

The ecological movement in Greece: organizational and electoral expression in Greece 1974-2009

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Abstract

In the European elections of June 2009 and for the first time in the electoral history of Greece the Ecologist Greens managed to elect one of their candidates as a representative in the European Parliament. In the early national elections of October that followed, the party gathered 2,53% of the votes cast in the territory, their largest share in their short history. The Party failed naturally to participate in the distribution of seats of the Greek Parliament; however this percentage of valid votes is for many an indication of the rise of a new eco-movement to the Greek political space. In Western Europe, and especially in developed industrialised countries such as Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain etc., 'green' parties acquired stable electoral stream and managed in several cases to gain “access to power” and be able to shape policies regarding the environment and other wider social and economic problems of their country. However, this was not the case of Greece where the ecological movement did not manage to develop to the point to become an equal “player” to the political deliberation but was always present in the background. More specific, my research question is why was not the greek ecological movement able to establish a mass party like the Socialists and therefore “build” a steady electoral power and influence in the political life of Greece. I aspire to answer to that question based on theories of voting behaviour of the electorate, focusing on “issue voting” theory. In this announcement I will present you some of the historical information regarding the ecological movement in Greece that I have gathered in my first year of research, and how I am planning to continue.

Keywords: political ecology, green party, voting behaviour, ecological movement

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Introduction

First of all I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to present part of the work I have done so far with my doctoral research and also my thoughts on how I am planning to continue with it since I am only in the first year of my research. The subject of my doctoral thesis is the ecological movement in Greece, how it started and developed from 1974 to the establishment of the party of the Greek Greens. The title, specifically, is “The forces of ecology: organizational and electoral expression in Greece 1974-2009”. The results of the European Elections in 2009 was my motive to work on this subject, where the Greek Green Party elected for the first time in its short history a representative in the European Parliament gathering a percentage of 3.49% of the valid votes in the whole country. Later, in the early national elections in October 2009 it received 2.53% of the valid votes, a percentage not enough to overcome the threshold of 3% of the valid votes that the greek electoral law sets and, therefore, take part in the procedure of the allocation of the parliamentary seats, but the highest so far. This percentage was for many a sign that the ecological movement was, finally, rising as an important player in the greek political scene. In countries of Western Europe like Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain etc., many “green” parties have managed to attract a solid electorate and in many cases gain access to power by winning seats in the national parliaments and being able to form policies regarding the environment and other social and economical issues. A recent example is the last elections in the land of Baden Wuerttemberg in Germany where the green party has gathered 24.2% of the valid votes and won 36 out of the 138 parliamentary seats, being at this point the main opposition to the government. However, the greek ecological movement did not follow the same route. So, my original thought was to answer to that question: why was not the greek ecological movement able to establish a mass party like the Socialists and therefore “build” a steady electoral power and influence in the political life of Greece?

Theoretical background

Someone could study a variety of factors in order to find an answer to this question like the greek political culture which is formed by complex processes or the historical circumstances, both in the country and in the wider European area, that affected the form of the political agenda of the last thirty years in which environmental issues were always left last to deal with, are a few of them. I chose to examine the factor “voter” meaning I am planning to form an answer to my research question based on the models of interpretation of the voting behavior of the electorate and more specifically in models that focus to the “issue voting”. The voting behavior of the electorate is studied scientifically by many research schools such as the Columbia which formed the sociological model of voting behavior which suggests that social factors influence the vote and the school of Michigan which assumes that party identification is the main factor behind the behaviour of the voters (this is the psychosocial model). Another model of voting behaviour is the one that the rational choice theory suggests which assumes that voters shape their opinion and choice by

objective criteria such as information. There are also ecological models of voting behaviour that are based on the study of the space in which the voters live and act and the relation they build with it like the theory of electoral geography, quantitative ecology and condition analysis. Further more, there are models that are based on the divisions in the society such as caste or religion. However, many researchers assume that the traditional criteria are no longer so important in the formation of their preference, so the voters choose parties and candidates according to their aspects in several issues and how much they (the voters) agree with them. It seems that the vote of the electorate has disengaged from party identification and people are voting in accordance to the challenges of each election. So, my assumption is that, since in Greece the ecological movement was unable to build a clear identity and its political agenda was restricted, it was not able to attract an important part of the electorate and, therefore play an important role in the political life of the country. The rise of its percentages of valid votes in the last elections shows that the movement has found its legitimate representative in the Green party and that there is a part of the greek electorate which has changed its voting behaviour and is attracted and convinced by the words and actions of the party members.

