be committed to education, **research** and teaching work. There are		216	DAP.txt	23%
2	evaluation of how funding is used for **research** or to cover running costs. With		419	DAP.txt	46%
3	businesses for the accomplishment of **research** and educational programmes.		824	Faculty.txt	28%
4	can be provided so that basic and applied **research** can be developed, not just		838	Faculty.txt	29%
5	training, and applied sciences, but basic **research** must also be encouraged. The		853	Faculty.txt	29%
6	like the evaluation of basic and applied **research** of institutions, of how much		931	Faculty.txt	32%
7	with general issues of postgraduate **research** in which students do not		1,421	Faculty.txt	48%
8	that we can undertake challenging **research** and even challenge the political		2,560	Faculty.txt	87%
9	they do not allow us to do our work, our **research** and teaching. The university is		2,617	Faculty.txt	89%
10	The university is firstly to undertake **research,** to teach what I have		2,626	Faculty.txt	90%
11	and limiting asylum to the places where **research** and teaching take place aims to		118	PASP.txt	6%
12	staff will coordinate the development of **research,** the need to establish new		340	PASP.txt	18%
13	of the university's educational and **research** work and resources		369	PASP.txt	20%
14	property we mean the real estate or **research.** The possibility of universities		930	PASP.txt	48%
15	the conquest of scientific knowledge and **research** that should be combined with		978	PASP.txt	51%
16	asylum, democratic processes and basic **research** will be devalued. The practice		1,127	PASP.txt	59%
17	programmes, evaluation of teaching and **research** work, the management of		1,225	PASP.txt	64%
18	should be based on the scientific and **research** work which they produce and		1,256	PASP.txt	66%
19	will only cover the places of teaching and **research.** By the same token, the new		1,587	PASP.txt	84%

Research is used as a nodal point around which the discourses against the new policies are constructed. It creates linkages between research and academic freedom, research and the mission of the university, and research and the Greek Constitution, upon which the identity of the Greek university, and the faculty and students, is built.

Autonomy

The word autonomy appears to be the freedom that public universities have in making choices concerning the economy (lines 1 and 9), autonomy from student parties (line 5), academic freedom (line 7), and the number of students granted access (line 4, 7 and 11). Autonomy is denounced within the definition of the new laws because it is not considered adequate for

supporting the development of public universities and thus needs strengthening, e.g. ‘does not depend’ (line 2), ‘it is unable’ (line 4), and ‘increase the autonomy’ (line 10). Lines 3, 4, 6 and 8 mention the Ministry of Education as being responsible for the lack of autonomy. Hence, drawing on discourse theory, ‘autonomy’ acts as an empty signifier, but it acquires its meaning through its combination with other carriers of meaning, such as ‘free education’, ‘research’, and ‘asylum’.

Figure 15. Concordance of autonom, independen**

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	File	Date	%
1	non-negotiable. As far as the financial autonomy of universities we believe that	autonom*	897	PASP.txt	2014/Jan/31 00:00	47%
2	that a public university can maintain its autonomy and does not depend on	autonom*	37	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	1%
3	were two timid steps towards independence involving the internal rules	independen*	251	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	9%
4	it should be. It is unable to provide autonomy, because the Ministry of	autonom*	349	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	12%
5	of the voting power in the electoral body independently from the number of	independen*	661	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	22%
6	cross the boundaries. We have autonomy concerning what we will teach,	autonom*	1,952	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	66%
7	sends us 300. However, there is full autonomy in the way we work. A	autonom*	2,016	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	69%
8	educational democracy and the lack of an independent evaluation body which could	independen*	2,225	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	76%
9	education is that knowledge is produced independently to economic and political	independen*	2,581	Faculty.txt	2014/Sep/02 00:00	88%
10	for higher education increase the autonomy of universities. Universities	autonom*	365	DAP.txt	2014/Jan/31 00:00	40%
11	Universities must become more autonomous. Universities should	autonom*	707	DAP.txt	2014/Jan/31 00:00	77%

In terms of autonomy, arguments against the new policies are developed that will lead to the commercialisation of education, and therefore, to the loss of autonomy. The empty signifiers of ‘autonomy’ and ‘independence’ are constructed through the use of the nodal points, ‘Ministry of Education’, ‘government’, and ‘interests’, by the faculty and the students.

Ministry

The repetition of the words ‘Ministry’ (Figure 16) and ‘government’ (Figure 17) is related to the concept of autonomy. In Figures 15, 16 and 17, the Ministry of Education and the government are connected negatively to autonomy. The political behaviour of the government and the Ministry of Education, which restricts autonomy in higher education institutions, is denounced. Political corruption is also denounced (Lines 9 and 10), and hence, disbelief is expressed about the objectivity of the Ministry of Education in implementing meritocratic policies that would possibly help to improve the quality of the educational functions of a university. It is also recognised that the real intention of the state remains to control the universities (lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 12).

Figure 16. Concordance of Ministry

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent	File	%
1	had previously been regulated by the Ministry of Education and the four year		265	9	Faculty.txt	9%
2	unable to provide autonomy, because the Ministry of Education makes decisions		351	15	Faculty.txt	12%
3	and objective. Therefore, before the Ministry gives permission for the		1,529	70	Faculty.txt	52%
4	We invite fifty students annually and the Ministry sends us 300. However, there is		2,007	97	Faculty.txt	68%
5	our modules without the approval of the Ministry of Education. When colleagues		2,057	99	Faculty.txt	70%
6	the election of a new colleague, the Ministry must sign their approval. A		2,110	101	Faculty.txt	72%
7	entry qualification system because the Ministry of Education still controls the		2,128	102	Faculty.txt	72%
8	intervene between universities and the Ministry of Education to secure		2,234	106	Faculty.txt	76%
9	it should not include people of the Ministry or a governing party. Currently		2,271	107	Faculty.txt	77%
10	I am sure that each leadership of the Ministry will set its peoples' choice.		2,312	109	Faculty.txt	79%
11	of Education and sent a letter to the Ministry of Education and we achieved		51	2	DAP.txt	5%
12	the approval or intervention of the Ministry of Education. The law of		733	27	DAP.txt	80%

Government

Figures 17 and 18 show a series of complaints that indicate that the government's policy does not contribute to developments and changes in higher education, but instead facilitates partisanship within higher education institutions and the exchange of interests between political parties and universities. These are seen in Figure 17 as: 'tried to achieve (state control)' (line 2); 'to limit' (line 4); 'no resistance' (line 5); 'must protect' (line 6); 'intervention' (line 9); 'cannot interfere' (line 10); 'party trick' (line 17); 'control' (line 19); while ignoring the needs and demands of the universities, e.g. 'should replace' (line 1), 'the intention behind' (line 3); 'intransigence' (line 7); 'commercialisation' (line 8); 'should resolve' (line 11); 'only' (line 13); 'contesting' (lines 15 and 16); 'to impose' (lines 8 and 18); 'no resistance' (line 9); 'blackmail' (line 12); and 'authoritarian' (line 20).

Figure 17. Concordance of government

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent. #	File	%
1	do not have chances to progress. The **government** should replace the part-time		199	9	DAP.txt	21%
2	to get rid of state control, which the **government** tried to achieve through the		282	12	DAP.txt	30%
3	with education. 'The intention of the **government** behind the revision of		87	2	Faculty.txt	3%
4	decision making. In the law of 2007, the **government** tried to limit the democratic		1,305	60	Faculty.txt	44%
5	that there will be no resistance against **government** decisions. Until then, when		1,330	60	Faculty.txt	45%
6	thing is that parties need to leave. The **Government** must protect the national		2,655	129	Faculty.txt	91%
7	The **Governmental** intransigence for the		1	0	PASP.txt	0%
8	sector involvement. The objective of the **Government** is the commercialisation of		56	2	PASP.txt	3%
9	political position, an intervention of each **government** in the internal affairs of the		181	6	PASP.txt	9%
10	or deceiving the public opinion. But **governments** cannot interfere with the		209	7	PASP.txt	11%
11	the normal period of studies, while the **Government** should resolve other		392	13	PASP.txt	21%
12	the revision process of Article 16, the **Government** retreated. The recognition		626	20	PASP.txt	32%
13	Only the law of 1982 of the then **Government** of PASOK initiated a new era		722	25	PASP.txt	37%
14	the university. The New Democracy **government** tried to limit our		768	27	PASP.txt	40%
15	reaction and contesting the choices of **governments.** The nature of asylum		1,520	59	PASP.txt	80%
16	the actions and decisions of the **Government.** But these decisions had		1,759	68	PASP.txt	92%
17	and were a party trick in order for the **government** to impose decisions which		1,778	69	PASP.txt	93%
18	of public universities is used by the **Government** to blackmail and impose its		1,867	74	PASP.txt	98%
19	asylum was abolished and the **government** exercised absolute control		218	12	leftist_parties.txt	45%
20	against the authoritarian power of **governments.** For this reason, we are in		442	21	leftist_parties.txt	94%

In the above concordances, the government, through the agency of the Ministry of Education, is attempting to control and shape the country's universities. The government cannot meet the citizens' expectations for an open, democratic, and progressive university system. Government policy, as applied through the decisions and the intervention of the Ministry of Education, has been judged by the conscience of the citizens and the politicians, and is reflected in a primarily negative dialogue, with very few contributing positive comments.

Interests

The word 'interests' in Figure 18 is accompanied by the adjectives 'extra-educational' (line 1), 'some' (line 2), 'economic' (line 3), 'professional' (line 4), 'financial' (line 4), 'own' (lines 5 and 6), 'little' (line 7), 'political' (line 8), and 'partisan' (line 9), and is the result of the corruption that exists within and around the university system. These terms denounce decision-making as being the result of personal, political, and economic goals, rather than in the interests of the university. In lines 1 and 5, another pattern is revealed as the result of partisanship; people within the universities hinder the application of the laws which have already been passed by the parliament. This is a direct complaint by people in the universities against the new education policy, which fails to address the problem of partisanship. Here is implied the need for controlling and facing the problem of corruption, both political and professional, which will have a positive impact on the future of democracy in public universities. The impact of political and professional corruption becomes more important, and is primarily reflected in the further decline of public confidence and participation in public universities, as can be drawn from the

responses related to the undermined conditions of public as opposed to private universities. Thus, transparency and accountability methods need to be enhanced.

*Figure 18. Concordance of interest**

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent. #	File	%
1	other laws that serve extra-educational **interests** and are often a way of		195	6	PASP.txt	10%
2	degrees are shared between serving the **interests** of some teachers, and student		817	29	PASP.txt	42%
3	textbooks are distributed are economic **interests.** It has been many years since		1,358	53	PASP.txt	72%
4	due to financial and professional **interests.** We should fight against that		2,483	116	Faculty.txt	85%
5	act politically to accomplish their own **interests** or increase their power. We		2,518	119	Faculty.txt	86%
6	was not in accordance with their own **interests.** Yes, students can be part of		1,865	87	Faculty.txt	64%
7	students have so far shown little **interest** in participating in the elections.		642	27	Faculty.txt	22%
8	by economic pressures or political **interests** which do not have a relation		74	1	Faculty.txt	3%
9	become a game in the hands of partisan **interests** and we will try to eliminate the		685	25	DAP.txt	74%

Democracy

Figure 19 shows that democracy is used to describe democratic political behaviour that exhibits participation. However, political behaviour is described using negative words such as ‘protect’ (line 1), ‘restoration’ (line 2), ‘afflict’ (line 3), ‘restore’ (line 4), ‘a new era’ (line 5), and ‘destroy’ (line 6), which define the behaviour of all those that catalyse or limit democracy. The words ‘protection’ (line 7), ‘limit’ (line 10), ‘(not) in all cases’ (line 13), ‘control’ (line 15), ‘limitations’ (line 16), which indicate a demand from students and teaching staff that the government must take further measures to protect democracy. The concept of corruption is presented as being contrary to the democratic operation of the universities (lines 8, 9, 11, 12, 14 and 17). This is practically connected with the lack of transparency and the presence of various interest groups that serve party political or economic interests within the universities, as mentioned above, e.g. students, student factions, teachers, and the state.

Figure 19. Concordance of democracy

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sent	File	%
1	their future. The university must protect **democracy** by allowing students to be		362	18	leftist_parties.txt	76%
2	public education, and the restoration of **democratic** functions in universities.		417	20	leftist_parties.txt	87%
3	to limit these corporations that afflict **democracy,** to fight to restore		865	30	PASP.txt	45%
4	that afflict democracy, to fight to restore **democracy.** Our view, the view of the		870	30	PASP.txt	45%
5	of PASOK initiated a new era for the **democratisation** of the functions of		731	25	PASP.txt	37%
6	students against those trying to destroy **democracy.** Today, it continues to		1,502	58	PASP.txt	79%
7	for the protection of educational **democracy.** But there is concern for the		1,534	60	PASP.txt	81%
8	universities. Academic freedom, asylum, **democratic** processes and basic		1,123	42	PASP.txt	59%
9	is pluralistic, and derives from the **democracy** in ancient Athens, where all		1,273	58	Faculty.txt	43%
10	of 2007, the government tried to limit the **democratic** processes in universities,		1,310	60	Faculty.txt	44%
11	access to the employment market. **Democracy** in our universities is		1,263	58	Faculty.txt	43%
12	bodies of the university became more **democratic** in the sense that the aim of		544	21	Faculty.txt	19%
13	in all cases. It became more **democratic** in the sense of the effort		575	22	Faculty.txt	20%
14	ideological contradictions. Educational **democracy** in public universities is		2,425	115	Faculty.txt	82%
15	a free mentality, transparency and **democratic** control. Only thus will		2,540	120	Faculty.txt	87%
16	the state, the limitations of educational **democracy** and the lack of an		2,218	106	Faculty.txt	75%
17	that Plato and Aristotle’s idea of full **democracy** in education is positive. I		1,726	80	Faculty.txt	59%

In Figure 19, democracy is affiliated with the independence of different partisan and economic interests, and the political and social struggles of Greek people in strengthening democracy in higher education. Democracy is associated with the active and honest participation of students in the administrative bodies of universities and the independence of universities from political interests. It is seen that such autonomy can drive education towards full democratisation. Democracy means the free movement of ideas and respect for diversity and protection of the campus but, in reality, it is stated that these elements do not exist and therefore that there is no democracy, leading to a situation where democracy cannot be transformed into a social imaginary.

6.2. Myth and the social imaginary

Myth in Greek higher education, as a collective action, has a split character. On the one hand, a neo-liberal myth underlies the education policies. This trend represents an orientation towards the autonomy of higher education policies from a heavy dependence on the state. It also introduces competition between public and private universities. The neoliberal shift of education policies is the necessary outcome of conditions shaped by the global economy. This discourse conceptualises globalisation, the market, the economy, and European policies as an inevitable support and extension of educational change, not only because Greece has committed to EU agreements to follow the aforementioned changes, but also because the changes proposed by the government will resolve many of the problems faced by Greek universities (such as insufficient funding for research, lack of infrastructure, and the lack of accountability and competitiveness).

On the other hand, the democratic myth seeks to undermine the premises and ideological framework of the market model of higher education by creating a different articulation to the neoliberal imagery based on the core principles of Greek higher education, that of ‘access’, ‘public education’, ‘free education’, ‘autonomy’, and ‘democracy’. The neoliberals conceptualise globalisation, the market, and the economy as an inevitable support for, and extension of, educational change; however, the national states are responsible for maintaining a degree of autonomy in determining education policy. The democratic myth put forward by those interested in equality and social justice, the Communists (KKE) and SYRIZA, is conceived of as being radically different in interpreting the facts of globalisation, the market, the economy, and the adaptation of the national system to European policies, all of which are considered to be threats to the autonomy of universities and the traditional education culture, which is presented as being defenceless against the new social, economic, and political actors, and as being diminished by neoliberal policies.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, myths and nodal points are constructed upon the chains or logic of equivalence and difference (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, 2001; Laclau 1996). These are explained in the following section.

6.3. Time-Space and logic of equivalence and difference

The New Democracy (ND) government constructs a neoliberal model of governance within global space-time, and within the national future. In this sphere, it constructs a logic of equivalence between the state-controlled model and the state-supervision model. The former is represented as being, or having, 'democratic deficit', 'gaps', 'crisis', 'cruel', 'cynical', 'partisan', conservative', and 'indifference'. The latter, the supervising state model, is, or shows, 'transparent', 'self-government', 'autonomy', 'quality', 'competence', 'legitimacy', support', and 'justice'.

PASOK constructs a socialist democratic model of governance in global space-time and within the national future. It constructs a logic of equivalence between the state-controlled model and the neoliberal model proposed by ND. The former is presented as displaying 'autoteleia', 'self-dependence', 'access', 'dialogue', 'competition', 'democracy', 'revolution', 'dialogue', 'change', and being 'open', while the latter displays 'commercialisation' and 'introspection'.

SYRIZA constructs a state model for the governance of universities inscribed in national space and global time. Within this spectrum, it constructs a logic of equivalence between the proposed model of governance and the state-controlled model. The proposed model of governance is described through the words 'autonomous ('autoteles'), 'constitutional', 'autonomous democratic', 'legal', 'free', 'history', 'democracy', 'struggles', 'autoteleia with harmony', while the new governance model is represented as being 'deconstructed', 'misled', 'collapsing', 'unconstitutional', and operating with 'contradiction', 'degradation', 'violation', and 'corruption'.

The KKE constructs a communist model of governance inscribed within global space-time and the national future. Within this spectrum, it constructs a logic of equivalence between a state-controlled model of governance and the neoliberal governance model. The former is represented as 'democratic', 'for all', 'independent', 'dependent', 'integral', and 'with sovereignty'. The latter is represented by 'mismanagement', 'corporations', 'corruption', 'commercialisation', 'partnerships', 'disoriented', and 'disintegrated'.

The students and the faculty construct a neoliberal and socialist model of governance inscribed within global space-time and the national past and future. Within this spectrum, they construct a logic of equivalence and difference between the autonomous model of governance which they propose, and the neoliberal governance model. The former is represented as ' undermined', with

‘gaps’, ‘insufficient’, ‘games’, and ‘corrupted’. The latter is represented as ‘self-determined’, ‘independent’, and ‘democratic’.

The logics of equivalence and difference indicate the social antagonism that takes place between the different discourses. It suggests that the discourse which is created under the state-controlled model threatens the discourse of the neoliberal model of the governance of universities. The state-controlled model refers to the system of fundamental laws and principles that prescribe the nature, functions, and limits of a government. This is prescribed in the Greek Constitution, Article 16, on which the changes should be based.