Historical background

The first step to my research was to gather the bibliography on the greek ecological groups, non-governmental organizations, volunteer groups with environmental concerns, citizen initiatives, any information about groups official or non-official that were dealing with the environmental issues, whether these were local, regional or regarding the urban centers. The sources of information were references from books and theses, mostly regarding environmental studies, but also interviews, opinions, articles or essays that the leading characters of the ecological movement have given or written. I would like to present you here the first results of my research.

Ecological groups made their appearance in the political life of Greece long before 1974, the year that democracy was reestablished in the country after 7 years of dictatorship of Ioannis Metaksas. However, the historical circumstances and the political and social conditions that existed after the Second World War and the Civil War of 1946-1949, there was no space left for the ecological movement to manifest and develop. That is why I decided to set as starting point for my research the decade of 1970. I concluded to the following indicative period division:

- from 1974 to the early '80s,
- from 1982 to 2002 and
- from 2002 to 2009.

In the first few years after 1974 many small and local groupings of activists or individuals who have fought for the liberation of the country from the dictatorship, continued their action informally and disorganized. However, the appearance of the Socialists Party (Pasok) and its rapid rise to power, cases it has prevented the further organization of the ecological movement and its activation in the politics of Greece. The Socialists have absorbed a great number of the activists and this way clarified the difference that existed inside the groups of activists between the, so called, "professionals" of ecology and the "true" ecologists. The first were fighting for a democratic governance of the country by the Rights and believing in the protection of the environment by the government's policies. Ecology is not an ideology for them, but part of their total conception of how the world should work. Therefore, these people were attracted by the Socialists (Pasok) and became part of the state machinery

for the years that the Socialists were in power. They were the main shaper of the policies of the government regarding the environment and the reason why “environmentalism”, instead of ecology, prevailed in the political field. After 1982, when the Socialists (Pasok) became government and even the few hopes of change became ashes, many groups of activists started meeting and trying to collaborate on basic issues that concerned them. There were four main groups of activists. The people that formed these groups had influenced significantly the course of the movement until the establishment of the Green Party in 2002. These four groups were the following:

- a) Ecological Initiative (Oikologiki Protovoulia), a number of leftists which participated in the student protests of 1979 and created this group that lasted 4 years. This group published the Ecological Newspaper and evolved into the Alternative Action of Ecologists (Enallaktiki Kinisi Oikologon) which lasted until 1993.
- b) This group originates from Ananeotiki Aristera- KKE esoterikou and published the magazine Ecology and Environment and later the magazine New Ecology.
- c) The third group of activists created the Consumers' Association-Quality of Life (E.K.POI.ZO) and transformed into the Ecological Movement of Thessaloniki (Oikologiki Kinisi Thessalonikis) and the Greek Naturalistic against Hunting Initiative.
- d) Last is the group RIXIS which was formed by leftists and at some point had relations, also, with the anarchists. This group later on approached the alternative ecologists.

All of these groups were more or less gatherings of people with similar way of thinking regarding the social, political and economical situation of the country and major concerns about the environmental problems. They had very pure structure and organization. Only RIXIS and the Consumers' Association had strict hierarchy and clear identity. Furthermore, these groups had an unclear relation with the left parties and ideology. Although they originated from the progressive left, they did not adopt the same political agenda nor shared the same conception of the world. They, also, separated themselves from the traditional left. Ecology was for them a whole different ideology than the socialistic. Their radical conception of politics was based on a new form of relation between people and environment. They were, also, considered alternative as they suggested an immediate change which would occur through the gradual change of the personal habits and actions of the people and not through a revolution or a rearrangement in the political arena. Not all of them can be characterized as alternative or radical though, since for some of them the ecological issues were not their only concern but part of a wider range of interests and concerns. Another characteristic of these groups is that they were formed and developed in the urban centers. Smaller groups existed in the periphery and were working in the basis of consensus decisions without any clear and specific program or identity. These informal groups of activists were focusing mostly on matters of local interest. A few of them

However, as said before, despite their differences there were thoughts to establish some kind of official collaboration. Some of the activists wanted to create a loose network of exchanging information without a central body of representation. There were, also, few who wanted the establishment of a minor party that would participate in the forthcoming European Elections. Until the late 1980s when the ecologists

participated for the first time in elections with the Federation of Ecologists Alternatives (FEA), there were meetings, debates and efforts made to that direction. Fair enough, they managed to elect a single MP gathering a percentage of 0.8 of the valid votes. This success did not last for long, although for many might have been the beginning of a new era for political ecology. In 1992 the FEA collapsed and it was “replaced”, first, by the “New Ecological Initiative” and, later, by “Political Ecology”. The first one supported SYN (an alliance of minor progressive left parties) on the national elections of 1993 and the other participated in the European Elections of 1994. The next effort to establish some form of representation of the ecologists was Prassini Politiki (Green Politics) in 1999 but did not have a better luck. Although it managed to become a member of the European Greens, its strategy to keep a low profile by abstaining from the elections of the next year and competing in the political arena as a social movement and not a minor party, downgrade any accomplishment in the “eyes” of the media and the public and pointed out the need for something different. So in 2002 the Ecological Forum for debating over political issues was formed and, later on, a meeting was held in order to create a new party. This party was Oikologi Prasini (Ecologists Greens).

This was a very short history of the greek ecological movement until the establishment of the Ecologists Greens. In the next stages of my research I am proceeding to a content analysis of the manifests, declarations, speeches and interviews of the leading cadres of the green movement in order to define the issues that concerned them and how these were communicated to the electorate. The same procedure will be followed for the statute, the declarations of intent and the beliefs of the party members of the Ecologists Greens. My ambition is to compare and define the differences of the pre-election periods and the electoral attempts and create an interpretation of why the movement did not “gain access” to the electoral body. For that reason I will also study the profile of the ecologist candidate and voter based on the exit polls of the national elections of 2007 and 2009, and of the European Elections of 2009.

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Investigating the Progress of Environmental Reporting in Cyprus

“Looking at the future, no country as much rich and powerful it is will stay unaffected from the consequences of planet overheat” (United Nations 2008).

In the period of late 1970's, environmental concern was an issue mainly gathering attention from a narrow group of environmental and political extremists (Ulhoi, Madsen & Hildebrandt 1996). Environment and environmental responsibility were irrelevant elements of organisations' performance. Their main purpose was profit maximisation. However, environmental destruction along with tragic events such as Union Carbide gas leak in 1984 and Exxon Valdez shipwreck in 1989 stressed and precipitated the need to accept the destructive impact of profitability strategies on the environment, and the necessity for changes in traditional perceptions for organisational performance. This begun a new era where business purpose moves beyond just profit maximisation and accounts for environment at the same time. A new accounting concept emerged “going beyond the bottom line of black or red-it includes “green” too” (Johnson 2009). The purpose of environmental accounting is to ameliorate the way organisations deal with environmental costs and get a more direct contact instead of burying them in general overhead costs.

Over the years, environmental issues gained equal importance as other social issues. Societies realised the significance of concerning with environment as other traditional issues like peace and security (United Nations 2008). Although environmental reporting was on a voluntary basis, we witnessed a remarkable growth in the number of organisations becoming environmental responsible. However this is not the case with Cyprus.

Cyprus is the third largest island in Mediterranean Sea with a population of 803,147 citizens (excluding the northern part of Cyprus). Since 2004, it is a member of European Union. The economy is mainly based on services with a small amount of manufacturing and their main sectors include tourism, agriculture, real estate and trade and transportation.

From a first pilot study I have carried out on Cyprus-based organisations listed on Cyprus Stock Exchange, the amount of environmental reporting found in annual reports and websites is pretty constrained. Apart from this, I had email communication with representatives of these organisations. What I have detected is the apathy on the majority of them in taking measures and becoming environmentally concerned. With my research I am aiming to investigate the current situation of environmental reporting in Cyprus, and identify and analyse the reasons behind this.

From the literature review I have carried through on corporate social and environmental reporting papers, the possible reasons behind the indifference of Cypriot organisations are the ownership structure, the culture, the type of industry, the type of users, the ethical relativism issue and the environmental knowledge of organisations.

Ownership is a substantial element of an organisation. As agency cost theory suggests, when ownership and management are separate, potential agency costs may arise because of conflicts of interest (Chau & Gray 2002). In organisations with this feature, we can expect greater amount of information being reported in order owners to control managers' performance. Also in family-controlled firms where the control is in the hands of the family instead of stakeholders, we can not expect disclosure on a voluntary base. For my research since I am focusing on Cyprus-based organisations I have to deal with a number of family businesses or firms with less widely spread ownerships.