According to discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, 2001; Laclau, 1996), the chains or logics of equivalence and difference, result in the domination or subordination of particular discourses.

6.4. Identification of discourses

In the table below (Table 3), in the left-hand column, the discourses that (according to discourse theory) result from the articulation practices of social agents are identified, while the second column presents the words that articulate the discourses. Discourses provide the rationale behind the government’s policies and of those who resist. In this case, discourses organise the actions and values of political parties or individuals and provide them with a sense of identity. Consequently, discourse is itself a sphere that incorporates the cultural hegemony of a class, or groups, over particular sectors of that sphere; it is part of their capacity to shape discursive practices and the order of discourse. Through this struggle between discourses, the actors tend to preserve, restrict, or renew their hegemony; the hegemony of those who tend to dominate. Consequently, discourses are expressions of the different political identities that act on the university, and of the organisational culture, or identity, of universities.

The words that have been assigned to the discourses construct them in particular ways. The categorisation of the discourses took place according to the themes they addressed. They are presented according to which discourse is more privileged than the others. The privileged discourses of the neoliberal supporters (e.g. the discourses of Europe, government reform, business/economy, and of problems) are reproduced by the opposing discourses and vice versa (e.g. the discourses of intervention, oppression, counter-proposals, and of history). As the following table shows (Table 3), Europe is the centre to which the signatory countries are called to align their education policies, and acts as a legislative and educational framework for achievements in educational, scientific, and research developments. For this reason, it clearly influences the discourse of the political parties. European policies become the main axis around which the discourses for change in Greek higher education are structured. This explains the

choice of the words grouped together under the 'business/economy' category in the discourse of the political parties in relation to Greek higher education. The choice of the words under the discourse of 'government reform' constructs the reforms predicted in the new policies. The discourse of the 'problems of Greek higher education' describes the reasons for which 'government reforms' should be implemented. The discourse of intervention, oppression, counter-reforms, and history are articulated by the opposition parties. The discourse of intervention is constructed by words taken from the discourses of the 'European Union', 'government reforms', and 'business/economy', and ends up with the discourse of 'oppression' which indicates the infringement of social and academic values if the changes were to be accepted or implemented. Therefore, 'counter-changes' are proposed to protect these values. The words which construct the discourse of 'history' are located in a different category because they are used by the opposition parties to support their arguments against change. The discourse of 'history' has created particular memories, attitudes, and values which give meaning to the changes. The opposition draws on this discourse to support their arguments against the proposal of the new neoliberal changes.

Table 3. Discourse origins and discourses

DISCOURSES	Identifiers
European Union	global, foreign, international, Europe, Greece, landscape, community, country, national, member, commission, council, reality, worldwide, committee, region.
Government reform	regulation, structures, right, rules, legal, directive, Constitution, regulation, order, structures, strengthening, standards, evaluation, internal, regulate, recognition, qualification, court, improve, laboratories [research institutes], operation, political, reliability, partnership, modern, strict, diplomas, free, resolution, knowledge, control, state, ministry, guarantee, flexible, attraction, obligation, administration, recognise, legitimise, incompatible, licenses, condemnatory, integration, release, sovereignty, penalties.
Business/Economy	economic, profit, market, labour, incentives, trade, responsibility, franchising, responsible, resources, enterprises, public, strategy, leader, system, validation, verify, financial, commerce.
Problems	unemployment, uncontrolled, unchecked, offenses, barriers, dubious, agony, doubtful, abusively, encapsulation, anxieties, chaotic,

	abandoned, ignorance, passive, playing, privilege, abuse, infrastructure, Metaxas.
Intervention	enterprises, franchising, integration, companies, services, competence, competitive, commission, directive, directives, control, industry, regulations, authority, Bologna, strategies, opportunity, incentives, profitability, rules, criteria, private, employers, competence, accountability.
Oppression	destroy, violation, deconstructed, equality, bilingualism, degraded, degradation, capitalism, disintegration, disorientation, disobedience, conflict, violence, abolition, absence, classification, categorization, distinction, barriers, unconstitutionality, unconstitutional, commercialisation, privatisation, monopolistic, intervention, mechanism, revision, freedom, corruption, interests, equality, class, struggles, conflict, capital, opposition, workers, rejecting, constitutionality, employers, rights, democracy, democratic Greek, people, country, society, Greece, conditions, access, revision, mission, withdrawal, dangerous, collective, obligation, statism.
Counterproposals	autoteleia, independence, free, scholarships, funding, democracy, access, research, competence, prerequisite, exclusively, quality, valid, obligation, money, conditions, organisation, requirements, governance, fully, efficiency, funding, values, revolution.
History	society, youth, history, dictatorship, victories, junta.

In the interviews with the students and the faculty (see Table 4), the discourse of ‘business/economy’ is infused by the discourse of ‘oppression’, through words such as ‘interests’, ‘interest’, ‘clientelistic’, ‘corruption’, ‘factions’, ‘limitations’, ‘injuries’, ‘mismanagement’, ‘offenses’, ‘intervention’, and ‘partisanship’ (Table 3). The discourse of ‘oppression’ indicates the ways in which people within the academy experience oppression and marginalisation by various interest groups, as well as how they manage obstacles to the successful implementation of change that prevent Greek universities from developing. This inter-discursivity is important in that the interviewees try to strengthen their convictions about the need for change in the management of public universities in order to protect the national education system’s social and cultural values, while adapting to the new reality and drawing

upon their experiences, knowledge, and political ideology. Resistance, therefore, is indicated within the power of the structure of universities that allows the oppression of some groups over others.

Table 4. Discourse origins and discourses

Government reform	management, public, decision, control, administration, criteria, research, approval, autonomy, independence, quality, regulations, leadership, independent, strategy, participation, election, rectors, cooperation, asylum, evaluation, state, textbooks, policy, four-year development plan, internal regulations.
Business/Economy	private, business, market, work, employment, insufficient, funding, investments, productivity, professions, profit, mismanagement.
History	dictatorship, junta.
Intervention	parties, students, government, groups, Ministry, legitimise, state, government, intervention.
Oppression	interests, clientelistic, corruption, monopoly, factions, denial, depend, difficult, demonstrations, difficulty, abolition, conflict, intervene, cliques, empty, oppose, extremism, fear, deprives, impose, afflict, deconstruction, limitation, injuries, obligated, misleading, movements, occupation, partisan, manipulation, occupations, opposition, undemocratic, withdrawal, offenses, equal democracy.

In addition, as part of the discourse of ‘oppression’, a market-oriented discourse also occurs (‘Bologna’, ‘competition’, ‘control’, ‘enterprise’, ‘business’, and ‘profitability’) by providing an underlying, logical reason for protecting Greek higher education. Conversely, the market-oriented discourse used in the discourse of ‘oppression’, occurs by providing a logical reason for adapting to the new social and economic initiatives. The significance here is that, by portraying antithetical discourses as being complementary, it is suggested that change can be entirely consistent with broad, or societal, values and expectations.

Also, various terms are identified in the discourses of the opponents, such as ‘commercialisation’ and ‘privatisation’ which have been shaped by the words ‘commerce’,

‘profit’, and ‘private’ that constitute the neoliberal discourses, and which have been placed by the opponents into the traditional discourse. Hence, it can be seen that discourses, genres, or systems of language, overlap with the new discursive orders, allowing a new field of action (Wodak, 2001, p. 66). On the one hand, the texts comprise discourses of management and business; on the other hand, they comprise discourses such as that of the EU, oppression, and history. The texts therefore exemplify inter-discursivity, but are still predominantly drawn from traditional management, business, industrial, and economic discourses. This indicates the dominant traditional discourse that disseminates the established order within the universities.

6.5. Conclusion

Change in the responses of the political speakers, teaching staff, and students is represented by ideas that modify the structure of Greek higher education and the relationship between the state, the universities, and the people. Public education is presented as being deprived by internal and external forces, as a point of action for change to European standards, and as being important to the needs of society or the nation. Although the discourses of the political speakers, teaching staff, and students consists of representations of contemporary processes of change, their discourses also insist on representations from the political history of Greece involving the keywords ‘asylum’, ‘free education’, ‘public university’, and ‘democracy’. Asylum is presented as a historical value of the nation, as a right of the nation, as a right of students for resistance purposes, as being defenceless against social groups, and as being diminished by the government. Finally, the analysis of the political speeches and interviews with the students and teaching staff reveal a multiplicity of different views and ideological points, both for and against the laws, and indicates the sovereignty of the government that fails to achieve a fruitful dialogue, and a synthesis of views and consensus, as the opposing political speakers argue.

Autonomy is an educational concept which the corpus linguistics analysis indicates as being a conflicting issue in the struggle for persuasion for, or against, the new policies. The semantic openness of autonomy is used by the government, political parties, students, and the teaching staff to express a set of principles around subjects such as education, research, quality, competition, professional skills, and the university. The meaning of autonomy, as attributed by the actors who participate in the process of change in Greek higher education, has been affected by globalisation, the knowledge economy, massification, and industrialisation. It therefore becomes the basis for the proposals for change made by the government, and represents the main axis for disagreement among the conflicting groups.

For the critics of the neoliberal policies, the concept of autonomy in Greek universities acquires a political content and is connected with the fear created by the political experience of universities during the period of the junta (1967-74). Autonomy is related to the reinforcement

of democracy and the protection of the educational and administrative functions of universities from anti-democratic interventions. This is covered, and has been until recently (2014), by the relevant wording of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution. The only obligation and commitment of the state to the universities is funding and assistance towards the achievement of educational and research goals within the universities.

The concept of autonomy in the resistant discourse of the speakers from the political parties and the faculty is related to the concept of academic freedom. Academic freedom within Greek higher education is secured by the Greek Constitution, Article 16, through the exclusive economic support of education by the state. Therefore, autonomy is defined as free education for citizens. It also supports freedom of research, knowledge, and teaching, and the expression and movement of ideas. These findings show the existence of a relationship between the mission and goals of the university and academic freedom. The association of autonomy with public universities gives public education a particular historical value, which is being deprived by internal and external forces, as a point of action for change to the European standards, and as being important to the needs of society or the needs of the nation. Asylum is also presented as having a historical value which supports the autonomy of the nation by protecting the right of students to resistance.

This autonomy, as defined by their opponents, cannot be achieved within the goals of neoliberalism through the privatisation of education. The supporters of change see autonomy as a political, economic, and institutional response to Europeanisation and globalisation. They see it as the liberalisation of education from political or institutional constraints created by the state, political interventions, or out-dated attitudes. These are removed in favour of the free distribution of educational products. The liberalisation of education is seen to contribute to the financial support of all social classes if there is a deployment of educational structures that will allow the provision of comprehensive training, and if the enhancement of educational mobility is increased through the dissemination of educational products, teaching, and training capacity to support scientific research.

In summary, autonomy in Greek universities is a point of educational and political struggle that locates autonomy in a future timeframe and indicates that full autonomy has not been accomplished yet, and that it needs to be put in place. It is a demand of the opposition political speakers and respondents of this study for a policy framework that will be more democratic and will offer the provision of equal educational services to all citizens, a free education, and an education system of high quality. It is demanded as the framework for the development of scientific knowledge, and of an objective evaluation system of teachers and of educational services (textbooks, teaching, and research). For the neoliberals, autonomy is a means through

which higher education policies can achieve their economic role in the knowledge economy and from which universities can benefit from the new economy.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.0. Introduction

This thesis has examined, in three sections, the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education of political parties, students, and faculty members of the university community during the 2007-2008 period. The first section (Chapters One and Two) presented the research question; namely, to investigate the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education and thus to contribute to the discussion about resistance, which takes place in the broader European higher education arena, as presented in the literature chapter. It also provided an overall picture of the structure and basic functions of Greek higher education, and the new proposals and laws implemented during 2007-2008 (Laws 3549 and 3696), which were aimed at adjusting Greek higher education to the agreed principles of the Bologna Declaration. The second section (Chapters Three and Four) presented the theoretical framework, and the methodology and methods used for discussing the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education. The study is underpinned by a theoretical framework consisting of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and, more particularly, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) and Laclau and Mouffe's articulation theory based on a model presented by Montessori (2009). In the third section (Chapters Five and Six), the parliamentary struggles of a number of Greek political parties in achieving a consensus, and the responses of the faculty and students towards the new policies that were implemented, were examined.

The primary research question of the thesis is 'Why are Greek universities resistant to change?' In the context of the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009), this thesis has also investigated five questions that deserve special attention because they are integral elements of the discursive strategies that the participants used to establish hegemony:

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?

2. What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes?

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments expressed?

5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified, or are they mitigated?' (p. 93).

The aim of this chapter is to present the responses to the questions suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) above. These responses describe the different dimensions of the resistance to the potential institutional governance of Greek universities, drawing on the existing literature to discuss how the higher education of tomorrow will develop.The following categories of resistance are presented separately for analytical purposes; however, in the real world, they overlap and interplay through language, culture, and discourse.

7.1. The social actors resisting change

This section responds to the first question by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), indicating the role of the different actors in the process of change in Greek higher education.

The main political and social actor that imposes change in Greek higher education is the European Union which, through the Bologna Agreement (1999), enforces the adaptation of national education systems to its terms and guidelines (Greece, House Proceedings, 2007, 2008). The New Democracy government based the content of the new legislation (Law 3549/2007 about the structure and functions of Greek universities, and Law 3696/2008 on private colleges) on the terms of the Treaty of Bologna, rather than on the real conditions and needs of Greek universities. The political and social groups that hinder the application of these laws are the opposition political parties in the Greek parliament, academics and students, trade unions acting for the universities, whose interests are adversely affected by the new legislation (House Proceedings, 2007, 2008).

A common story put forward by all the resistant groups reflects the culture of the university, and the values, norms, assumptions, and discourses that characterise it. In relation to the above discussion, although it could be argued that there is an interaction between the opposition political parties and the faculty and students, the findings of this study actually suggest an intense division and conflict between the faculty and the students. To illustrate, the faculty underline the arbitrariness of the power provided through the previous structure of the public universities to the political parties to intervene and control the functions of public universities through the student groups. Student factions are criticised for being responsible for corruption in the universities by electing their own supporters, or for pursuing the interests of the political party outside of the university that they support, and thus, they hinder the smooth operation of the universities. The faculty see this as being against the principles of academic freedom, and express the need to protect the university from these violations of power by the students. In contrast, the student groups see their own role as being essential to transparency in the processes of the public universities.

The above findings indicate that students in this study are not only consumers (Bergan, 2003; Slaughter and Roades, 2004; Olssen and Peters, 2005; Scott, 2009; Cardoso, 2012; Barnett, 2012), but also play an active role in the implementation of the policies by claiming their civil and political rights to participate in the decisions of the government that concern them, that of securing their participation in the administrative bodies of the universities and receiving equal educational opportunities. Also, academic staff members struggle to maintain their dominance within the structure of the university by seeking the restorement of the participation conditions in the structure of universities. This adds to the findings from other studies according to which academic staff are dissatisfied with the control and pressure enacted to increase the profits and reputation of the university, or that they are dissatisfied with the limited time that academic staff have for teaching and research due to less personal control, more accountability, and greater responsibility (Räsänen, 2012; Metcalfe, 2012; Stensaker, Välimaa and Sarrico, 2012). The findings of this study reveal that in a conflictual situation created from the pressure of neoliberalism advocated either from EU or economic market people in the academy struggle for their power and dominance in higher education. This conflict takes the form of an ideological struggle, as is explained below, and has consequences for the management of university, as explained below.

7.2. The role of ideological differences in resistance to change

The ideologies used by the different actors may organise the positive or negative representation of the other (van Dijk, n.d.). Hence, this section responds to the second question suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 93) in relation to the qualities and characteristics of the actors, the phenomena, and the processes.

Discourses about Europeanisation are distinguished by referring to ideals of nationalism, and draw on a range of ideas about the impact of EU policies on Greece's higher education sector. These differences reveal competing political and cultural perspectives on how Greece should respond to the EU directives.

In particular, within the framework of Europeanisation and globalisation, the neoliberal supporters believe that the welfare state is being reconstructed and that the boundaries between the public and private spheres are changing. Universities are participating in a free market and need to adjust their functions to meet the demands of this new market. Under this model, the citizens of a globalised society would be able to select a private or public university according to their skills and demands. The development of economic relations between universities and the business sector is also believed to be undertaken more competitively by the universities through using their economic power, improving the quality of course offerings and teaching and research, and contributing to the knowledge economy.

The social democratic and communist viewpoints assert the importance of the moral element of education and, more particularly, that education should contribute to the moral development of citizens and to the reinforcement of democracy, to enable individuals to manage their civil responsibilities and to promote and protect democratic values and freedoms. They oppose the new policies on the grounds that universities would be forced to become more competitive and to function under business criteria in order to attract more students and increase their funding. Capitalism is presented as being a threat to the functions and mission of universities, as well as to the content of course offerings. Science and research would be used as a means of increasing capital, and non-profit making scientific research would be undermined because only capital-generating research would be promoted. In contrast, it is stated that public and free education would allow science and research to be freely developed alongside critical thought.

Resistance to change in Greek higher education was provoked against the values of profit and competition in universities that the New Public Management ideology promotes or imposed through the EU policies. For this reason, the opponents of neoliberal polcies claimed the need to conserve the ethical and social values of higher education in higher education institutions. The above finding is consistent with those from other studies (de Boer, 2003; Pechar, 2003; Amaral, Fulton and Larsen, 2003; Fulton, 2003) which indicate that the ideology of the New Public Management has not prevailed as it has been combined with the discourses of the previous organisational structures, history, and/or ideologies and views of the academics who are against the NPM-based reforms. Thus, although these reforms were imposed on the structure of the higher education institutions, there remained elements of the previous structure of the Greek universities, which were characterised by an institutional culture entrenched in the traditional academic values of academic freedom and democracy in higher education, and which were associated with the history of the institution, and against the domination of profit and capital in knowledge and research.