The second reason, as mentioned, is culture. Culture is "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (Mitchell 1999; Gray n/a adopted from Hofstede, 1980, p.26). As Gray explains, we can identify different patterns in different parts of the world. In our case, the environmental responsibility attitude held by Cypriot organisations contrasts with other countries' organisations. There are five culture dimensions defined by Hofstede. The first is uncertainty avoidance. Uncertainty avoidance has to do with the degree of threat an organisation feels when it has to deal with uncertain situations. The level of uncertainty avoidance found in an organisation affects the amount of information disclosed. The next dimension is femininity versus masculinity. Women by nature are more sensitive and caring than men and therefore we expect a feminist society to be more responsible and concerned for social issues. The third dimension is collectivism versus individualism. Societies grounded on general good instead of individual interest will appear to be more concerned with issues like peace, poverty and environment. Following these, power distance which has to do with the constitution of a society affects significantly the attitude of society and consequently organisations. Democratic societies are more caring for general good than other constitutions. Lastly political and civil system is a vital dimension since under political and civil violation situations, we can not expect people to be concerned about social and environmental issues.

Another possible cause of limited environmental reporting is the type of economy. As it has been referred, Cyprus is mainly a service economy. Organisations providing services are often regarded as less responsible for the environmental destruction. However this is not always the case. Especially in Cyprus where one of the main sectors of economy is tourism and the amount of hotels is growing significantly the impact on the environment is significant. In general society and public by not realising the impact of service organisations on the environment they are not stressing the need for environmental concern. The same is detected in these organisations. From email communication I had with investing companies, they accent their unwillingness to do anything because based on their understanding they are not affecting the environment. Their reply is also related to a later point on environmental knowledge of organisations. Therefore we understand that the type of economy affects significantly the attitude of organisations towards environmental reporting.

Relativism is an issue of significant contradiction in literature. One of the main arguments of moral philosophy is “whether ethical rules which determine what is good and bad are absolute, or vary to cultural differences or individual beliefs” (Lewis & Unerman 1999).

For example polygamy may be acceptable in some regions and regarded as wrong in others based on the experiences and the situation in their society (Lewis & Unerman 1999). In the same concept is environmental concern. A society which is developing significantly is more reasonable to concern about the environment and take measures. However regions where they have to fight for their survival environmental destroy will not be an important issue. Corporate social and environmental reporting is on a non-mandatory basis; therefore organisations do not have to comply with any stated norms or ethical values (Lewis & Unerman 1999). Thus discretion is found on the decisions of organisations on how to deal with environmental reporting.

In addition to the above points we can use one of the most widely adopted theories in literature, stakeholder theory. Stakeholder theory has been adopted by an increasing number of academics for their research and analysis of voluntary social reporting. It is considered one of the most important conceptual pillars since explaining the organizational behaviour through a stakeholder-organization relationship has been proven to be vital. Research undertaken by Ernst and Young and KPMG identify that the key drivers for companies’ corporate social reporting awareness are stakeholder related. This theory is based on three dimensions: (a) Stakeholder power, (b) Strategic posture of managers (the attitude of decision makers towards dealing with stakeholders needs), and (c) Economic performance of firm. By taking into consideration these three points, we can understand the behaviour of Cypriot organisations.

The last probable cause is environmental knowledge. One important factor for organisations to be able and make the necessary decisions for becoming environmentally responsible is knowledge. Without being able to identify the impact operations have to the environment, any possible changes that can be undertaken or to be in a position and identify what needs to be included in annual reports, organisations will not be able to become environmentally responsible. Especially in Cyprus where environmental reporting is limited organisations can not be learning by other firms.

Therefore by analysing the reasons mentioned above I am going to be able to explain the possible cause of constrained environmental reporting in Cyprus.

The main reason and incentive which showed me the attention environmental reporting in Cyprus deserves, is Diamond’s book “Collapse”. Diamond in his book describes how different civilisations like Maya, wasted natural resources in such a way that resulted in the population collapse and civil strife (United Nations 2008). The phenomenon of society collapse due to environmental reasons is more intense at island communities, since they have less natural resources and more fragile ecosystems. The common factor among those societies was the fact that their collapse happened at a short period after they reached their peak and often these societies did not concern about the environment. This illustration by Diamond reflects somehow the situation in Cyprus. Cyprus is an island society which is increasingly developed. The Cypriots are among the most prosperous people in the Mediterranean region. Environmental concern is a marginalised issue with a significant amount of

businesses being disinterested to act environmentally responsible. In addition, one of the main sectors of economy is tourism which according to existing literature is regarded as a key cause of environmental destruction. From all these we infer that environmental concern is a critical issue for Cyprus.