7.3. The role of culture in resistance to change

The investigation of predication and argumentation strategies for or against change, demonstrate that the existence of a strong institutional culture, shaped by the history of Greece, has hindered the implementation of the policies introduced by the neoliberal government in the 2007-2008 period. By the term ‘culture’, I mean the discourse, the values, the knowledge, the beliefs, the activities and ideas, which are shared by Greek society and people within and outside of the academy (students and teaching staff) in Greek higher education, and influence their attitude for, or against, the changes. Although the claims of the opposition parties, and the faculty and students, contain elements from the neoliberal model of governance of higher education institutions, imposed as a result of the EU policies, it also falls back onto more traditional values as expressed in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution. Two major components

of the culture of Greek universities are the concepts of democracy and autonomy which are based on the following principles:

i. The public and free character of education;

ii. The protection of public universities from the state;

iii. The broad participation of citizens in the processes and services of public education;

iv. The customs, values, attitudes, and practices that are transmitted by social and political life to the university, and which are related to the national and political history of Greece.

The concepts of democracy and autonomy are further developed below in Section 7.4. Also, the relevant paragraphs of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution are presented in the second chapter of this thesis. To remind the reader here, Greek education, according to Article 16, is provided only by the state, aims to reduce social inequalities, and gives all citizens equal opportunity of access to higher education. In addition, Article 16 outlines the mission of the universities through which the aims of higher education comprise not only the professional development of students, but also their moral, political, social, and religious education. As such, education becomes a means of constructing the students' national and political democratic identities. Article 16 also secures the right of students to participate in student groups as defined by public law, as well as protecting academic freedom, including the freedom for academics to teach and communicate ideas without the fear of dismissal from their employment, by confirming that they are civil servants and that they cannot be dismissed prior to the lawful termination of their term of service. The government, in aiming to push market values, attempted to revise Article 16 to allow the operation of private universities in Greece; however, this failed as it did not win a majority of votes in the Greek parliament.

Looking at the determined stance of the political speakers and the academic staff and students in maintaining Article 16 and its principles makes the researcher contemplate the motivation and circumstances under which it was created in order to shape the political consciousness both inside and outside of the university against the new policies. In fact, there has been no historical mention of this, unlike that of asylum, which is explained below. However, returning to the history of Greek higher education, Article 16 was created in 1975 after the dictatorship, and remained unchanged over time, in an effort by successive governments to democratise Greece's educational and social structures.

To illustrate the importance of the asylum law, some of the respondents in this study mentioned the historical scenarios under which it was created. In this point, in order to demonstrate the

importance that the law of asylum has for the political and social consciousness of Greece, it is useful to provide more detail about the history of asylum from what the political speakers and the respondents of this study stated. Asylum law was created in 1982 by the centre-left party PASOK, in the so-called metapolitefsi, the period after the junta, and is an enduring legacy of student action that was instrumental in bringing an end to the military dictatorship of Papadopoulos (1967-1974) and in re-establishing democracy (17 November 1974). At present, the asylum law forbids the police from entering university grounds and, as such, protects the right of students to debate, show dissent, and protest. Asylum protects academic freedom and the free dissemination of ideas, and ensures that research and teaching in universities is conducted without the fear of coercion. The law of asylum appears to have created a strong ideology in the mentality of the political speakers and the students of the left about the democratic and social mission of public universities to resist against the alleged manipulation and oppression of the government, and in the current era, against the oppression of the European Union and the interests of capitalism and neoliberalism. Academic asylum protecting the free dissemination of ideas in universities and protecting the right of students to resist, as the political speeches and the interviews show, plays a significant role in creating awareness of democratic models of governance, promoting pluralism, encouraging students and citizens to think about their roles and responsibilities in a democratic society, and challenging and mobilising people against social inequality, unfairness, corruption, and exclusion. Thus, asylum is an important element of the structure and institutional culture of Greek higher education and, for this reason, needs to be protected and maintained as part of the cultural history of the public university.

Thus, in such a complex environment, it is seen that the political parties identify themselves with the student movement who resist the new policies, and who denounce the new government as ‘unconstitutional’. These parties maintain that the university is an autonomous institution which should be free from any undue political or economic influence (the ‘EU’, the ‘government’, and ‘business’). Faculty members also assert that education must be ‘public’ and ‘free’, that the concept of asylum must be protected and maintained, and that the university is a place for dialogue and freedom of speech. They view education as a process that should be based on qualitative criteria (‘humanitarian’), and see the participation of different interest groups in the electoral bodies as ‘democratic’, since democracy is essentially ‘educational’ and ‘pluralistic’. Finally, they view ‘asylum’ law as a principle that must be preserved because of its importance in the history of Greece.

This finding about the elements and values of the institutional culture, which influenced the responses of people within and outside of the universities towards the new policies, makes a valuable contribution to the existing knowledge on academic culture. This is due to the fact that

although a variety of studies have mentioned the complexity of the university as an organisation due to the different forces that act on it (Baldridge, 1971; Conrad, 1978; Sporn, 1999; Temple, 2012; Neave, 2012; Saarina and Välimaa, 2012), or mention the culture as an obstacle or facilitator of the implementation of entrepreneurial activities (Mora, Vieira and Detmer, 2012; Kitagawa, 2012; Trani and Holsworth, 2012), they refer to these forces only in narrow terms. They do not explain, for example, the elements of the institutional culture that influence change. For instance, academic staff and students did not reject the reforms in the new policies, but instead proposed a new policy framework for the operation of public higher education institutions in which the reforms would take into consideration, and would protect, the academic and national values of the higher education system as written in Article 16 of the Greek Constitution, including the asylum provisions. According to that framework, public universities could operate with businesses to raise their funding and improve their infrastructure but studies could remain public and free for students. More autonomy could be given to the public universities from the state as far as their internal functions (e.g. employment of staff, allocation of funding, strategic plan) which must respond to the organisation needs and mission of each university so as to contribute to the university performance. More mechanisms of transparency and accountability could be implemented in public universities to resolve corruption. Funding could be provided not only for applied sciences but also for other studies more thereotical which do not have a direct impact on societies by raising the profit but help people in everyday life and improve the quality of their life.Also, asylum law could be changed by protecting the university property from social groups who enter university grounds and desecrate the asylum. The students could continue to participate in the decision making of universities and in the elections of rectors or vice rectors however their voting power could be equivalent to their participation rate. However, student groups differ with each other in relation to their proposals for change. Interviews held in universities to ascertain cultures in the institutions can be used by policy makers with creating better policies in respect to these cultures.

Knowledge of the institutional culture seems to play an important role in the implementation of effective policies if conflict is to be prevented. In addition, the findings of this study show that culture has a strong historicity, while in other studies, culture is limited the academic values of freedom of research and teaching (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Hancock, Hughes and Walsh, 2012; Jongbloed and Zomer, 2012; Ye Chen and Ying Lin, 2012; Watson, 2012; Dill, 2012) which the market-based reforms threaten, or ‘commercial culture’ as a background for the development of entrepreneurship, as it manages to attract the interest of insiders and outsiders of the university to increase the profits and reputation of the university (Clark, 1998; Shattock, 2009; Temple, 2012). This historical element becomes apparent in the language and meanings that are produced by the opposition groups (outlined below in Section

7.4), and which are ideologically emebedded and thus constitutes an obstacle to the implementation of the neoliberal policies.

7.4. The linguistic conflict in the resistance to change

Another finding of this study is revealed in the rhetoric of the conflicting groups that are involved in the process of change in Greek higher education. This section responds to the questions suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) about the positive or negative qualities attributed to the changes (predication strategies), and the arguments for or against change in Greek higher education.

Two of the key points of conflict in the debate are around autonomy and democracy. The nature and function of autonomy is a major point of contention. Basically, it refers to the economic and administrative freedom of the university to indirectly control itself through mechanisms of accountability and control. According to the view of the opponents of the neoliberal reforms, autonomy in Greek universities must share the mission, values, and principles of Article 16 of the Greek Constitution. Autonomy in Greek universities does not allow for a financial distinction between universities according to the profits they earn. However, it does provide a set of rules and a common mission for universities. The only mission of public universities is the provision of high quality education to Greek society. A public university aims to transmit 'comprehensive' knowledge, the provision of a professional education, and the development of the character of its future citizens and, through this, the better integration of students into employment and into social and political life. These arguments underpin the reasons for resistance to the new policies concerning the cooperation of public universities in Greece with business, and the establishment and operation of private universities in Greece, as these changes will result in a severe blow to the public mission of higher education.

The concept of autonomy as an academic value is also mentioned in international studies as being threatened by the New Public Management-based reforms. For example, Leite (2003) and Dill (2012) highlighted the loss of trust of academic staff towards the reforms imposed under the guise of the New Public Management in relation to the academic values of autonomy and academic freedom. In other studies in European countries, it has been identified that, due to the trends of massification and outside control, the consequences of the New Public Management-based reforms result in threats to autonomy and academic freedom (Scott, 2009; Enders and de Weert, 2009). They also express their ethical concerns about the foundation of a higher education system in which short-term economic factors would prevail, while neglecting its contribution to social justice; they argue for the need for public and free education, academic freedom, and autonomy to be protected in universities, and also reassert the importance of the above as the core values of Greek higher education. Enders, de Boer and Leisyte (2009) claimed

that individual freedom has been limited as has been the influence of academic staff in institutional governance due to the new institutional structures; however, individual freedom has increased:

> '[…] especially through mechanisms of peer review and the needs for professional expertise in developing and implementing strategies and programs, the academic collective and the academic elites have a collective impact on policies and decisions of resource allocation' (p. 46).

Another concept that received attention from those who resisted the reforms in this study is that of democracy. The concept of democracy in this debate is sometimes couched in terms of 'educational democracy'. The existence of cooperation, trust, collective action, and engagement in governance form an integral part of the traditional higher education culture and this enables people in the academic system to understand their roles and responsibilities in a democracy. Democracy is not limited to administrative participation, but is also concerned with the maintenance of, or increases in, educational opportunities, as well as the resolution of educational inequalities that derive from various social and economic factors, such as the exclusion of certain social groups from higher education. Democracy is concerned with the improvement of all public universities in order to provide citizens with equal and fair opportunities to access higher education, and the provision of financial support for the lower-income classes. Overcoming inequality requires a political decision to take financial responsibility for public education institutions. However, the government did not implement the changes that would have resolved the problem of inequality in higher education, for example, by expanding access to public higher education, or by increasing funding to public universities. Due to the abandonment of public education by the Greek state, it was seen that the operation of private universities would result in the degradation of the public universities, and thus would broaden the gap between the social classes.

According to Saarinen and Välimaa (2012), the Bologna Process, which launched a new era for higher education institutions, did not dominate in higher education, but instead, the new reforms were adapted to the features of the national system through discussions between a range of political and social actors. The controversy surrounding these concepts of autonomy and democracy, and how these concepts are abused or promoted by the new policies, indicates that effective policies demanded the incorporation of changes into the culture of Greek higher education, as apparent in discussions with political parties, academics, and students.

The maintainance of the institutional identity of the Greek universities as expressed in the language of opposition can become an important element for the effective implementation of policies in higher education institutions. Although the neoliberal government advocated that they were solved chronic issues of Greek higher education, its actions seeked to diminish the

autonomy and democracy of Greek higher education towards the commitments of European directives. The funding emerged as an issue prominently in the political speeches and interviews, shedding more insight on the inherent dangers of the new reforms on autonomy and academic freedom. Competition is set through the academic development plan which universities have to accomplish in order to get their funding, and evaluation which measure the economic performance of public universities rather the accomplishment of public and social mission of universities through the cultivation of moral and social consciousness of students. So applied sciences will be reinforced because the benefits for society would be far more tacit. The economic competition can lead public universities to seek for other ways to increase their funding through fees undermining in this way the right to equal educational opportunities and creating social inequalities. Also, the meaning of democracy emerged as an issue in the opposition political speeches and interviewees, shedding more insight on the dangers of the underfunding of public universities from the state and the limitation of student participation in the decision-making processes of the universities.

7.5. The role of economic factors in provoking resistance

The role of economic factors as obstacles to the successful implementation of the new policies cannot be ignored. Resistance to change in Greek higher education is constructed through economic concepts or metaphors that analyse the relationship between the economic and social aspects of universities, or the impact (whether positive or negative) of the economic aspects of the new policies on the non-economic aspects of the universities. However, within the neoliberal policies, increasing competition improves the performance of universities. The market appears as an economic factor that is required for universities to accomplish an activity, or as a means by which universities can undertake and successfully complete their social and economic mission but none of them complete their missions. Therefore universities can find a solution to their problems in their culture, their values, and their history through which they have been shaped and formed. This necessarily does not mean isolation from the economic environment, but incorporation of changes into the culture so as changes not to harm the institutional identity and academic values of university.

The continued reductions in education funding are the main cause of the falling quality of teaching and research in Greek higher education. Greek universities obstructed the implementation of the 2007-2008 policies because they were unable to resolve the problem of the underfunding of Greek universities and were therefore unable to secure a productive level of operation. The connection of funding to the evaluation process and the four-year development plan, which universities were required to submit in order to receive funding, failed to secure the steady financial support of universities from the state and, instead, endangered their survival.

A further problem created by the poor funding of the public universities by the state was the contrast between the respective economic health of the public and private universities and, more specifically, the disparity in economic power between them. While private universities are economically self-sufficient and possess strong economic resources, public universities are poorly funded by the state and, as a result, dysfunctional. Thus, different rules apply to the economic conditions of the private universities. This is exacerbated by the potential of private universities to ensure the receipt of further financial resources for development. Furthermore, the underfunding of Greek public universities within a growing mass system creates several difficulties for the universities and for wider society. Some of these are reflected in the political speeches and interviews as creating multiple sources of discontent among the students and faculty: excessive demand for higher education, lack of autonomy, lack of infrastructure, the low quality of education, low salaries, corruption, and a lack of accountability and transparency.

In considering the implications of the underfunding of public universities by the state, the most widely-held position among the opponents of change is that this not only prevents the satisfactory functioning of the universities, but also limits their opportunities to contribute to their expected social, economic, and scientific roles as reflected in the EU policies. It would be surprising if the financial constraints and changes in the economy had not affected the successful implementation of the policies since, at the international level, the role of universities in developing the knowledge economy has been to increase funding. For instance, Mora, Vieria and Detmer (2012) have examined the general conditions for developing business relations in six European countries that represent diverse higher education and research systems: Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom. They state that ‘the funding mechanisms are another key issue in the development of successful partnerships with business’ (p. 97). Also, the ability of universities to respond in an entrepreneurial manner to the pressures of ambiguity and complexity induced by globalisation, as stated by Williams (2009, p. 32), may be thwarted if ‘income is inadequate for investment and risk taking’ and if ‘financial regulations are too burdensome’.

The data from this study reaffirm that the underfunding of public universities does not allow the creation of the infrastructure required to attract and support new business and industry. Also, as one respondent from the study expresses, the new policy (Law 3549/2007) imposes constraints on the mobility and working conditions of academic staff. This finding has parallels with the findings of Mora, Vieria and Detmer (2012). Low salaries, heavy workloads (Deem, Hillyard and Reed, 2007), heavy expectations upon academic staff for fundraising and research management (Enders, de Boer and Leisyte, 2009), and other support strategies which have been identified across a range of universities in different parts of the world as being negatively related to change, are clearly attributed to the shortage of financial resources. The evidence

from this study reaffirms the obstacles identified by the above authors, which prevent the development of successful partnerships with business, which, in turn, claims that the lack of autonomy and flexibility by the state seems to be another barrier preventing public universities from establishing successful relationships with business. Particularly at risk within the higher education sector are notions of the public and free university set against the new model of institutional governance that the Bologna Process and the European directives propose. Among the arguments used by the opponents is that the new reforms do not resolve the financial problems of the public universities and that they would be threatened by the financial power of the private universities.

However, the evidence from this study suggests that the attribution of resistance to external financial or structural factors conveys a rather simplistic conceptual understanding of the problem, and indeed, a deceptive image of the complexity of the difficulties that the neoliberal government experienced in the implementation of the new policies. History is a powerful factor that shapes the culture in the universities and thus can either hinder or facilitate the implementation of reforms in the universities. The reason for this is that Greek university is an integral part of the Greek society and has been affected by the history of the nation. History, as political speeches and interviews showed, has provided Greek society and people within universities with knowledge and values which influenced their beleifs regarding change in public higher education institutions. Hence, when the new policies threatened these values there was expressed resistance. Even those who accepted the neoliberal policies to a certain extent they claimed the need for protecting the institutional values (participation of students, public and free education, Article 16, asylum) from corruption. Also, the evidence from this study points to a number of ethical dilemmas regarding the neoliberal policies in higher education. While the role of the university is important in the social and economic development of the country, its complete adjustment to the needs of capital would create a situation in which universities would lose their autonomy, freedom of speech and research, and their social mission, which is the development of scientific knowledge for the welfare of the people and the nation. Moreover, the issue of protection of academic freedom and autonomy are common themes in the international literature (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Hancock, Hughes and Walsh, 2012; Jongbloed and Zomer, 2012; Ye Chen and Ying Lin, 2012; Watson, 2012). Hence, one question that might need to be asked is how universities will play their social and economic role in the knowledge economy while maintaining their autonomy to accomplish their public mission and goals. Below I will offer reflections on the future governance of higher education institutions based on the findings of this study in light of the international litertaure.

7.6. Limitations of the study

This study has explored resistance to change in Greek higher education in four public higher education institutions. Unfortunately, due to the political conflict that was taking place in the period in which the interviews were conducted (2008-2009), access to the universities was often difficult because of student occupations. For this reason, only a limited number of people were interviewed. The researcher attempted to gain access to people who would provide her with a different perspective of the phenomenon of resistance to change in Greek higher education: teaching staff and students who belonged to different departments and different political alignments respectively. As well, those respondents who were interviewed often suggested others to interview (snowball sampling). Thus, as part of the overall data gathering process, the researcher proceeded with a random sample in order to enrich the information sources and the data. The sample is very limited in terms of covering all higher education institutions in Greece. Therefore, research studies with cover all institutions would be required to ensure appropriate generalization of the findings of this study.

The interviews have been combined with the political speeches of the different political groups to form the overall data for the study. Thus, the inter-discursive and inter-textual relationships in the data were examined in an attempt to demonstrate how resistance appears within and outside universities. By using DHA, which examines language in a broader historical and socio-political context, this thesis has attempted to provide a picture of the state of higher education in Greece at a given moment in time. However, the study was limited to individual responses without looking at demographics. Consideration of the age, gender, economic class, and education level of the respondents, might have revealed further interesting findings. The educational background of the interviewees, the faculty to which they belong, their ages, and their place in the social and political structure, appear to be indicators which differentiated the respondents in being either for or against the changes. There is also a need for a cross-national comparison study to identify the common and the differing factors related to resistance to change in higher education institutions. Finally, given the fact that a combination of CDA (DHA) and Laclau and Mouffe's theory has not been previously used to examine resistance to change in higher education, there is a need for future research to test the proposed model for rigour and robustness.