In addition Lewis and Unerman in their paper on Ethical Relativism are referring to Gray's statement on the lack of theoretical explanations in the literature for variations on corporate social reporting nature and volume. This research study with the use of ethical relativism theory contributes to this gap in existing literature. Also there is little literature on environmental reporting in island societies and especially studies which adopt grounded theory. Apart from these society is increasingly demanding for corporate social environmental responsibility and since the amount of existing environmental reporting and responsibility is limited the research can be used as a guide for practitioners.

In this research, as mentioned, I shall attempt to examine the environmental reporting in Cyprus. Hence, there is a need to implement a methodology in order to derive a theory on how environmental reporting in island societies is regarded by organisations and identify the factors that affect local companies' perceptions. The most appropriate methodology for this case is Grounded Theory. Grounded theory "...approach to qualitative data is toward the development of theory, without any particular commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of research, or theoretical interests" (Strauss 1987). The reason for choosing grounded theory is the limited literature on environmental reporting in island societies with the use of grounded theory. The methods which are going to be used consist of looking at the annual reports and websites, interview organisations' representatives and Imh firm which provides consulting on environmental responsibility to Cypriot organisations and attend Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility of Cypriot Organisations Conference in Cyprus.

In conclusion, with this research I will attempt to investigate the progress of environmental reporting in Cyprus. We understand that there are some important limitations of the research and mainly the fact that we are focusing only on the Greek-Cypriot part. When we are dealing with environment and environmental destruction we can not be dividing the island into areas. However the current situation in Cyprus prevents from easy access into the information required and from having interviews with different organisations. My expectation through the three year research is to refute the current impression of environmental apathy by Cypriot organisations and observe at least a small amount of increase in the number of organisations being environmentally responsible. After all, even if this research manages to influence only a small number of companies, this can be the starting point of a broader trend of more environmental responsibility.

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Is CSR a policy tool for Sustainable development in South Europe? Case study in Greece.

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Abstract

The current financial crisis shows us that sustainable development and the business contribution to it is significant. Under this institutional, financial and policy crisis sustainable development and the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) dimension especially on tourism sector seems to be a viable exit path for many countries such as Greece. The Greek crisis is not only financial; it is also institutional and political, thus a new direction in our thinking about social welfare and development is necessary as well as taking a stance in the debate with stakeholders.

I. Introduction

The conventional approach to development the last 60 years (called orthodox) have brought significant global change in the financial sector, trade, services, science, technology and international relations; however, also many asymmetries have come to light. The conventional view about development is mainly based on the free market economy, its institutional framework (WTO, IMF, WB, etc) and free trade. Despite the significant outcomes from the rate of development at an international scale, contemporary societies face numerous development asymmetries in economic growth, environmental degradation and human development. These developing issues have become an important priority on our international policy agenda in the last 25 years under the concept of sustainable development (Brundtland report) (UNEP.2002; Thomas.2004; Council of The European Union.2006, E.E.A. 2001; OECD. 2005; Castro.2004). Sustainable development as conceptualized by the Brundtland report, has initiated an alternative approach to development by incorporating the discussion on economic welfare, human development and environment's sustainability. The existing approach to development has been largely market oriented and has therefore focused on the economic dimension of development, which is based on quantitative criteria and tangible results. Although this is true the recent economic crisis underline that in order to examine development thoroughly it is necessary to take into consideration the current institutional framework of development but also the dimensions that sustainable development interrelates with economy: the environment and the society (UNEP.2002; Thomas.2004; Council of The European Union.2006, E.E.A. 2001; OECD. 2005; Castro.2004).

Sustainable development is “development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland report). This concept although somewhat is vague serves as the common ground for understanding this concept from different perspectives. Due to this contested nature, in order for the definition to be more concrete, it can be framed as a three pillar model encompassing an economic, social and environmental dimension. Sustainable development is not a self enforced process, has no a “blue print” approach and differs between temporal, geographical and generational scales. Thus the implementation of is challenging and it requires an horizontal governance context in order to facilitate co-management approach by involving stakeholders (UNEP.2002; Van Zeijl-Rozema, Corvers, Kemp & Martens n.d; Hodgett.2008; Promoting pro environmental behavior. n.d; UNDESA.2002; Castro.2004; Baker.Kousis, Richardson, Young.2005).