7.8. Reflections on the future of higher education

This study concerns the organisational and management changes introduced into Greek higher education in the 2007-2008 period, and the resistance to these changes. 2007 represents a time which was the most turbulent period in the history of Greek higher education and thus, when the data collection started. The thesis sheds light on the reasons for resistance to change in

Greek higher education which took place in the light of the Bologna Process. Further, it provides an insight into the reasons why universities in other countries also resisted neoliberal policies, or NPM reforms, that took place in the context of globalisation and political change. The completion of this study coincides with a major political, economic, and moral crisis in Greece, which began in 2008, and appears to be leading Greece towards bankruptcy. Fiscal pressures have led people to open rebellion on the streets and have created political instability. Future developments are therefore highly unpredictable. There is much speculation over a number of different scenarios, the dismissal of Greece from the Euro and its return to its national currency, the Drachma, or the reduction of the external debt and the immediate imposition of onerous taxes and cuts (a severe 'haircut'). Under these circumstances, a large migratory movement of young Greeks to other countries is taking place.

In this context, the problems of Greek higher education have been exacerbated. The already insufficient state funding of higher education is likely to dwindle further still. As a consequence, the weakness of the state in meeting the educational needs of Greek society will provide an opportunity for the rapid increase of privatisation while, at the same time, the strength of educational democracy is likely to be limited by the economic weakness of large cohorts of the population as participants in higher education. This phenomenon has already begun at the level of the entrance examinations. Families are unable to meet the economic costs of preparing their children for success in the national examinations for entry into higher education. The cost of studying at university, in most cases, is also too high for families to pay; for example, if the universities to which students have gained entry are located far from home, families cannot afford the living costs. As a result, they prefer not to allow their children the opportunity of university study.

In addition, the economic crisis has affected the education of students, because a large number of them have been forced to leave higher education to look for employment in order to ensure their livelihoods. Furthermore, the teaching staff in the universities have also been affected. Travel by teaching staff to other universities to participate in council, for example, is expensive and not supported by the universities. The results of this include the apparent inadequacy of teaching staff towards their operational obligations, and delays in the examination of doctoral candidates.

These bleak economic conditions impact on Greek higher education in two ways. First, they weaken state financing of developments in innovation, research, and infrastructure in public higher education, and second, they cause citizens to become too impoverished to pay for education. We can therefore assert that the financial crisis has led to the limitation of educational structures and educational institutions and of the facilities that the state previously provided for its citizens.

As a result of the economic crisis, the interest of the Greek parliament and the people has shifted from education to matters of economic policy, and struggles related to the economic survival of the country. The laws 3549/2007 and 3696/2008, which were passed by the New Democracy government (2004-2008) changing public and private education in Greece correspondingly, were retained until 2011 under the PASOK government, which succeeded it. In 2011, the PASOK government submitted a draft law entitled 'Organization of Higher Education: an independent authority for securing and certifying the quality in higher education'. There are similarities between the previous law (3549/2007) and this draft, such as the four-year development plan and internal regulation; however, it proposes further innovation by establishing an organization for each university responsible for management, administration, and teaching programmes, and abolishing the right to asylum in universities.

The proposed changes were criticised by the Hellenic Federation of University Teachers' Associations who display their criticism of the changes proposed by the PASOK government in 2011 in the following media release:

> 'The political leadership of the ministry insists on a centralized model of government by limiting democratic functioning, by damaging academic life within the universities, and through dubious arrangements for the promotion of excellence, which it still claims for the three-year courses of study [...] Recent and overall experience has shown that a law can only apply to HEI when it has the consent and acceptance of the majority of the academic community' (News Release, 22 July 2011, Hellenic Federation of University Teachers' Associations).

Although the underlying argument of this study, as noted in the introduction, was that change should be incorporated within the institutional culture, on the basis of the evidence of this study it seems fair to suggest a more modest attitude towards the neoliberal changes. While at first, neoliberal policies may appear to be the result of a constructive dialogue between different actors, a closer examaination of the debate indicates that the new policies were coercive and restrictive. The policies in Greek higher education could have been more effectively designed and implemented if the governent had offered to have a constructive dialogue with those involved in the implementation of change, which would have been necessary for the creation of a climate of trust and mutual understanding if the government wished to successfully implement the changes. In addition, although neoliberal change may appear to provide more autonomy and accountability, the new policies led universities to subordination to the principles of competition and capitalism which the EU policies imposed through the Bologna Process. While these changes may appear to protect academic asylum, they were ineffective in hindering external factors which intervened and undermined the university space. Similarly, while they appear to protect the participation of students and academic staff in universities in a framework of transparency and control, they were ineffective in preventing corruption. Initially, the changes appeared to reinforce public higher education through the four-year development plan and

evaluation, they were deficient in supporting the public universities, as they did not implement a mechanism or process of control, evaluation, and consultancy for public universities that would assist them to meet the financial goals to restore economic growth. The fears of the opponents of the policies, that the legislation would undermine public universities, were justified as there was ambiguity in the laws and deficiencies in the processes and mechanisms that would support public universities.

However, the findings of this study showed that the institutional culture of the Greek university was undermined by political and economic interests, corruption, and the inability of the state to provide sufficient funding, which were all factors which hindered the accomplishment of the university sector's mission and values (public and free education, democracy, and autonomy), and so prevented growth. Therefore, changes were needed that would serve to protect the essential values of Greek higher education. As shown below, the national and institutional culture could have been used as a base for the implementation of the new policies. These could be achieved by protecting university studies from the profit orientation by introducing a strategic plan for the economic development of the university, by increasing the independence of the university from the state, by sustaining universities with low performance to overcome their problems, and by educating the leaders of the universities to overcome resistance. The above proposals are presented in detail in the following paragraphs and derive from a critical approach of the interviews and the political speeches of those who resisted or accepted the new policies in Greek higher education.

More particularly, although cooperation with business constitutes the significant risk of full subordination of universities to profit and lead to the commercialisation of education, this could in the future be prevented if the state protects the academic development of the social sciences and humanities which have social value for the knowledge economy. This has also been proposed in other studies who claim the need for retaining the traditional shape of education, meaning the development of knowledge without the intervention of extra-educational obligations to political and economic agents, through the development of social science and humanities knowledge as important contributions to the citizens of a knowledge economy, since they can contribute to the knowledge economy by cultivating the moral and social aspects of a modern economy (Hancock, Hughes and Walsh, 2012; Jongbloed and Zomer, 2012). What remains for the policy-makers is to compose new legislation that will reconcile the opposed ideological tendencies acting on universities to help them to fulfil their educational mission, while remaining competitive in the knowledge economy. As Barnett (2012) argued:

> 'What is to be the stance of the knowledge university towards multiple knowledges, especially given that one form of knowledge – scientific knowledge – has an especially dominant position? Can the knowledge

> university become epistemologically generous, such that no mode of knowledge is especially favoured?' (p. 225).

Therefore, the effectiveness of the policies should not be judged on the objectives of promoting the massification and globalisation of higher education, but also on how they can protect conflicting academic values. In contrast, a profit orientation will create social inequalities and will undermine the right to academic freedom. The state can also continue to provide basic funding for public universities which can be supplemented by partnerships with business, and the economic plan of the state can support transparency in the financial subsidisation of, and reporting about, the university sector. The establishment of an independent body which can intervene in disputes between the state and the university sector could also be beneficial.

Similarly, the evaluation process which the new law (3549/2007) prescribed for public universities can provide a procedure or mechanism to help universities which have been negatively evaluated. On the issue of financial fees, which was discussed by some of the opponents of change, this can be seen as an attack on the social role of the university because it would deny the rights of the poorer social classes to education. The state can support public universities by providing funding, while the business sector could supplement the costs in cooperation with the university sector. Education needs to remain public and free since it aims to contribute to social welfare. Academic asylum also needs to be reinforced and protected as a reminder of the history of Greece, as a form of protection for the free dissemination of ideas, teaching, and research, without the fear of political, economic, and social consequences. This can be achieved through the cooperation of student groups with the law enforcement authorities to protect the university campus from groups or people who undermine academic asylum and the reputation of the university.

The literature also points to the idea that management can contribute to the implementation of effective policies. In order to achieve effective change, the primary role is that of the leader (the rector) of the university who is capable of understanding the national culture and its impact on the functions of the university so as to incorporate appropriate actions that will be beneficial (Maassen, 2003; Salminen, 2003; Trani and Holsworth, 2012; Dill, 2012). Similarly, in relation to the loss of trust of academic staff in the proposed reforms, it has been suggested by both Leite (2013) and Dill (2012) that there is a need for a model of management that creates a critical discussion among people in the academy and the government, so that the implementation of the reforms will not undermine academic values and academic freedom, or the relations of trust between the government and academic staff.

Indeed, the findings of this study show that there is an absence of clear, comprehensive, and complete information on the changes in Greek universities. This can be due either to government processes which, intentionally, do not allow the education policy to be written

clearly, so the policy objectives remain obscure or vague; or to the failure of the government to fully inform the community about education planning; or to the bias of the education community or the citizens in relation to the motives of the government that does not allow for an objective evaluation of the government's political messages. It may also be related to the inability of the government to manage the resistance and conflict within Greek universities. The more clarity there is from government about their policies on higher education, the easier it is for healthy debate to exist, which will lead to clear information for all those involved in the education process, for the effective management of conflict, and for the smoother implementation of education reforms. Although the participation of different interest groups in the decision-making processes of the universities did not facilitate dialogue, the elimination of the power of these groups would undermine the democratic process in the universities. For this reason, the role of rectors within the university needs to be enhanced through their contribution to the process of change as mediators between the university, the students, and the government to inform and establish dialogue through workshops for educational change. In this way, the government could relate the new policies to the national and institutional culture of Greek universities and change could be incorporated more effectively into the culture of Greek universities without threatening national and academic values.

As a result of the above points, it can be seen that understanding the culture and identity of the university through constructive dialogue between the groups who are involved in the process of change becomes important in understanding the different impact that change might have between countries and education institutions. This can be achieved if more autonomy is given to the university by the state to form their own mission and goals along with increasing the responsibilities of the managers (rectors), or if an independent body were to be established to mediate the relationship between the government and the university sector in order to conduct research about the culture of, and the sub-cultures within, the universities to understand how people have responded, and are responding to, the new challenges. Changes that act as drivers of economic growth can undermine the institutional culture and academic values of the university. For this reason, government policies need to be complemented by how people within the academy receive and interpret change in higher education, as academics and students are the receivers and transmittors of the university culture. This culture of the university includes values, a vision, beliefs, expectations, rules, structures, meaning, and language that characterises and influences the behaviour of the people within the university. This organisational culture creates alliances between people through their faith in their common values to reach the expected social role and mission of the university.

The findings of this study provide valuable guidelines for the design and implementation of policies. Policy-makers should be aware of the dynamics of change and look for more effective

ways to promote change. The lack of understanding of the national culture of higher education institutions may in fact undermine university performance, since dissatisfaction will inevitably arise among academic staff. There will be a lack of trust between management and academic staff and this will have a negative impact on task performance. This would also involve the encroachment of political and commercial interests which will interevene to define the role and actions of the universities in the new economic and social context, thus undermining the public mission of the university and academic freedom.

This study has presented a critical discussion about the reasons for resistance to change in Greek higher education and in the broader European higher education area. There remains only a partial understanding of the reasons for resistance to change, and how such resistance relates to institutional and national cultures, given the diversity of higher education systems, the human factors, and the different cultural, social, and political contexts in which universities operate. At a time of university crisis and ideological conflict, there is an urgent need to develop such understandings by carrying out further research in this area. There is far more research to be undertaken on the subject of resistance to change in the university sector. Shared understandings of change and discourse will become even more necessary in the context of developing policy for how universities can be managed more successfully; for example, how the university sector can regain its lost freedom to judge and act in a fluid environment, to define its mission and role, and to be an agent of change, rather than a means through which financial and political interests are achieved (Barnett, 2012).

7.9. Conclusion

Overall, the principal contribution of this thesis is to provide a critique of the resistance to change in Greek higher education, and to create a framework in which resistance to change in the broader higher education arena can be analysed and discussed. In order to achieve this, the thesis introduces a robust methodological model for the interpretation of the reasons for resistance to change in higher education institutions at the broader EU level. CDA (DHA) and Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theory of articulation form the foundation of the methodological approach, which can be used as a tool for policy-makers to understand the phenomenon of resistance and to improve aspects of policies that provoke dissatisfaction among conflicting interest groups who are involved in change.

As well, this thesis reveals a number of gaps in the academic literature on changes in higher education institutions in Greece and at the EU level by presenting a set of studies of various discourses. There is no other systematic study into the reasons for resistance to the changes imposed through the Bologna Process, a process that can be conceptualised as a mediator of the New Public Management reforms in the universities. While the structural dimensions of

neoliberal change are well covered in recent contributions on the implementation of changes in governance, funding, and quality assurance in the education sector, as shown in the literature, what has not been covered is how the manifestations of these new structures are culturally interpreted within the universities. In evaluating the resistance to change in Greek higher education, this thesis has demonstrated how the discourses of the various stakeholders affected the successful implementation of various policies by provoking resistance.

In addition, the findings revealed that the successful implementation of policies requires knowledge of the institutional culture and its constitutive elements. During the analysis, various features of this culture have been identified (the language, ideology, and context in which discourse is produced) that enhance our understanding of the reasons for resistance to change, and the knowledge of which is therefore relevant to the implementation of effective policies. The credibility of the Discourse Historical Approach in the interpretation of resistance to change is due, at least partially, to the fact that it reminds the leaders and policy-makers that history, culture, language, and change can work together, and that there has perhaps been too much emphasis on the actions of university management, at the expense of looking at the power of discourse (at other levels).

The findings of the construction of the discourses on the resistance to the new policies were framed within the wider context of higher education debates and fields of research. This enabled the research to make a contribution to the existing debate on the impact of neoliberal policies on higher education institutions and the few debates about struggle for the dominance of particular discourses in policy-making (e.g. Temple, 2012; Saarinen and Välimaa, 2012; Räsänen, 2012; Metcalfe, 2012).

Summarising the discourses produced in the struggle of the conflicting groups for dominance in the process of change in Greek higher education, ‘students’, ‘workers’, ‘public universities’, and ‘academic staff’ are recognised as disadvantaged groups in relation to ‘business’ and ‘private universities’, who are economically and socially powerful; ‘commercialisation’ or ‘privatisation’ of education is achieved at the expense of ‘public and free’ education, ‘democracy’ and ‘autonomy’ of higher education institutions and knowledge, from the profit and control of the state. The above discourses are interwoven with elements of the ‘history’ of Greek higher education embedded in the ‘Constitution’, ‘asylum’, ‘students’, and ‘struggles’. The discourse of autonomy in higher education against the principles of neoliberalism is identified in the international literature as well.

The findings of this study indicate that a university need to be an organisation with a responsibility to make a positive contribution to a society and its citizens. This requires it to be independent from any particular political or social ideology and to exhibit social responsibility

by understanding the needs and expectations of citizens. A university needs also to maintain ethical standards by promoting and facilitating education and research independently from the profit it produces which can lead to the social welfare. This also concerns economic responsibility, which includes financial management of the university through partnerships with businesses through the efficient and effective use of the resources and infrastructure of universities and the development of short- and long-term financial planning, without however undermining the social and moral mission of the university sector, national and institutional culture.

The current study on the resistance to change contributes to the previous literature through addressing the impact of the new policies on higher education by providing illustrations of the reasons for which resistance take place in discourse; how struggles for dominance are accomplished; and the impact of such struggles on the successful implementation of policies. CDA and DHA along with the articulation theory of Laclau and Mouffe, can be used to investigate the reasons for resistance to change in any educational setting by providing a thorough understanding of the problem of resistance and thus helping policy-makers to improve aspects of policy that provoke dissatisfaction.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample Political speech

A. Political speech in Greek

Αγαπητές και αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, νομίζω ότι η εικόνα που είχαμε πριν από λίγο εδώ στη Βουλή είναι τραγική και κωμική μαζί. Δηλαδή έχουμε ένα θέμα, το οποίο αποτελεί το κεντρικό ζήτημα της πολιτικής ζωής επί μήνες, και στην συνταγματικής αναθεώρησης με το άρθρο 16 αλλά και των νομοθετικών πρωτοβουλιών της Κυβέρνησης, όπου υπάρχει μια αντίδραση συνολική και εκπληκτική στην εμμονή και τη σταθερότητα όλης της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας σε όλες τις βαθμίδες. Έχουμε μια Κυβέρνηση, η οποία υποτίθεται ότι κάνει διάφορους διαλόγους, μελέτες κ.λπ. και παρουσιάζεται η εικόνα μιας Υπουργού, η οποία μας διαβάζει διάφορα σημεία, προκειμένου να περιμαζέψει, όπως μπορεί, αυτόν τον νόμο και να του δώσει μια επίφαση συνταγματικότητας. Στην πραγματικότητα πρόκειται για ένα νόμο, ο οποίος είναι αντιδραστικός, είναι πρόχειρος, είναι άρπα-κόλα φτιαγμένος και συν τοις άλλοις είναι και αντισυνταγματικός και είναι ένας νόμος, ο οποίος στηρίχτηκες – και απευθυνομαι εδώ στους οπαδούς της Νέας Δημοκρατίας, στους γονείς των παιδιών που είναι έξω από το πανεπιστήμιο- σε μια σειρά επιχειρήματα που το ένα καταρρέει μετά το άλλο.

Τι ακούγαμε όλο αυτόν τον καιρό;Ακούγαμε ότι ειναι μικρή πλειοψηφία των καθηγητών η οποία αντιτίθεται στο νόμο, ότι υποστηρίζει συντεχνιακα συμφέροντα και τα κεκτημένα τα οποία έχει υποτίθεται μέσα στο πανεπιστήμιο, ότι υπάρχουν χίλιοι ή χιλιάδες καθηγητές οι οποίοι αντιδρούν. Και τι βλέπουμε;Το Σαββατοκύριακο που πέρασε έγινε το συνέδριο της Πανελλήνιας Ομοσπονδίας Συλλόγων Διδακτικών και Ερευνητικού Προσωπικού των Ανώτατων Εκπαιδευτικών Ιδρυμάτων. Και πήρε μια απόφαση σχεδόν με παμψηφία η οποία απορρίπτει το νόμο πλαίσιο της Νέας Δημοκρατίας.

Αναρωτιέμαι πώς σκέπτεται η Νέα Δημοκρατία ότι μπορεί να εφαρμοστεί ένας νόμος πλαίσιο ο οποίος όχι μόνο απορρίπτεται από τους φοιτητές αλλά απορρίπτεται και από την συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των καθηγητών. Πού θα στηριχτείτε; Στον κ. Πολύδωρα που καθόταν εδώ πέρα; Στα ΜΑΤ;Στο ότι θα δώσετε τις αυλές και τα διάφορα κτήρια εκτός ασύλου; Στην απειλή της φυλάκισης με έξι μήνες αν κάποιος φοιτητής ή καθηγητής παραβιάζει το δικαίωμα της εργασίας του κ. Μπαγιάτη; Εκεί θα στηριχτείτε; Μπορεί κάποια κυβέρνηση να στηριχτεί στην εκπαιδευτική της πολιτική στην άρνηση των θέσεων που προτείνει από την εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα;Οδηγείτε τα πανεπιστήμια στο γκρεμό. Πάτε να συνεχίσετε αυτήν την κατάσταση. Έχετε απόλυτη ευθύνη γι’αυτό που γίνεται μέχρι σήμερα.

Όλοι θέλουν να ανοίξουν τα πανεπιστήμια. Όλοι θέλουν να πάνε τα παιδιά τους στο μάθημα της Χημείας, της Βιολογίας και να συνεχίσουν τα προπτυχιακά και τα μεταπτυχιακά τους. Με

την εμμονή σας εσείς στο άρθρο 16 καταρρέει ουσιαστικά, η συνταγματική Αναθεώρηση εφόσον το ΠΑΣΟΚ εμμείνει στο λόγο του ότι δεν θα συμμετάσχει στη δεύτερη φάση της επόμενης Βουλής. Και έχετε και το νόμο πλαίσιο ο οποίος δεν έχει καμία στήριξη.

Εμείς θέλουμε να χαιρετήσουμε όλους αυτούς που αγωνίστηκαν. Θέλουμε να χαιρετήσουμε εκείνους τους δημοσιογράφους οι οποίοι σήκωσαν το ανάστημά τους ενάντια σ'αυτήν την προσπάθεια να μεταδίδονται με ένα μονόπλευρο τρόπο τα επιχειρήματα εκφοβισμού της Κυβέρνησης. Θέλουμε να χαιρετήσουμε διανοούμενους, ανθρώπους της τέχνης που και αυτοί αντιστάθηκαν στο ρεύμα που προσπαθεί να δημιουργήσει η Κυβέρνηση - όπως ο Λάκης Λαζόπουλος που είχε σημαντική παρουσία μέσα από τα Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης-όπως και πολλοί άλλοι που δεν είναι χαμένοι στη μετάφραση και ειναι ευαίθητοι σ'αυτά που γίνοναι στην κοινωνία.

Εμείς ζητάμε την άμεση απόσυρση του νομοσχεδίου. Και τη ζητάμε να επανέλθουν στις διαδικασίες λειτουργες τους τα πανέπιστημια, τη ζητάμε για να μπορέσει η εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα να προβάλει και η ίδια να επεξεργαστεί και να προτείνει – εχει τις δυνατότητες με πολύ μεγάλες πλειοψηφίες και στήριξη-τις δικές της προτάσεις και μέσω της Π.Ο.Σ.Δ.Ε.Π. και μέσω του συντονιστικού καταλήψεων των φοιτητών. Ακόμη ζητάμε την απόσυρση γιατί αυτό το νομοσχέδιο είναι αντισυνταγματικό.

Και ελπίζω, κυρία Πρόεδρε, μια του κλέφτη, δυο του κλεφτη, τρεις του κλεφτη-το βάζω και Τρίτη φορά-ζητάμε να εφαρμοστεί το άρθρο 100 του Κανονισμού της Βουλής με το οποίο μπορεί οποιοσδήποτε Βουλευτής και πολύ περισσότερο μια Κοινοβουλευτική Ομάδα όπως εμείς, να ζητήσει να αποφανθεί η Βουλή αναφορικά με συηκεκριμένες αντιρρήσεις που προβάλλει για την συνταγματικότητα νομοσχεδίου ή πρότασης νόμου. Αρκεί σήμερα να δει κάποιος τις εφημερίδες με τις τοποθετήσεις διακεκριμένων συνταγματολόγων για να πει ότι όντως υπάρχει πρόβλημα συνταγματικότητας. Δεν είναι απλώς ο Κοινοβουλευτικός μας Εκπρόσωπος ο Φώτης Κουβέλης, που από τη στιγμή της παρουσιάσης του νόμου έβαζω τα ζητήματα αντισυνταγματοτας. Είναι ο καθηγητής Παρασκευόπουλος, ο καθηγητής Μανωλεδάκης, είναι η Επιστημονική Επιτροπή της Βουλής.

Συγκεκριμένα αυτή η αντισυνταγματικότητα διαχέεται σε όλο το πνεύμα και τις διατάξεις του νόμου. Τι πάει να κάνει η Νέα Δημοκρατία; Πάει να πάρει εκδίκηση. Δεν μπορεί να προχωρήσει στην αναθεώρηση του άρθρου 16 και πάει να υποσκάψει το άρθρο 16 μέσα από ρυθμίσεις του σημερινού νόμου. Αλλά το ποντίκι πιάνεται στη φάκα. Και η φάκα είναι ακόμα και η Επιστημονική Επιτροπη της Βολής μέ όλον τον ευγενικό και τεχνοκρατικό χαρακτήρα τον οποίο έχει. Οι ρυθμίσεις στο άρθρο 7 οι οποίες θέτουν προυποθέσεις και όρους για τη χρηματοδότηση των ανώτατων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων έρχονται σε αντίθεση με το άρθρο 16 του Συντάγματος παράγραφος 5. Το άρθρο 16 του Συντάγματος λέει ότι τα ιδρύματα τα

πανεπιστημιακά τελούν υπό την εποπτεία του κράτους, έχουν δικαίωμα να ενισχύονται οικονομικά από αυτό και λειτουργούν σύμφωνα με τους νόμους του κράτους και όχι εφόσον λειτουργήσουν σύμφωνα με τους όρους που βάζει η Νέα Δημοκρατία. Είναι μια σαφής παραβίαση του άρθρου 16.

Στο άρθρο 24 προκειμένου να μπορέσει η Κυβέρνηση να υποσκάψει την αυτοτέλεια των εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων προχωράει σε μια σατανική ιδέα. Διάφοροι περιφερόμενοι καθηγητές από πανεπιστήμιο σε πανεπιστήμιο θα συμμετέχουν στα εκλεκτορικά σώματα σε εκλογές. Όμως αυτό έρχεται σε πλήρη αντίθεση με την αυτοδιοίκηση του πανεπιστημίου με το άρθρο 16 παραγραφος 5 του Συντάγματος, που λέει ότι η ανώτατη εκπαίδευση παρέχεται αποκλειστικά από ιδρύματα που αποτελούν νομικά πρόσωπα δημοσίου δικαίου με πλήρη αυτοδιοίκηση.

Η Νέα Δημοκρατία θα ήθελε να παίρνει τον κ. Μπαγοάτη και τους άλλους φίλους της και να τους περιφέρει στα διάφορα πανεπιστήμια για να διαμαορφώνει διάφορες πλειοψηφίες για την εκλογή διδακτικού προσωπικού.

Βέβαια υπάρχει και το θέμα του ασύλου. Στο θέμα του ασύλου έρχεται η τιμωρία με εξάμηνη φυλάκιση. Απ’αυτό μπορεί να αντιληφθεί κάποιος ότι όχι απλώς μπαίνει σε θέμα το άσυλο, όχι απλώς πια ανοίγουν οι αυλές και τα κτήρια του πανεπιστημίου στα Μ.Α.Τ. και τις δυνάμεις του κ. Πολύδωρα. Η κ. Γιαννάκου εκχωρεί αρμοδιότητες και κάποιοι καθηγητές μπορούν να τιμωρηθούν με εξάμηνη φυλάκιση. Απ’αυτό μπορεί να αντιληφθεί κάποιος ότι όχι απλώς μπαίνει σε θέμα το άσυλο, όχι απλώς πια ανοίγουν οι αυλές και τα κτήρια του πανεπιστημίου στα Μ.Α.Τ. και τις δυνάμεις του κ. Πολύδωρα. Η κ. Γιαννάκου εκχωρεί αρμοδιότητες στον κ. Πολύδωρα. Κάποιοι φοιτητές και κάποιοι καθηγές μπορούν να τιμωρηθούν με εξάμηνη φυλάκιση. Όμως το άρθρο 7 του Συντάγματος λέει ότι έγκλημα δεν υπάρχει ούτε ποινή επιβάλλεται χωρίς νόμο, που να ισχύει πριν από την τέλεση της πράξης και να ορίζει τα στοιχεία της και να υπάρχει συγκεκριμένη περιγραφή των αδικημάτων τα οποία τιμωρούνται.

Με βάση αυτά, εμείς θέλαμε να τεθεί άμεσα σε εφαρμογή το άρθρο 100 και να γίνει συζήτηση επί της συνταγματικότητας του νόμου. Όχι ότι έχουμε κάποια ελπίδα ότι θα αλλάξουν οι συσχετισμοί μέσα στην Αίθουσα αλλά πιστεύουμε ότι αυτός ο νόμος που θα αγωνιστούν για να μην περάσει, για να μην εφαρμοστεί, όλοι οι παράγοντες της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας, πρέπει να χαρακτηριστεί έστω και από την μειοψηφία της Βουλής αντισυνταγματικός, όπως ακριβώς είναι.

Μια άλλη πλευρά, κυρία Πρόεδρε, που θα ήθελα να την αναφέρω είναι ένα επιχείρημα της Κυβέρνησης καταχρηστικά διαδιδόμενο από τα Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης που ελέγχει αυτή ότι η Κυβέρνηση είναι υπέρ της μεταρρύθμισης των πανεπιστημίων και δεν θέλει αυτήν την κατάσταση και ότι αντίθετα η Αριστερά και αν θέλετε συγκεκριμένα ο Συνασπισμός

Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς υπερασπίζεται την κατάσταση που υπάρχει και ότι δεν έχει θέση για τα πανεπιστήμια. Θα έλεγα, εδώ κρινόμαστε. Φαίνεται ποιος μισεί και ποιος αγαπά το δημόσιο πανεπιστήμιο. Ποιος θέλει να το στηρίξει και να το έχει ως πυρήνα για την ίδια την αναγέννηση της χώρας μας και ποιος θέλει να το καταλύσει και να δώσει αυτόν τον χώρο στην επιχειρηματική πρωτοβουλία.

Για αυτόν τον λόγο εμείς επιλέξαμε αυτήν την κοινοβολευτική διαδικασία, προκειμένου να αναδείξουμε με ολοκληρωμένο τεκμηριωμένο συγκροτημένο τρόπο τη δική μας τοποθέτηση σχετικά με την μεταρρύθμιση των ανώτατων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων, το δικό μας αντινομοσχέδιο. Και θέλαμε να καταγραφεί, γιατί οι στιγμές που ζούμε είναι οι στιγμές της ιστορίας, πιστεύω, της ιστορίας του φοιτητικού κινήματος, της ιστορίας του πανεπιστημιακού κινήματος, της ιστορίας της χώρας και αν θέλετε της ιστορίας που θα διαμορφωθεί από τις πολιτικές εξελίξεις, όπου τα θέματα της παιδείας θα αποτελούν κεντρικό ζήτημα.

Υπάρχουν αυτές οι θέσεις μέσα από είκοσι οκτώ τροπολογίες, διότι μόνο αυτό το μέσο είχαμε να τις εκφράσουμε, που συνιστούν το αντινομοσχέδιο μας και σας παρακαλώ, κυρία Υπουργέ, σας παρακαλώ και σε σχέση με την παρουσίας σας, μην ξαναπείτε αυτό το πράγμα ότι ο Συνασπισμός της Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς δεν έχει θέσεις. Έχει θέσεις και είναι εντελώς διαφορετικές από τις δικές σας. Σε πολλά ζητήματα ακόμη και στο ζήτημα της σχέσης πανεπιστημίου δημοσίου με το κράτος. Οι μεν δικές μας προτάσεις θέλουν την αυτοτέλεια, θέλουν να είναι στο δημόσιο χώρο το πανεπιστήμιο, αλλά να είναι αυτοτελές, να μην είναι υπηρέτης της Κυβέρνησης. Το δε νομοσχέδιο της Κυβέρνησης, μιας Κυβέρνησης η οποία έχει ενεργοποιηθεί για την ιδιωτικοποίηση των πανεπιστημίων, εκφράζει έναν ακραίο κρατισμό μέσα από μια σειρά ρυθμίσεις, ότι μπαίνουν τα Μ.Α.Τ. μέσα στα πανεπιστήμια, ότι τα πανεπιστήμια αν δεν κάνουν το δικό μας δεν θα χρηματοδοτούνται, ότι ο εσωτερικός κανονισμός των πανεπιστημίων θα είναι αντιγραφή, σκονάκι, ενός εσωτερικού κανονισμού που θα φτιάξουμε εμείς και κυριολεκτικά νομίζω οτι ακολουθείτε το μοντέλο της Ολυμπιακής. Δηλαδή, θέλουμε να δώσουμε το χώρο στις μεγάλες επιχειρήσεις όσο ανήκει όμως στην εποπτεία ή στην εξουσία του κράτους και της Κυβέρνησης μέσα από έναν ακραίο κρατισμό, θα το γονατίσουμε, θα το κάνουμε αναξιόπιστο, θα το κάνουμε να μη λειτουργεί, θα το κάνουμε να το αποδοκιμάζει η κοινωνία.

Ποιες είναι οι βασικές μας θέσεις: Η αλλαγή και η αποδέσμευση του συστήματος πρόσβασης στα πανεπιστήμια και η ελεύθερη πρόσβαση. Ξαναλέμε, ελεύθερη πρόσβαση στα πανεπιστήμια. Δώσαμε τις θέσεις μας και παρουσιάστηκαν ειδικά από τον φιλοκυβερνητικό Τύπο, για την ελεύθερη πρόσβαση, δηλαδή για το δικαίωμα κάθε μαθητή λυκείου ο οποίος δεν ακολουθεί μεταλυκειακή εκπαίδευση να μπει στο πανεπιστημιο, ως μια δημαγωγία της Αριστεράς. Εγω θέλω να σας πω απλώς από την έρευνα της EUROSTAT που δημοσιεύτηκε το 2007 τον Φεβρουάριο, δηλαδή πριν από λίγες μέρες τα εξής. Βέλγιο:Χωρίς αριθμητικό όριο

εισακτέων σπουδαστών. Γαλλία: Χωρίς αριθμητικό περιορισμό εκτός απο ιατρικές σχολές. Ιταλία: Η εγγραφή στο πανεπιστήμιο είναι ελεύθερη με βάσική προυπόθεση το απολυτήριο λυκείου. Αυστρία: Χωρίς αριθμητικό περιορισμό. Δανία:Χωρίς αριθμητικό περιορισμό. Ιρλανδία την οποία μας την έχετ δοξάσει για τις οικονομικές της πολιτικές, χωρίς αριθμητικό περιορισμό. Πρώτη θέση του Συνασπισμού της Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς αυτό.

Δεύτερον, πλήρης εξασφάλιση των όρων αυτοτέλειας των ανώτατων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων, αυτοτέλειας και απέναντι στη μεγάλη επιχείρηση, αυτοτέλειας και απέναντι στην Κυβέρνηση, όπως καθορίζεται από το άρθρο 16 του Συντάγματος που εμείς το σεβόμαστε. Την Κυβέρνηση την ενοχλεί!

Τετραετής προγραμματισμός του κράτους:Εδώ εμφανίζεται το αστείο στο νομοσχέδιο να προτείνει τετραετή οικονομικό προγραμματισμό των πανεπιστημίων, χωρίς να υπάρχει τετραετής προγραμματισμός οικονομικός και επενδυτικός του κράτους, για να δείτε σε τι σχιζοφρενικές κατά τη γνώμη μου καταστάσεις έχουμε φθάσει από την πλευρά της Νέας Δημοκρατίας.

Πλήρης και αποκλειστική απασχόληση των μελών του Διδακτικού Επιστημονικού Προσωπικού. Εμείς το λέμε καθαρά. Δεν μπορούμε να δεχθούμε τους μεγαλοκαθηγητές τουρίστες, πολλοί από τους οποιους κινητοποιήθηκαν με κάθε τρόπο υπέρ του κυβερνητικού σχεδίου, γιατί δεν επηρέαζε την αποκλειστική απασχόληση, την πλήρη απασχόληση, κάτι αντίστοιχο αν θέλετε που θέλετε που θα έπρεπε να υπάρχει με το εθνικό σύστημα υγείας. Δεν το θέλουμε. Θέλουμε πλήρη και αποκλειστική απασχόληση.

Θέλουμε στήριξη του πανεπιστημιακού ασύλου. Υπάρχουν καταχρήσεις, υπάρχουν κάποιες στιγμές που σε κανέναν δεν αρέσουν σε σχέση με το πανεπιστημιακό άσυλο;Υπάρχουν. Και τι θα γίνει; Θα το καταργήσουμε;Υπάρχουν στιγμές σε σχέση με τον κοινοβουλευτισμό που δεν αρέσουν;Δεν υπάρχουν στοιχεία ή σκάνδαλα διαφθοράς συναλλαγών, διαπλοκής στον κοινοβουλευτισμο; Που θα πάμε; Θα πάμε στη χούντα ή θα πάμε σ'ένα ελεγχόμενο κοινοβουλευτισμο; Θα στηρίξουμε τις ελεθερίες μας. Το ίδιο πρέπει να κάνουμε και με το άσυλο και όχι να περιορίζεται το άσυλο σε ορισμένα κτήρια. Και έχουμε και το φοβερό. Ποτέ δεν περίμενα, δεν μπορούσα να φανταστώ ότι θα υπάρχει Κυβέρνηση, που καταπατά τόσο πολύ το δικαίωμα στην εργασία που έχουν οι νέοι άνθρωποι και θα χρησιμοποιήσει ως πρόσχημα το δικαίωμα στην εργασία κάποιων καθηγητών, προκειμένου να κτυπήσει την βασική ελευθερία του πανεπιστημιακπύ ασύλου.