Governance for sustainable development should be reflexive and multilevel; a fact which illustrates the complexity of this challenge. Thus, for good governance for sustainable development it is necessary to investigate further the contemporary role of the state, the responsibilities of corporations and the environmental dimension. The policy formulation of sustainable development in state levels is a complicated and time consuming task in order to address development, social equity, economic and environmental sustainability. This happens because the changes required are not always incremental linear transitions but rather fundamental changes in our lifestyle, production line and consuming behavior. The Einstein claimed that “we can't solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them”. This statement illustrated the importance of sustainable development in addressing for instance Hardin's “Tragedy of the commons” and the finite limitedness of this world (Laszlo. 2006; Hardin. 1968, Meadows, D. 1998; Kemp, Loorbach & Rotmans. 2007). The state, the businesses and the environment are open, interdependent systems according to the systems theory. The current globalization process has highlighted our common problems and the need for a general shift from growth to development, from “optimal policy outcomes” to “sustainable policy outcomes and from a “liberal democracy” to a “democratic participation” (Byrne & Glover.2002; Thomas.2004; Rennan & Martens.2002). Thus we need to rethink the current globalization process, with particular focus on the resulting development asymmetries and risks such as the current institutional and financial crisis on the global but also local level e.g. Greece, Portugal, Ireland and their regions.

The potential synergies from sustainable development are significant and only through an horizontal governance approach linking the state with society and business community will tackle effectively the institutional weaknesses of development in the policy framework. Sustainable development is a state case but a business issue too. Corporations' performance in terms of

sustainable development on a global (multinationals) and local level (small-middle enterprises) takes shape under the concept of corporate social responsibility and social responsible investing. The contemporary production line such as on tourism sector generates significant risks related to environmental degradation and societies sustainability (Castro.2004; Baker.Kousis, Richardson, Young.2005; Laszlo. 2006; Johansson & Magnusson.1998). Current modes of production generate environmental and social risks. The government needs to implement a co-management approach to address the private sector. This has special significance for sectors such as tourism, which has a significant impact in development for many developing countries but also in EU countries such as Greece.

II. The Corporate Social Responsibility

Nowadays, the concept of sustainable development is not only becoming popular at the national governmental level and international organizations but also in the business sector. The sustainable development approach integrates the businesses' financial performance and their externalities on human development and environmental issues. This is because sustainable development has been translated into a managerial approach called 'Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)', which integrates the businesses' financial performance with their externalities for human development and the environment (Charter. 1998; Charter, Peattie, Ottman & Polonsky.2002; Levy. 1994; Nilsson, Gunningham & Hassel. 2008; Scholtens, Cerin & Hassel. 2008; Carrol & Bucholtz.1999, EU Commission.2001; 2002; 2003; 2006a; 2006b; 2008; Henningsson. 2008). Thus some businesses (multinationals and SME) realize that their financial and development activities are not an isolated economic function but a complex integrated assessment, which should be adhere to local societies' norms and natural environment's limits. The CSR approach is not a linear process but a dynamic one, which is difficult to be achieved without the creation of advanced synergies between businesses and local societies. This fact indicates further that CSR is not only a business aim but a state too; an adjustment which highlights the significant role of the post-modern state based on horizontal modes of governance as we will examine through the evolution of the definition of CSR (Charter. 1998; Charter et all .2002; Levy. 1994; Nilsson, Gunningham & Hassel. 2008; Scholtens, Cerin & Hassel. 2008; Carrol & Bucholtz.1999; EU Commission.2001; 2002; 2003; 2006a; 2006b; 2008 ; Henningsson. 2008).