Εσωτερικοί κανονισμοί που είναι παράγοντες αυτοτέλειας:Το κάθε πανεπιστήμιο μόνο του. Αυτή είναι η κατάκτηση, αυτό είναι το σημαντικό, την οποία μπορούμε να έχουμα και όχι μέσω υποταγής στην Κυβέρνηση.

Διαφάνεια και δημοσιότητα σε όλα. Απολογισμός των απερχόμενων πρυτανικών και άλλων αρχών.

Φοιτητές με οικονομικά προβλήματα: Όχι η λογική της απέλασης τους, πως θα τους διώξουμε από τα πανεπιστήμια, αλλά λογική της στήριξης μέσα από ένα ερύ σύστημα υποτροφιών, ανταποδοτικών υποτροφιών κ.λπ.

Θέλω να καταλήξω ότι πέρα από τις προτάσεις μας υπάρχει για τον καθένα μας μια ουσιαστική προυποθεση ότι για να γίνει κάτι μέσα στην εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα, πρέπει να υπάρχει εμπιστοσύνη, στήριξη, συμμετοχή της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας. Αυτό λείπει από το κυβερνητικό νομοσχέδιο. Μια χρήσιμη ενέργεια θα μπορούσε να κάνει η κ. Γιαννάκου να το αποσύρει. Δεν το κάνει αυτό. Η Κυβέρνηση έχει ευθύνες για τους καρπούς που θα δρέψει!

Επαναλαμβάνω το αίτημα μας με το άρθρο 100.

Ευχαριστώ πολύ.

B. Translated in English

‘Ladies and gentlemen, I think the image we had a while ago here in Parliament is both tragic and comic. This is, we have a theme, which has been the central issue of political life for months, and the constitutional revision of Article 16 and the other legislative initiatives of government, to which there is an overall and amazing reaction by the entire educational community at all levels.

We have a government, which allegedly created several dialogues, studies, etc and the picture shows a Minister, who raises several points in order to salvage this law as much as she can and to give a semblance of constitutionality. It is actually a law which is reactionary, rough, is additionally unconstitutional and a law which was based-and here I address the fans of New Democracy and the parents of children who are external to the university – on a series of arguments which are collapsing one after another.

What have we heard all this time? We heard that it was a small minority of teachers who objected to the law, that it supports established corporate interests within the university, that there are thousands and thousands of teachers who responded. And what do we see? That last weekend the Congress of the Panhellenic Federation of Teaching and research staff of universities took part and made a decision almost unanimously rejecting the law of New Democracy.

I wonder how the New Republic thinks that a law can be applied which is not only rejected by other students but is also rejected by the overwhelming majority of teachers. In what will you be

supported? By Mr. Polydoras who was sitting here? By MAT? In that you will give the courtyards and several external buildings asylum? By the threat of imprisonment of up to six months if a student or teacher violates the rights of a teacher? You will build on that? Can a government build on the educational policy denying proposals made by the education policy suggested by the educational community? You drive universities to the cliff edge. You continue this situation. You have complete responsibility for what has continued until today.

Everyone wants universities to be opened. Everyone wants their children to go to chemistry and biology lessons and to continue their undergraduate and postgraduate education.

Your insistence upon the constitutional amendment of Article 16 collapses and PASOK persists on its word that it will not participate in the second phase of the next Parliament. And you have the law framework which has no support.

We want to welcome all those who fought. We want to welcome those journalists who raised the stature against this attempt to be conveyed into a one-sided argument of intimidation by the government. We want to welcome intellectuals, artists and those that resist the current attempts to create a Government such as Lakis Lazopoulos who had a significant presence within the media, like many others who are not lost in translation and are sensitive to these changes that are taking place in society.

We ask for the immediate withdrawal of the bill. And we ask for it in order for universities to return to operating procedures, and we ask for it in order that the education community can promote and propose – it has possibilities, with very large majorities, and support - its proposals, and through POSDEP and through the coordination of student occupations. We demand the withdrawal because this bill is unconstitutional. We ask that the application of Article 100 of the Standing Orders, with which any Member, and, much more, a Parliamentary Group such as ourselves, seek to rule the House with regard to specific objections raised about the constitutionality of the Bill or law proposal. It is fair enough that someone should research the papers of prominent constitutional experts in order to say that there is indeed a constitutional problem. It is not just our House representative, Fotis Kouvelis, who from the time of the law being first presented raised issues of non-constitutionalism. It is the Professor Paraskevopoulos, Professor Manoledaki, it is the Scientific Committee of the Parliament.

Namely that the unconstitutionality is diffused in all articles and all over the letter and spirit of the law. What does that do for the New Republic? It aims for revenge. It cannot proceed to the revision of Article 16 and attempts to undermine Article 16 through settings within the current law. But the mouse is caught in the trap.

The provision in Article 7, which sets out terms and conditions for the funding of higher education institutions, is contrary to Article 16, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution. Article 16 of the Constitution says that institutions are supervised by the State, they have the right to financial assistance from it and operate in accordance with state laws and not work as long hours as per the conditions that are set by New Democracy. It's a clear violation of Article 16.

In Article 24, in order for the Government to enable undermining the autonomy of educational institutions, it turns to an evil idea. Various teachers wandering from university to university will participate in the electoral bodies in the elections. But this is in stark contrast to the government of each university within Article 16, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution, which says that higher education is provided exclusively by institutions that are public entities with full self-government.

Of course there is the issue of asylum. The issue of asylum comes with the punishment of six months in jail. From this, you can realize that it is not only the asylum issue that is raised, it is not simply open courtyards and buildings of universities in MAT and the forces of Mr. Polydoras. Mr Giannakou assigns responsibilities to Mr. Polydoros. A number of students and teachers can be punished by six months in jail. However, Article 7 in the Constitution states that no crime or penalty is imposed without a law that is valid prior to committing the act and this defines the elements and existence of a specific description of punishable offenses.

Based on this, we wanted to put this into effect immediately and Article 100 for a discussion on the constitutionality of the law. It is not that we have hope that this will change correlations in the House but we believe that this law, as it stands, will not pass, for to fail to apply all the factors required by the educational community should be considered unconstitutional even by only a minority of the parliament.

Another aspect, Mrs President, which I would like to mention, is an argument of the Government which has been widely misused by the media which the Government controls, that the Government is in favour of reform of universities and does not want this situation and, in contrast, the Left - and if you want more specifically, the Coalition of the Radical Left defends the existing situation and has no any proposal for change in universities. I would say we are judged here. You see who hates and who loves the public university. Who wants to support it, and has as its core the same concepts for the rebirth of our country, and who wants to destroy it and give the space to entrepreneurial initiatives.

For this reason we chose this legislative process, in order to bring about in a comprehensive and integrated manner our positions towards the reform of higher education, our anti-bill. And we wanted to emphasise it, because the times in which we are living are moments of history, I

believe, of the history of the student movement, the country's history and of the history, if you like, that will be shaped by political developments, in which education will be a key issue.

The Coalition of the Radical Left has stances and they are completely different to yours. On many issues, even in the matter of the public university relationship with the state.

Our proposals want the 'autoteleia' to be in the public space, the university, but to be 'autoteles', not a servant of the government. And the Government Bill, which enabled the privatisation of universities, expresses extreme statism through a series of arrangements, that they, the MAT, enter within universities, that the universities 'if they do not comply with what we want they will not be financed', that 'internal regulation of universities is a copy of an internal regulation which we will create and, I think, that literally follows the model of the Olympics. That is, we want to provide space for large businesses;, as long as it belongs to the authority or power of the state and Government through extreme statism, we will not kneel to it, we will make it unreliable, we will make it unworkable, we will make society disapprove of it. This model of Olympic and other public enterprises is applicable to universities.

What are our basic positions? The change and the release of the system of access to universities. We presented our positions as rhetoric of the Left, and we did so in particular by using pro-government press, for freedom of access, that is for the right of every secondary school pupil who does not follow post-secondary vocational education to enter university. I would simply like to provide research from Eurostat, which was published in February 2007 as follows: Belgium: Admitted students without a numerical limit. France: No numerical limitation other than medical school. Italy: The register at the University is free with the basic hypothesis of a high school diploma. Austria: No numerical limit. So, the first position of SYRIZA is that. Secondly, fully ensuring the terms of autonomy of institutions of higher education, independence, and rejecting the large enterprises, independence and rejecting the underhand government, as specified by Article 16 of the Constitution which we respect. The Government is bothered! Four-year planning of the state: Here you can see the joke in the bill that proposes a four-year economic program of universities without four-year planning, economic and investment of the state, to see to what schizophrenic situations, in my opinion, we have arrived at from the side of New Democracy. Full and exclusive employment of the Teaching Faculty. We call it clearly. We cannot accept professors or tourists, many of whom are supported in every way by the government plan, because it does not affect full-time employment. If you wanted that there should be something similar in the national health system. We do not want it. We want full and exclusive employment. We want support of university asylum. Is there abuse? There have been moments that no one likes in relation to university asylum. There are. And what will be done? Will we abolish it? There are moments in relation to the parliamentary system, which have been disliked? There are no data of corruption or exchanging scandals, of corruption in

parliamentarianism? Where are we going? Are we going to junta or to a controlled parliamentarism? We will support our freedom. We will support our freedom. We have to do the same with asylum and not simply asylum confined to some buildings. And we are awesome! I never thought, I could not imagine that there would be a Government interfering with young peoples' rights to work so much, and that the right to work for some professors will be used as an excuse in order to attack the basic freedom of university asylum. Internal regulations are factors of autonomy ('autoteleia'). Each university for itself. This is the most important conquest that can be made, and not through submission to the Government. Transparency and openness at all times. Accountability of retiring deans and other authorities. Students with financial problems: [we do support] not their deportation, how to drive them out of the universities, but [we support] reasonable support through an extensive system of scholarships, rewarding scholarships, etc.

I want to conclude that beyond our proposals there is, for each of us, an essential prerequisite that in order for something to take place in the educational community, there should be trust, support, and participation in the educational community. This is missing from the Government bill, a useful energy could make Mrs Giannakou withdraw. Do not do this. The Government is responsible for talk that will provide results! I repeat the request with our Rule 100. Thank you.'

Alekos Alavanos, the president of the Coalition of the Radical Left, Discussion on the principle of the Bill of the Ministry of Education on the structure and functions of Greek universities (Law 3549/2007), Greece House Proceedings, 11th period of Parliamentary democracy, Session 3rd, Meeting 12th , Tuesday 6 March 2007, pp. 6235-6237.

Appendix 2 Interview of a member of the faculty.

A. Interview of a member of the faculty in Greek

Τι πιστεύετε για τον νόμο της Γιαννάκου;

Αυτός ο νόμος δεν έκανε σοβαρές παρεμβάσεις όσον αφορά την διοίκηση . Το πρόβλημα του είναι ότι δεν έκανε παρεμβάσεις με τρόπο που θα μπορούσε να λύσει τα προηγούμενα προβλήματα διοίκησης και λειτουργίας των πανεπιστημίων που είχαν πριν. Οι κύριες παρεμβάσεις ήταν δύο δειλά βήματα ανεξαρτησίας που αφορούν τους εσωτερικούς κανόνες των πολλών ζητημάτων που είχαν προηγουμένως ρυθμιστεί από το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και το τετραετές πρόγραμμα . Πριν από αυτό, τα πανεπιστήμια ήταν υποχρεωμένοι να δημιουργήσουν τους εσωτερικούς κανονισμούς, αλλά τα περισσότερα πανεπιστήμια δεν το εφάρμοζαν αυτό. Όταν αυτός ο νόμος ψηφίστηκε μόνο οκτώ πανεπιστήμια είχαν εσωτερικούς κανονισμούς . Τώρα, τα περισσότερα κάνουν.

Και μάλιστα φτιάχτηκε και ένας κατά εφαρμογή νόμου – ένας πρότυπος εσωτερικός κανονισμός για εκείνα τα πανεπιστήμια που δεν έχουν δικό τους είναι υποχρεωμένα να εφαρμοζούν τον πρωτο. Αυτός εχει διαφορα προβληματα. Ενα βημα λοιπόν ήταν αυτο το πέρασμα στους εσωτερικούς κανονισμούς ορισμένων πραγμάτων που ρυθμίζονταν με εγκυκλίους, νόμους, κλπ. Επομένως ήταν ένα βήμα προς την αυτοτέλεια αλλά ήταν πολύ δειλό. Ο πρωτότυπος εσωτερικός κανονισμός που βγήκε κατά εφαρμογή του νόμου δημιούργησε πολλά προβλήματα λειτουργίας ποικιλόμορφα, π.χ. συμμετοχές σε όργανα συλλογικά. Και δεν έχει περάσει πολύς χρόνος από τότε που έχει μπει σε εφαρμογή. Αλλά το πνεύμα του δεν είναι στην κατεύθυνση της ανεξαρτησίας των πανεπιστημίων. Αυτή λοιπόν ήταν μια παρέμβαση ως προς τους εσωτερικούς κανονισμούς.

-Τι πιστεύετε για το τετραετές ακαδημαικό πλάνο;

Το τετραετές σχέδιο ανάπτυξης ήταν κάτι που τα πανεπιστήμια ζητούσαν τα ιδια εδω και πολύ καιρό να εφαρμοστούν. Προτείνει λοιπόν την ιδέα ενός στρατηγικού σχεδίου. Ωστόσο , απέχει πολύ από αυτό που θα έπρεπε να είναι. Δεν μπορεί να δώσει αυτονομία , επειδή το Υπουργείο Παιδείας λαμβάνει αποφάσεις σχετικά με την απασχόληση του προσωπικού και με άλλα πανεπιστημιακά ζητήματα, και τα πανεπιστήμια συνεχίζουν να λαμβάνουν χαμηλή χρηματοδότηση από το κράτος, έτσι ώστε το κράτος δεν συνδέει την παροχή πόρων προς τις υποχρεώσεις του πανεπιστημίου. Τα πανεπιστήμια είναι ανάγκη να συνεργαστούν με τις επιχειρήσεις, αλλά ειναι απαραίτητό επίσης το περιεχομενο των σπουδών και η εκπαίδευση να αποδεσμευτούν από την κερδοφορία, με τετοιο τροπο ωστε το δημοσιο πανεπιστημιο να διατηρήσει την αυτονομία του και να μην εξαρτηθεί από οικονομικούς παράγοντες, όπως συμβαίνει στα ιδιωτικά πανεπιστημια. Τα πανεπιστήμια πρέπει να παραμείνουν

αυτοδιαχειριζόμενα, και να αποφασίζουν και να καθορίζουν τα ίδια τους πολιτιστικους και άλλους εκπαιδευτικούς στόχους τους χωρίς να προσβάλλονται από οικονομικές πιέσεις ή πολιτικές σκοπιμότητες που δεν έχουν κάποια σχέση με την εκπαίδευση. Η αυτονομία δεν ειναι ο όρος στα ελληνικα αλλά ο όρος αυτοτέλεια, αυτοδιοίηση. Πλήρης αυτοδιοίκηση. Εκεί υπάρχει ένα ζήτημα νομικό και πολιτικό. Το νομικό είναι οτι στο σύνταγμα τα πανεπιστήμια ειναι νομικά πρόσωπα δημόσιου δικαίου. Αυτό σημαίνει πως ό, τι κι εαν κάνεις με τον νόμο που διέπει τα πανεπιστημια δεσμεύεσαι από τις γενικές ρυθμίσεις περί προσώπων δημοσίου δικαίου. Άρα λοιπόν ναι μπορεί ένας νέος νόμος να δώσει πλήρη αυτοδιοίκηση αλλά δεν σημαίνει οτι θα παύουν να ισχύουν οι γενικές ρυθμίσεις και μάλιστα εκεί υπάρχει και ένας κίνδυνος. Π.χ. εάν υποθέσουμε ενα extreme σενάριο ότι βγαίνει ένας νόμος ότι απλώς τα πανεπιστήμια είναι πλήρως αυτοδιοικούμενα, κάνουν ό,τι θέλουν. Αυτό μπορεί να είναι χειρότερο από την σημερινή κατάσταση. Γιατί θα πέσεις στις γενικές διατάξεις περί νομικώς προς δημοσίου δικαίου που μπορεί να είναι περιοριστικές από ό, τι είναι ο νόμος. Αυτό είναι το νομικό. Το πολιτικό είναι καθαρά θέμα στην εκάστοτε κυβέρνηση μέχρι που θέλει να αφήσει τα πανεπιστήμια ελεύθερα να αναπτυχθούν και που να τα διοικεί. Όμως ο ρόλος της πολιτείας είναι να κάνει έναν εθνικό σχεδιασμό και από εκεί και πέρα τα πανεπιστήμια πρέπει να αναπτύσσει το καθένα μόνο του τα ξεχωριστά του χαρακτηριστικά. Π.χ. ποιό είναι το mission και ποιο το vision. Έαν έρθεις σε ελληνικό πανεπιστήμιο και ρωτήσεις ποιά είναι, θα σου πουν τι εννοείτε; Το mission είναι από τον νόμο. Άλλο είναι το mission του Αιγαίου, του πανεπιστημίοι Αθηνών, Πολυτεχνείου, κλπ. Το vision δεν είναι απο τον νόμο. Είναι στο χέρι της κάθε σχολής. Ως προς την αποστολή όμως δεν μπορούν όλα να έχουν την ίδια αποστολή.

-Τι πιστεύετε για την αξιολόγηση;

Αν η αξιολόγηση διενεργείται από ‘managers’ που θα μετράνε την ποιότητα των πανεπιστημίων με ποσοτικούς δείκτες, πράγμα που δεν μπορεί να αξιολογήσει τις εκπαιδευτικές και πολιτιστικές συνέπειες του εκπαιδευτικου προιοντος, θα οδηγήσει σε χαμηλή χρηματοδότηση και στην εγκατάλειψη των πανεπιστημίων από το κράτος. Και η καλή ποιότητα θα θεωρείται ως κριτήριο για τη χρηματοδότηση των πανεπιστημίων, ενώ η κακή ποιότητα θα οδηγήσει στην διακοπή της χρηματοδότησης. Ωστόσο, το αντίθετο θα συμβεί. Η κακή ποιότητα στα πανεπιστήμια θα πρέπει να οδηγήσει στην ενίσχυση της χρηματοδότησης τους. Η αξιολόγηση πρέπει να λαμβάνει υπόψη τον κοινωνικό, πολιτικό και ανθρωπιστικό ρόλο και την αποστολή της εκπαίδευσης. Δεν θα πρέπει να αξιολογήσουν την ποιότητα ενός προγράμματος ανάλογα με τις επαγγελματικές δεξιότητες που δίνει στους φοιτητές, αλλά με το αν οι απόφοιτοι μπορούν να αποκτήσουν μια ολοκληρωμένη γνώση των επαγγελμάτων τους και μια ολοκληρωμένη άποψη για τη ζωή, έτσι ώστε όταν υπάρχουν αλλαγές στις απαιτήσεις της αγοράς, να μπορούν εύκολα προσαρμοστούν.

-Τι πιστεύετε για την συμμετοχή των φοιτητών;

Άλλη παρέμβαση ήταν η εκλογή των οργάνων διοίκησης του πανεπιστημιου. Τα εκλογικά όργανα διοίκησης του πανεπιστημίου έγιναν πιο δημοκρατικά, υπό την έννοια ότι ο στόχος της νέας πολιτικής ήταν να εξασφαλιστεί η διαφάνεια και η αντικειμενικότητα των εκλογικών αποτελεσμάτων. Αυτό δεν επιτυγχάνεται σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις. Έγινε πιο δημοκρατική, με την έννοια της προσπάθειας πίσω από αυτή την ιστορία που ήταν να σταματήσουν οι «σχέσεις» των παρατάξεων των φοιτητών με τους υποψήφιες πρυτάνεις. Γιατί; Ποια ήταν η λογική πίσω από αυτό; Οι αναλογίες δεν άλλαξαν. Η σημαντική διαφορά με τον προηγούμενο νόμο είναι οτι ψηφίζουν όλοι οι φοιτητές πλέον ενώ παλαιότερα μέσω των αντιπροσώπων τους. Αν υποθέσουμε ένα πανεπιστήμιο με 250 καθηγητές.

Αυτο σημαίνει πως οι φοιτητές που συμμετέχουν στο εκλεκτορικό σώμα θα πρέπει να είναι περιπου 100. Είναι πολύ πιο εύκολο να συναλλαγεί κανείς με 100 ανθρώπους (δεν είναι καν 100) παρά με 10,000 που έχει το πανεπίστημιο. Αυτή ήταν η σκέψη και δεν λειτούργησε. Γιατί οι φοιτητές έχουν δείξει μέχρι τώρα ελάχιστο ενδιαφέρον συμμετχής στις εκλογές. Τα ποσοστά δεν είναι πάνω απο 10 με 15 τοις εκατό. Με αποτέλεσμα να φτάνουμε στο ίδιο αποτέλεσμα και να μην πετυχαίνουμε αυτο που θέλουμε και τη συμμετοχή όλων.Αυτή ήταν η ιδέα αλλά δεν λειτούργησε επειδή οι μαθητές δεν έχουν επιδείξει μέχρι στιγμής παρά ελάχιστο ενδιαφέρον για τη συμμετοχή τους στις εκλογές.

Ο νόμος δίνει στους φοιτητές το 40% των δικαιωμάτων ψήφου στο εκλογικό σώμα, ανεξάρτητα από τον αριθμό των φοιτητών που συμμετέχουν στο εκλογικό σώμα, ενθαρρύνοντας έτσι την ανάπτυξης των κλικών. Υπάρχουν κόμικο τραγικά γεγονότα και προφανώς αστεία φαινόμενα. Στο Πανεπιστήμιο Χ μόλις ένας μαθητής ψήφισε και είχε το 40% της δύναμης ψήφου στα χέρια του. Η διαφθορά δεν μπορεί να επιλυθεί μόνο με την αλλαγή του συστήματος σε ένα καθολικό σύστημα συμμετοχής των φοιτητών.

Επιπλέον, μια αλλαγή που ο νόμος αυτός έφερε ήταν η συμμετοχή των εξωτερικών εκλεκτόρων στην εκλογή των μελών ΔΕΠ, το οποίο θα πρέπει να δει κανείς θετικά. Η λογική εκεί ήταν να σταματήσουν οι συντεχνίες σε επίπεδο τμημάτων, επομένως να μην μπορουν να καθοδηγήσουν τις εκλογές με συντεχνίες, κλπ. Και ένας τρόπος για να σταματήσει αυτό είναι να που δεν είναι απο το ίδιο τμήμα. Ωστόσο, ο νόμος έχει αποτύχει στο να επιλύσει τις πιεστικές ανάγκες των εξωτερικών εκλεκτόρων για να ταξιδέψουν, να καλύψει τα έξοδα ταξιδιού και διαμονής.

-Τι πιστεύετε για το άσυλο;

Άλλαξε το πανεπιστημιακό άσυλο οσον αφορά το σώμα που αποφασίζει την άρση του ασύλου και επομενως ο τρόπος. Προηγουμένως για την άρση του ασύλου υπήρχε μια επιτροπή ασύλου με τρία μέλη –ένας φοιτητής, ένα μέλος ΔΕΠ και ο πρύτανης. Η όποια επιτροπή έπρεπε με

ομόφωνη απόφαση να αποφασίσει την άρση του ασύλου, αυτό άλλαξε και πέρασε στο πρυτανικό συμβούλιο. Χρειαζόταν ομοφωνία. Ποτέ δεν έχει γίνει αυτό γιατί οι φοιτητές συνήθως δεν όριζαν πρόσωπα, και ποιός πρύτανης θα το κάνει αυτο; Την άλλη μέρα θα φύγει. Επομένως μπορούσε να γίνει άρση του ασύλου από τις πρυτανικές αρχές με τον ήδη υπάρχοντα νόμο.

Τι πιστευετε για τα ιδιωτικα πανεπιστημια;

Πίσω από την αναθεώρηση του άρθρου 16 κρύβεται η σκοπιμοτητα της κυβέρνησης, να ιδιωτικοποίησει την ανώτατη εκπαίδευση. Με την λειτουργία των ιδιωτικών κολλεγίων, τα δημόσια πανεπιστήμια θα υποβαθμιστούν. Οι περισσότεροι μαθητές θα προτιμήσουν να πάνε σε ένα τοπικό ιδιωτικό πανεπιστήμιο που προσφέρει τα ίδια προσόντα με ένα δημόσιο πανεπιστήμιο, αντί να μετακομίσει σε άλλη πόλη.

Έτσι, ο Έλληνας, θα βρεθεί αντιμέτωπος με το δίλημμα του αν πρέπει να στείλει τα παιδιά του σε ένα καλό περιφερειακό πανεπιστήμιο που θα κοστίσει 10.000 ευρώ ετησίως ή να πάει σε ένα κολέγιο στην Αθήνα, όπου θα πληρώσει 5000-6000 ευρώ και θα πάρει τελικά ένα πτυχίο ίδιας αξία στην αγορά εργασίας. Εκεί είναι το θέμα με τα κολλέγια στα επαγγελματικά δικαιώματα. Γιατί συναγωνισμός ως προς την ακαδημαικη αξία του πτυχιου δεν μπορει να υπαρχει σε καμία περιπτωση με τα κολλεγια, ούτε το χειροτερο τμήμα του ελληνικου πανεπιστημου, ακομα και τα τυπικα προσοντα των διδασκοντων.

Η τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση πρέπει να παραμείνει δημόσια και δωρεάν και να ικανοποιεί τις ανάγκες των παιδιών που δεν σπουδάζουν σε ιδιωτικά πανεπιστήμια. Πάντως για να επιτραπεί η λειτουργία των ιδιωτικών κολλεγίων πρέπει να απελευθερωθούν τα δημόσια. Εννοώ πως τα πανεπιστήμια ειναι νομικά πρόσωπα δημοσίου δικαίου. Δεν θα είχα αντίρρηση να επιτραπούν ιδιωτικα κολλέγια τα οποία ομως να έχουν την ίδια νομική μορφή. Δηλαδή εάν επιτρέψεις ένα ιδιωτικό πανεπιστήμιο και θέλει να πάρει καθηγητή το ιδιωτικό πανεπιστήμιο του λέει έλα την άλλη μέρα να κάνεις σύμβαση και τελειώσαμε.

Για να έρθει όμως σε ένα δημόσιο πανεπιστήμιο ένας καθηγητής μπορεί να χρειαστούν τέσσερα χρόνια. Από την στιγμή που θα πούμε θέλουμε μια θέση μέχρι που θα έρθει ο άνθρωπος σε αυτή τη θέση μπορούν να περάσουν τέσσερα χρόνια. Είναι οι διαδικασίες να ζητήσει τη θέση, να σου δώσει το υπουργείο τη θέση, να επιλέξεις τον άνθρωπο, να προκηρυχτεί η θέση, να βρεθούν τα λεφτά για την πληρωμή του. Αυτό αμέσως είναι σαν να βαζεις τα δημόσια με τα ιδιωτικα πανεπιστημια να παλεψουν. Και το ιδιο ισχύει για τους εξοπλισμούς και τις προμήθειες, κλπ γινεται η σύγκριση αυτή με άνισους όρους.

Έχετε κάτι να προσθέσετε;

Εγώ θα έβαζα πρώτο το θεσμικό πλαίσιο. Δηλαδή, χρειαζόμαστε έναν νόμο πλαίσιο που να είναι νόμος πλαίσιο στην κατεύθυνση της ενίσχυσης της αυτοδιοίκησης. Το δευτερο είναι οτι η χαμηλή χρηματοδότηση των πανεπιστημίων. Τα οικονομικά επίσης των πανεπιστημιακών είναι σε πολύ χαμηλά επίπεδα σε σχέση με την ευρώπη. Και εαν τα συγκρίνεις με άλλη κατηγορία εργαζομένων.

Το τρίτο είναι να δούμε σαν χώρα έναν εθνικό σχεδιασμό για το τί θέλουμε να κάνουμε το πανεπιστήμιο που δεν είναι μόνο χωραταξία- συνήθως προτάσσεται αυτό. Έχουμε τμήματα που έχουν αποτυχει. Η δική άποψη ξεκινώντας πιο πάνω και να ξεκινήσει και στον χωροταξικό σχεδιασμό έχοντας λύσει βασικές παραμέτρους για να βγάλει το χωροταξικό.

B. Translated in English

-What do you think about Yiannakou's Law (3549/2007)?

This law made no serious interventions in administration. The problem is that it did not intervene in a way that could solve the foregoing problems of administration and operation of the universities had before. The main interventions were two tentative steps towards independence concerning internal rules on many issues that had been previously set by the Ministry of Education and the four-year programme. Before that, universities were forced to create their internal regulations, but most universities did not automatically apply this. When this law was passed only eight universities had internal regulations. Now, most do.

And, indeed, one was built by operation of the law, a standard internal regulation for those universities that do not have their own and are obliged to follow the first. This has several problems. A step, therefore, was a passage in the internal regulations of certain things, which were regulated by circulars, laws, etc. So it was a step toward independence but it was very timid. The original internal regulation, which came with implementation of the law, has created a lot of diverse operational problems, e.g. collective participation in institutions, and it has not been long since it was put into practice. Also, its spirit is not in the direction of university independence. So this was an intervention as far as the internal regulations.

-What do you think about the four-year development plan?

The four-year development plan was something that universities themselves sought for a long time to implement. It proposes the idea of a strategic plan. However, it is far from what it should be. It cannot give autonomy, because the Ministry of Education makes decisions on the employment of personnel and other university issues, and universities continue to receive low funding from the state, so the state does not link the provision of resources to the obligations of

the university. Universities need to work with businesses, but are also required in their curriculum and education to achieve profitability, so that the public university maintains its autonomy and it does not depend on economic factors, such as with private universities. Universities must remain self-managed, and to decide and define their own cultural and other educational goals without being affected by economic pressures or political considerations that have no relation to education. Autonomy is not the word in Greek but the term αυτοτελεια, αυτοδιαχειρηση. Full self-government. There's a legal and a political issue. The legal is that in the Constitution universities are legal entities of public law. This means that whatever you do with the law governing universities you are bound by the general rules on public entities. So then a new law can give full government but does not mean that general settings cease to apply and even then there is a risk e.g. assuming an extreme scenario that comes a law that universities are only totally self-governed, if they do what they want. This may be worse than the current situation because you will fall into the general legal provisions of the public law that may be more restrictive than what is the present law. This is the legal (issue). The political is purely an issue to each government whether it wants to leave universities free to grow and where to administer them. But the role of the state is to provide national planning and beyond that universities should develop each only of its own characteristics e.g. What is the mission and what the vision? If you come into a Greek university and ask they will say 'what do you mean?' The 'mission' is by law. Another is the mission of the Aegean, University of Athens, Polytechnics, etc. The vision is not by law, it is up to each school as far as the mission; all have not the same mission.

-What do you think about evaluation?

If evaluation is conducted by managers they will measure the quality of universities with quantitative indicators, which cannot evaluate the educational and cultural effects, so it will lead to low funding and the abandonment of universities by the state, because good quality will be considered as the criterion for the funding of universities, while bad quality will lead to the interruption of funding. However, the opposite should happen. Poor quality in universities should lead to the reinforcement of their finance. Evaluation should take into account the social, political and humanitarian role and mission of education. It should not rate the quality of a programme according to the professional skills that it gives to students but whether graduates can gain a comprehensive knowledge of their professions and an integrated view of life, so that when there are changes in market demands, they can easily adapt.

-What has changed in the participation of students?

Another intervention was the election of University governing bodies. The electoral management bodies of the university became more democratic in the sense that the objective of the new policy was to ensure transparency and objectivity of election results. This is not achieved in all cases. It became more democratic, in the sense of effort behind this story that was to stop 'relations' of student factions with their candidate rectors. Why? What was the logic behind this? The proportions have not changed. The major difference with the previous law is that all students are voting now, whereas previously through their representatives.

Assuming a university with 250 teachers. This means that students who participate in the electoral body should be about 100. It is much easier one to transact with 100 people (not even 100) rather than with 10,000 that a university has. This was the thought and it did not work because students have shown little interest so far in participating in elections. The rates are not more than 10 to 15 per cent. With the result that we reach the same conclusion and that we did not get what we wanted: participation of all. That was the idea but it did not work because students have so far shown little interest in their participating in elections. The law gives students 40% of the voting electorate, regardless of the number of students participating in the electorate, thus encouraging the development of cliques. There are comic and tragic events obviously funny phenomena. In University X once a student participated and 40% of the voting power was in his hands. Changing the system to a universal system of student participation can only solve corruption. Moreover, a change that the law brought was the participation of external electors in the election of faculty members, which should be seen positively. The logic there was to stop the corporations at department level, so they cannot guide the election with corporations, etc. One way to stop this is to not be from the same department. However, the law has failed to resolve the pressing needs of external electors to travel, and to cover travel and accommodation [expenses].

-What do you think about the operation of private colleges in Greece (3696/2008)?

The intention of the government behind the revision of Article 16 is to privatise higher education. With the operation of private universities, public universities will be undermined. Most students will prefer to go to a local private university, which offers the same qualification as a public university, instead of moving to another city. Thus, Greeks will be faced with the dilemma of whether to send children to a good peripheral university that will cost 10,000 Euros per year or to go to a college in Athens where they will pay 5000-6000 Euros and will eventually take a degree offering the same value within the labour market.

There is an issue with the colleges over occupational rights. Because competition, as far as the academic value of the degree, cannot exist in any case with the college nor with the worst part of Greek universities, even the qualifications of teachers are the equal with the qualifications of

teachers of public universities. Higher education must remain public and free and meet the needs of children who do not study in private universities. However, to allow the operation of private colleges, public universities must be released. I mean that universities are legal entities of public law. I would have no objection for private colleges to be allowed but they must have the same legal form. That is, if you allow a private university and someone wants to get a job in the private university and a professor says: “come the next day to do a contract and we're done.”

But for someone to come to a public university, it can take four years. From the moment you say we want a job position until the time that someone will get a position, four years can be spent. There are procedures to seek a position; for the ministry to create you a position; the position to be launched; to find the money for its salary; and to select the man. This immediately is like putting the public to fight with private universities. And the same goes for equipment and supplies, etc. This comparison is done on unequal terms.

Do you have something else to add?

I would put first the institutional framework. That is, we need a framework law that is the law under the direction of strengthening the government. The second is the low funding of universities. The cost of university is also very low compared with Europe and if you compare with another category of workers. The third is to see, as a country, national planning for what we want to do; the university is not only a country planning, usually this precedes. We have departments that have failed. My own view is starting from this and then to continue to country planning having resolved basic parameters.

Appendix 3 Interview with student

A. Interview with student in Greek

Τι πιστεύεις για τον νόμο της Γιαννάκου;

Εγώ έχω να κάνω το εξης σχόλιο. Δυστυχώς ζούμε σε μια χώρα όπου η εκάστοτε κυβέρνηση για να δείξει ότι κάνει πολιτικό έργο κάνει αλλαγές στο σύστημα παιδείας. Είτε μιλάμε για το σύστημα εισαγωγής, είτε για το σύστημα στο πανεπιστήμιο, αλλαγές για το οτιδήποτε. Αυτο έχει να μια τεράστια προβληματική και για την κοινωνία όπου χτίζεται το συστημα αλλά και για εμας συγκεκριμένα για το ότι μπαίνω σε ένα πανεπιστήμιο εγώ με ένα συγκεκριμένο σύστημα και την επόμενη χρονιά έρχεται φοιτητής με άλλες γνώσεις και έχοντας περάσει με τελείως διαφορετικά κριτήρια. Αν δεν λυθεί αυτό το πρόβλημα και δεν σταθεροποιηθούμε στο θέμα της παιδείας, τα προβλήματα δυστυχώς θα συνεχίζουν να υπάρχουν, δεν θα λυθούν ποτέ.

Τι άλλαξε στο άσυλο;

Με τον προηγούμενο νόμο σε περίπτωση κακουργήματος μπορούσε να γίνει παρέμβαση εισαγγελέα. Το να μου αναιρούν το άσυλο αυτεπάγγελτα χωρίς Συμβούλιο, Σύγκλητο, αυτεπάγγελτα, μπορούν να πουν πιο ευκολα οτι θα σας βάλω κάμερες στις αιθουσες γιατι εχω τους προτζέκτορες και φοβάμαι μήπως τους κλέψετε. Επίσης όπως διδάσκεσαι την ιστορια, φιλοσοφία και άλλες επιστήμες, το πανεπιστημιο πρέπει να βοηθάει τους φοιτητές να γινόμαστε κοινωνικοί πολίτες στο σήμερα, και να υποστηρίζει το μέλλον μας. Δηλαδή. Το πανεπιστήμιο πρέπει να προστατεύει την δημοκρατία αφήνοντας τους φοιτητές να παίρνουνε μέρος στην κοινωνική και πολιτική ζωή, και αυτό με το να τους δίνεται η ελευθερία να εκφράζονται και να ανταλλάζουν ιδέες και να κάνουν κριτική και να αντιδρούν επίσης. Για αυτό και κάποτε υπήρχαν πολλά αιτήματα των φοιτητών όπως το Πολυτεχνείο που αίτημα των φοιτητών ήταν να φύγει η Χούντα και μόνο. Η μεγάλη πλειοψηφία των φοιτητών γενικότερα διεκδικούσαν πολλά πράγματα παραπάνω, αυτό που λέμε σήμερα δωρεάν παιδεία και άλλα πράγματα.