In practice CSR is a managerial concept which mainly focuses on a businesses' financial and social performance but also includes the state's role in CSR policy formulation. Welfare economics, institutionalism, pluralism, corporatism and public choice theory are some academic fields that have examined the business and state role in modern society from different perspectives. Many academics and scholars have focus on the CSR issue via these perspectives in order to examine the con-

cept's strengths, operational weaknesses and necessity. During the industrial revolution the notion of businesses' social responsibility developed in parallel with the capitalist economy, as some corporations started paying attention to their employees' well-being as a way to improve their productivity. Furthermore, events such as the economic crisis in 1929, the "new deal" and the evolution of welfare state underline the integral relation between business development and social responsibility. After the Second World War, in 1953, the concept of CSR was first introduced by the American economist Howard Bowen's who examined this concept in his book the Social Responsibilities of the Businessman (Carroll & Buchholtz.1999). After this significant contribution to CSR conceptualization by Bowen, in the 1960's other scientists such as William C. Frederick (1960) and Joseph W. McGuire (1963), Keith Davis (1960, 1967) ("Iron Law of Responsibility") stress the political role of the business sector as an open subsystem of society (Hopkins.2003; 2004; Morimoto, Ash & Hope 2004; Carroll. 1991; 1979; Carroll & Buchholtz.1999; Garriga & Mele.2004, European Commission.2008; Carroll & Buchholtz.1999; McWilliams & Siegel.2000; Wood.1991; 2010).

The '70s and '80s marked significant cornerstones in the conceptual timeline of CSR, despite the fact that the welfare state declined and neo-conservative ideas started to get more dominant in the political agendas of USA, Great Britain and Europe. It is in this period that sustainable development as a concept appeared and its connection with the notion of CSR was significant for progress in global policy and the business agenda. During this time debates were very heated and although Friedman (1970) argued that "there is one and only one social responsibility of business—to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits...", other academics like Morrell Heald (1970), Harold Johnson (1971), Preston & Post (1975), S. Prakash Sethi, the Peter Drucker (1984) Donna Wood, Archie B. Carroll contributed significantly to the development of the concept of CSR by mapping its strengths and weaknesses in terms of its financial implications, managerial requirements, investment framework, and social outcomes (Carroll & Buchholtz.1999). One of the most important offshoots of these debates has been Carroll's "pyramid of CSR", including the received criticism and the feedback. Although many scholars or scientists might disagree on some points, it can be generally acknowledged that Carroll's approach is the most holistic approach because it sets four interconnected dimensions for the CSR. These are the economic, the legal, the ethical and the philanthropic (or discretionary) (Friedman.1970; Heal.2004; Carroll.1979; 1991; Garriga&Mele.2004; Mc Williams& Siegel.2000, Wood. 1991; 2010;; Hopkins.2003;2004; Carroll & Buchholtz.1999; Parra.2008).

During the following decades a vast body of research has been dedicated not only to the dimensional body of CSR but mainly on the institutional frameworks of CSR, which were expressed in the appearing possibilities for related policy in international organizations, countries and multinational businesses. The United Nations Rio Summit, the transition from GATT to WTO, the World

Business Council for Sustainable Development, the UNEP's Corporate Environmental Reporting report, the NGO's increased involvement, the Kyoto protocol, EU declarations (Green papers, CAP) all represents significant cornerstones of this time. Many of the scholars of the decades above continue to examine the business viability of CSR through extensive research on the Corporate Social Performance (CSP) (Carroll & Buchholtz.1999; Mc Williams& Siegel.2001; Heal.2004; Morimoto, Ash & Hope 2004; Wood. 1991; 2010).

The CSR is a business case but many other actors involved on that such as the state (national, local) and the international organizations. The research on that point has indicated numerous of weaknesses and asymmetries within international institutions (WTO, World Bank, UN, ILO, WBCSD) and the European Union. Even though, sustainable development holds a position on the international policy agenda and institutional weaknesses become apparent on the operational stage in both developing and developed countries. This happens not only because of the soft law characteristics of CSR public policies but also because of the resulting weak synergies among state and businesses towards it (WBCSD. 2002; 2006a; 2006b, 2008; UNEP.2002; EU Commission. 2001; 2003; 2006; 2008; Hopkins.2003; 2004; Matten.2009; Wood.2010).

The CSR is not an isolated business function but part of the sustainable development's puzzle game or strategy of global and local societies (Laszlo. 2006). Thus it is necessary integrated the CSR in a sustainable vision in the Greece development sectors such as tourism. This goal is not a linear political process for Greece because it requires advanced synergies and co-management approach in this tourism transition from mass tourism to sustainable and social responsible one. The development of sustainable tourism development is a significant entrepreneurial activity gaining more popularity in North European and Mediterranean countries, due to the increased awareness of the value of environment's conservation, culture differentiation and rural sustainability. Sustainable tourism entrepreneurship is directly linked with the managerial context of CSR because as investment focus on "management of all resources in a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural heritage, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems". Hence, sustainable tourism does not only focus on alternative form of tourisms (ecological, religious, cultural, academic, agrotourism) but also on minimizing the negative externalities of mass tourism to environment and society. The sustainable tourism in Greece show significant potentials in employment generation, businesses profits and environmental sustainability (Fadeeva.2004; Holloway et all.2006; Budeanu. 2005; Lordkipanidze, Brezet, Backman. 2005; Hallenga-Brink & Brezet. 2005; Lee. 2001, T.O.I.S.T.D.2003, UNEP. 2005A; 2005b; OECD.2005)

Sustainable tourism in Greece through the case study of Crete could be a CSR approach in the tourism sector, but it is not a process that takes shape by itself. An horizontal governance setting

where policy measures such as market creation, raising public awareness, labeling and transition management towards the promotion of CSR should be central in order to foster interaction between stakeholders and the local government and to ultimately lead to a sustainable pathway. Greece and the region of Crete have a significant development potential for sustainable forms of tourism. Nowadays the knowledge management for such responsible investing is available in Greece, additionally permanent networks connecting the local knowledge sector and the business community need to be set up after the The Kallikratis State Reformation in Greece (January 2011). The role of the local government as a mediator and institutional supporter for EU funded projects and for deals with the tour operators (Tour Operators Initiative) in this emerging tourism industry is essential. Hence, the analysis of Italian, Spanish, French and Portuguese case studies on CSR and sustainable tourism can contribute to significant knowledge transfer (T.O.I.S.T.D.2003; UNEP. 2005A; 2005b; OECD.2005; RITTS.1999; FORTH.2006; Official Government Gazette.2010; Andriotis. 2003).

III. “Think Global act Local”. The case of Crete.

The Crete region is one of the 13 peripheries of Greece, which mainly consists of Crete, the Gavdos and some other uninhabited islands. The basic geographical characteristics of Crete are the opens seas and the mountain areas which cover 3/5 of territory. The governmental structure of Crete after “Kallikratis” state's reformation (January 2011) consists of the periphery’s Council and the Municipalities. The region’s development sectors are mainly identified in tourism, primary and knowledge sector (Universities, Research Foundations etc). The region’s development rate is considered dynamic over the last thirty years and despite this fact the development asymmetries exist in combination with the weak adaptation to international market demands, environmental risks and the high impact of the national crisis especially in unemployment level. Due to these development weaknesses the Greece enforced the “Kalikratis” state transformation on January 2011 in order to improve the policy capability of local societies to deal with their problems and sustainable development more efficiently (OECD.2005; RITTS.1999; FORTH.2006; Cabinet.2010; Official Government Gazette.2010).

The peripheral council of Crete in order to deal with development crisis is setting up through Kallikratis new policy instruments such as the “Regional Innovation Council”; a forum for the knowledge sector, the local businesses and other sectors to cooperate towards business innovation and entrepreneurship. This council acts as a policy advisory body focusing on the contribution of innovation and entrepreneurship to Crete’s sustainable development. This council is quite promising and the region of Crete could be a significant example for other Greek regions. The involvement of the tourism sector in the council presents an opportunity for the development towards more

sustainable tourism and CSR policies. Overall, the region's initiatives for Cretan diet labeling policies in cooperation with the primary sector, food and tourism industries are a significant tool for CSR in tourism and sustainable development. Seeing as these policies have come into place only 5 months ago, and taking into account the weak adaptive capacity Greece historically has, the impact of these policies have consequently been low until now. The fact is that such policy initiatives are quite promising and quite difficult for the Greek experience considering the need for continued coordination and acquisition activities towards the rational use of the 4th EU Structural funds program 2007-2013 and the funds for green and alternative tourism transitions. Despite the weaknesses many people believe that Greece has not exploit its development potential especially in tourism, the most important "industry" which offers a fruitful context for sustainable development. (Andriotis. 2003; Wicksteed. 2000; OECD.2005; RITTS.1999; FORTH.2006; Cabinet.2010; Official Government Gazette.2010; www.pkr.gov.gr; Kathimerini.2011; www.aftodioikisi.gr; www.cretan-nutrition.gr; www.ecofinder.gr; www.agrotypos.gr).

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