Τι αλλαγές έφερε ο νόμος στα προγραμμάτα σπουδών σας;

Καμια. Υπαρχουν καθηγητες με πολλά πτυχία και γνώσεις. Με αυτούς κάνουμε πολύ καλό μάθημα. Υπάρχουν όμως και καθηγητές με τους οποίους δεν κάνουμε μάθημα. Εχουν συγκεκριμενο τρόπο ο οποίος δεν ειναι και ο βέλτιστος. Δεν είναι δυνατόν δηλαδή να βάζεις τριάντα ερωτήσεις σε μια εξεταστική για ένα μάθημα. Βέβαια και οι περισσοτεροι φοιτητές περνάνε να βρουν δουλεια αργοτερα.Και ομώς δεν μας κατοχυρώνουν τα επαγγελματικά μας δικαιώματα. Π.χ. πριν περάσω στο πανεπιστημιο είχα πιο ανεβασμενα standards απο θέμα

εκπαίδευσης και ακαδημαικοτητας και τελος παντων ερχομενος εδω περα και ενω ειχα περασει σε αλλη σχολη στη Θεσσαλονικη πιο πριν απαγοητευτηκα και απο εκει απο θεμα εγκατάστασεων. Μπορω να πω ότι ηταν μια απο τις πρωτες μου επιλογες να σπουδασω εδω.

Οι περισσοτερες ομως σχολες δεν εχουν επαγγελματικη αποκατασταση. Δηλαδή κανείς δεν θεωρεί οτι με το πτυχίο της σχολής κάνεις ό, τι θέλεις. Θέλεις κάποιο μεταπτυχιακό και αυτό έαν το καταφέρεις. Και γενικά είναι πολύ αβέβαιο. Οι περισσοτερες σχολές και τα τμήματα τους δεν έχουν εργαστήρια. Οπότε και στις διαλέξεις πατάνε λίγα άτομα. Και επειδή εδω δεν εχει και πολλούς φοιτητές και δεν πατάνε στα μαθήματα οι καθηγητές λένε οτι θα σας αναγκάσω να πατάτε οπότε και υποχρεωτικές παρακολουθήσεις, εντατικοποίηση, μοιαζει πιο πολύ με σχολείο .

Επίσης, το γεγονος οτι είμαστε πολύ μακριά από το κέντρο των εξελίξεων, η υποχρηματοδότηση που υπάρχει από την κυβέρνηση της Νέας Δημοκρατίας αλλά και μια συνεχή υποχρηματοδότηση που είναι γνωστή στη παιδεία. Επίσης το τμήμα μου έχει επαγγελματικά προβλήματα και ακόμα έχει. Κάποια έχουν λυθέι, όπως το επαγγελματικό θέμα του ΑΣΕΠ (Ανώτατο Συμβούλιο Επιλογής Προσωπικού), να ενταχθούμε στον ΑΣΕΠ. Έχουμε πρόβλημα αναγνώρισης, τα περισσότερα τμήματα εδω στο Χ, είμαστε καινούργια τμήματα. Το πανεπιστήμιο αυτό δημιουργήθηκε μεσα στο πλαίσιο των 20 χρονων απο προγραμμα της ευρωπαικης ένωσης σκοπεύοντας να ενισχύσει την τοπική κοινωνία και τοπική οικονομία χωρίς εκπαιδευτικά κριτήρια. Και αυτό φαίνεται από το πάρε δώσε του Πανεπιστημίου με τις νομαρχίες, κλπ. Π.χ. ενέργειες του πανεπιστημίου με τις νομαρχίες γίνονται με βάση αυτό, δηλαδή με το πώς θα μπορέσει να συνδεθεί με την τοπική κοινωνία, όχι με την έννοια η έρευνα που παράγει το πανεπιστήμιο να αξιοποιηθεί από την λαό αλλά να ανοίξει το πανεπιστήμιο σε ένα χωριουδάκι. Το λένε στους πολίτες για να τους ψηφίζουν. Το κράτος ας πούμε με τα νεα νομικά πλαισια που ειναι καθαρά οικονομικά. Κάποια τμήματα δεν μας προσφέρουν επαγγελματικά δικαιώματα, και όμως, αφού αποφοιτήσουμε, δεν μπορούμε να βρούμε δουλειά. Ετσι ειμαστε αναγκασμένοι να κανουμε ενα μεταπτυχιακο, και οι νομοθεσιες εισαγωγης τετοιων προγραμματων το κανουν δύσκολο να το αποκτήσεις, π.χ. ο αριθμός των φοιτητών είναι πολύ περιορισμένος και, σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις, χρειάζεται να δώσεις εξετασεις που ειναι πολυ ανταγωνιστικές.

Τι άλλαξε στη συμμετοχή σας;

Η Σύγκλητος είναι το ανώτατο όργανο του πανεπιστημίου αλλά δυστυχώς σήμερα το πανεπιστήμιο δεν έχει τη επαφή που είχε παλιά ότι η Σύγκλητος έδινε αποφάσεις και μπορούσε να επηρεάσει τα τμήματα. Τώρα τα τμήματα είναι πιο ανεξάρτητα και κάνουν τις δικές τους αποφάσεις. Αυτό είναι από τη μία καλό γιατί ο καθένας μπορεί να κατευθύνει την επιστήμη του όπως θέλει χωρίς να παίρνει κεντρικές αποφάσεις αλλά από την άλλη δεν υπάρχει μια συνολική

συνοχή όλου του τμήματος. Πάντως γενικά το θεμα ειναι οτι ζουμε σε μια περίοδο αλλαγής του πανεπιστημίου και γίνεται όλο και πιο δύσκολο. Πριν υπήρχε μια κατάσταση πιο χαλαρή, το πανεπιστήμιο ήταν ένας κοινωνικός χώρος.Τώρα ζούμε σε μια περίοδο μεταβατική που λέει τώρα εντάξει ήρθαμε εμεις εδω για να σπουδάσουμε, να παράγουμε γνώση, να μάθουμε, και τα υπόλοιπα δεν έχουν σχέση οπότε βάζω υποχρεωτικές παρακολουθήσεις, εργαστήρια. Και δεν παράγει γνώση το πανεπιστημιο δυστυχώς γιατί μαθαίνουμε τα ίδια υπάρχοντα και δεν μας μαθαίνουν τον τρόπο να παράγουμε γνώση. Ολες οι εργασίες που κάνουμε το 99% ειναι αντιγραφή της προυπάρχουσας γνώσης. Δηλαδή κάνετε μια εργασία για το τάδε μικρόβιο. Ε μαζευεις τα παντα να η εργασια. Δεν ασχολούνται καν με τι γνώση παράγεται, τι ανάγκες έχουν οι φοιτητές και τι παροχές έχουν. Τους ενδιαφέρει να αξιοποιηθεί από μαι εταιρία κάτι που παράγεται. Επίσης τα πανεπιστήμια είναι υποχείρια των επιχειρήσεων με ποιά εννοια; Η έρευνα σήμερα. Πάνε και δουλεύουν σήμερα πόσοι φοιτητες τσαμπα, αν ήταν δημόσιο καλά κάνουν. Αλλά αυτο που παραγουν το καρπάνωνται ιδιώτες.

Τι πιστεύεις για τον νομο των ιδιωτικων κολλεγίων;

Δεν νομίζω να γίνουν όπως στην Αγγλία, στην Αμερική και αλλού, γιατί είναι βίαια ριζωμένο το ελληνικό πανεπιστήμιο στην χώρα μας. Αλλά η ένταξη ιδιωτικών κεφαλαίων και φορέων στο πανεπιστήμιο θα μπορούσε να υπάρξει εάν μπορούσε να υπάρξει μια κανονιστική μελέτη και ένας ισχυρός κρατικός έλεγχος δεν θα ήμουν αρνητικός για μια περίοδος δοκιμασίας.

Εχετε κατι αλλο να προσθεσετε;

Την δεδομένη στιγμή δεν υπάρχουν αρκετά λεφτα να γίνουν εργαστήρια, να πάρουμε τις σημειώσεις μας, με τα βιβλία μας λένε οτι θα έχουμε πρόβλημα φέτος και χωρίς τέτοια υλικά δεν υπάρχει γνώση. Ενω αυτό το πανεπιστήμιο είναι το καλυτερο αμοιβομενο πανεπιστημιο της Ελλάδας αναλογικά με τους φοιτητές που έχει. Δεν έχουμε λεφτά για να κάνουμε τα εργαστήρια. Μέσα στο πανεπιστήμιο υπάρχουν επίσης και τμήματα που δεν έχουν κτήρια δικά τους. Οι εστίες είναι εκτός δρομολογίου. Μιλάμε για τέτοια κατάσταση. Πέρυσι το κτελ εκανε την διαδρομή να ανεβαίνει στον Χ και πιο τακτά δρομολόγια ανά μισή ώρα να ανεβαίνουν πάνω στο Χ, το οποίο όμως έγινε πέρυσι.

B. Translated in English

What do you think about Yannakou's law?

I have to make the following comment. Unfortunately, we live in a country where each government, in order to show that it is doing political work, makes changes to the education system. Whether talking about the entrance system or the system within the universities; changes about whatever. This is a huge problem for society in which the system is built, but also for us specifically, that I go to university with one system and next year comes another student with different knowledge and gets into the university under completely different criteria. If this problem is not resolved, and we do not stabilise the issue of education, the problems will unfortunately continue to exist, they will never be solved.

What changed in asylum?

Under previous case law, in criminal cases, there could be interference by a prosecutor. To negate asylum ex-officio without the Council, the Senate, allows more easily that 'I will put cameras in the halls for you', because I have the projectors and that I am afraid if you steal them. And of course, when you are teaching a lesson in that classroom, you lose your privacy because everyone can see what you vote and what you are doing. And from the moment that there is no asylum in the universities, that is a way to prevent the resistance of the students. Police can enter the universities. Also, as well as teaching history, philosophy, and other disciplines, the university must help students to become contemporary and social citizens and support their future. The university must protect democracy by allowing students to be active in social and political life; giving them the freedom to express and exchange ideas and criticize and resist. For this reason, there were many requests from students at the Polytechnics where the students requested the Junta to leave. The vast majority of the students claimed many positive things, what we now call free education and other things.

What changes has the new law brought to your studies?

None. There are professors with many degrees and much knowledge. Some of them make the lesson interesting, while others do not use good teaching methods. That is, it is not possible to ask 30 questions in one lesson. Of course, the students also enter the university to find a job later. And yet we have no guarantee of our professional rights. Before I entered this university, I had higher standards for education and academics. I had already graduated from another University in Thessaloniki before, but I was disappointed by this school because of the infrastructure and the organisation. I can say to study here at this university was one of my first choices.

Most of the schools, however, do not have professional qualifications. I mean that nobody believes that you can find a job with the degree from that university. You need a postgraduate degree, if you manage to do it; it is very uncertain. Most of the schools and their departments do not have research institutes. So, few students come to the lectures. So, because the students are not attenmding, the lecturers force us to go to their lecturers by making attendance obligatory; it seems like school.

Also, the fact that we are very distant from the centre of the events, with insufficient funding from the New Democracy government, but also continuous underfunding, which is common in education. Also, my department has professional problems and still has. Some have been resolved, by joining the professional ASEP organisation (Supreme Council for Personnel Selection). We have a recognition problem, most departments here in X, we are new departments. This university was created in the space of 20 years by a European Union programme aiming to reinforce local society and the local economy without any educational criteria. And that is apparent in 'the give and take' of the university with the prefectures, etc. For instance, the actions of the university with the prefectures takes place based on this, namely how (the university) is be able to connect with the local community, not in the sense that the research produced by the university is based on exploiting the people, but the idea that the university is to be established in a community. The (government) tells this to the citizens in order to get votes. The state stays with the new legal framework that is purely economic. Some departments do not offer professional qualifications, and so, after we graduate, we cannot find a job. Thus, we are forced to acquire a postgraduate degree, and the admission policies for such courses make it difficult to obtain one, e.g. the number of students is very limited and, in some cases, you need to take examinations that are very competitive.

How else does the new law influence your participation?

The Senate is the highest administrative body of the university, but unfortunately, today it does not have the same power as in previous years where it made decisions and could influence the decision-making of the departments. Now, the departments are more independent and make their own decisions. This could be good on the one hand, as they can direct their studies as they want without needing decisions from the central administration of the university. On the other hand, there is a lack of overall coherence among departments. However, in general, the problem is that we are living in a period of change in the universities and it is becoming more difficult. Before there was a transitional period, the university was a social space. Now, we are living in a transitional period that says that, okay we came here to study, to produce knowledge and the other things don't have any relationship. So, I make attendance obligatory, and lectures and workshops obligatory. The university does not produce knowledge unfortunately, because we learn the same as we already know and they do not teach us how to gain knowledge. All the

work we did, 99%, is a copy of our prior knowledge. That is ‘you do a task for such and such a microbe’. So, you pick up everything at work. They do not even deal with what knowledge is produced, what the needs are, and what benefits students and what the benefits are. They are interested in producing something that can be exploited by companies. Also, universities are subservient to business in their research and teaching. What I mean here? The research today. Students go to work today without being paid; if they would work for the public good that do well. But what they produced is reaped by businessemen.

What do you think about the law regarding private colleges?

I cannot think what it would be like in England, America, and elsewhere, because the free public system is strongly rooted in the Greek university in our country. The inclusion of private capital and institutions at the university could exist if there was a strong regulatory regime and control by the state; I would not be against a probationary period.

Do you have anything to add?

At present, the universities have insufficient funding to create laboratories [research institutes], to provide us with textbooks, and in general for the infrastructure needed for the operation of the universities. This university is the best funded university compared to other Greek universities and in relation to the students who are studying here. Yet, we do not have money to create laboratories [research institutes]. In the university, there are departments that do not have their own buildings. Students also do not have a place to study. The students’ hall is remote and beyond the transport routes. We are talking about such a situation. Last year, a bus made the trip to come up through X (area) with more regular runs every half hour to come up through X (area), but that was last year.

Appendix 4: Questionnaires

Questions for teaching staff	**Notes**
1. What do you think about Yiannakou's Law (3549/2007)?	
a. What do you think about the four-year development plan? /What has changed in the autonomy of the universities?	
b. What has changed in the participation of students?	
c. What has changed in asylum law?	
d. What do you think about evaluation?	
2. What do you think about the operation of private colleges in Greece (3696/2008)?	

Post interview comments (university, department, male/female, age):

Questions for students	**Notes**
1. What do you think about Yiannakou's Law (3549/2007)?	
a. What has changed in your participation?	
b. What has changed in asylum law?	
c. What has changed in the study programs?	
2. What do you think about the operation of private colleges in Greece (3696/2008)?	

Post interview comments (university, department, male/female, age):

Appendix 5 Consent form

A. Consent Form in Greek

Δελτίο Συγκατάθεσης για συμμετοχή στην έρευνα

Ονομάζομαι Σταματία Κρεμμύδα και είμαι υποψηφια διδάκτορας στο ΙΟΕ, πανεπιστήμιο του Λονδίνου. Ενδιαφέρομαι να μάθω για τις απόψεις του διδακτικού προσωπικού και των φοιτητών σχετικά με τον νόμο της Γιαννάκου και τον νόμο των ιδιωτικών κολλεγίων. Ελπίζω πως τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας αυτής θα σας οφελήσουν καθώς θα εντοπίσω προβλήματα στα ελληνικα προβλήματα και θα προτείνω στρατηγικές και μεθόδους για την βελτίωση των δημόσιων πανεπιστημίων. Η συμμετοχή στην έρευνα αυτη ειναι εθελοντική και μπορείς να διακόψεις την συμμετοχή σου οποιαδήποτε στιγμή εσύ θέλεις και χωρίς καμιά συνέπεια. Οι απαντήσεις σου θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές και το ονομά σου ή τα προσωπικά σου στοιχεία δεν θα αποκαλυφθούν αλλά θα δοθούν ψευδόνυμα στις απαντήσεις. Αποσπάσματα απο την συνέντευξη σου θα δημοσιευτούν για τους στόχους της παρούσας εργασίας τα οποία όμως δεν θα αποκαλύπτουν την ταυτότητα σου. Στο τέλος της έρευνας θα σου δοθεί μια τελική έκθεση σχετικά με τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας αυτής.

Ο-η συμμετέχων-ουσα Ημερομηνία

B. Consent Form in English

My name is Stamatia Kremmyda and I am a PhD student at the Institute of Education, University of London. I am interested in the views of the academic staff and students about changes regarding Giannakou's law and the law on private colleges. I hope that the information obtained from this research will benefit you as this study will identify the problems that Greek universities are facing and will suggest strategies or methods for improving public universities. You are voluntarily taking part in this research and can withdraw from the study at any time without consequence during the research process. Your responses will be anonymised so that they will remain confidential at all times. In the thesis write-up, I will be attaching pseudonyms to your responses. Extracts from your interviews will be published for the purposes of this study without revealing your identity at any point. At the end of the project, you will be sent a final report with the findings of the study.

The participant **Date**

C. Letter of Research Approval

CHES
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26 August 2008

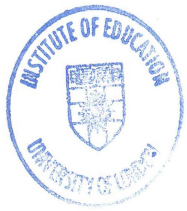
To whom it may concern

This is to confirm that **Ms Stamatia Kremmyda** is a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, University of London, and is currently engaged in research work in connection with her studies.

Yours faithfully

Dr Paul Temple

Senior lecturer in higher education management



Appendix 6 Research Timeline

'Resistance to change in Greek Higher Education'

Major Research Activities

2007 -----

	June July August Sept Oct Nov Dec Jan Feb March April
Approval by University	
Recruitment of Subjects	
Interviews	
Data Analysis	
Report Preparation	
Dissemination and conclusion	