

GPSG Newsletter #24

February 2012

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- 1 **Review: GPSG International Conference**
"The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece beyond the crisis"
8-9 December 2011, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow
 - 2 **Review: GPSG Panel at the 2011 ECPR General Conference**
"Post-Crisis Public Policy Reform in Southern Europe"
25-27 August 2011, University of Iceland, Reykjavik
 - 3 **GPSG Panels at the 62nd Political Studies Association**
Annual Conference
3-5 April 2012, University of Ulster, Belfast
 - 4 **GPSG Experts comment on the crisis in Greece**
 - 5 **New Working Papers**
 - 6 **Featured Publications and Web Bookmarks**
 - 7 **Members activities and other news**
 - 8 **Conferences, Events & Opportunities**
-

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

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

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Review: GPSG International Conference

“The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece beyond the crisis”

During 2010, Greece suddenly was at the centre of European and world attention as the country was rocked by the worst economic crisis of its modern history. In response, the Greek government was forced to make substantial cuts in its budget and introduce unprecedented austerity measures in order to meet the demands of its EU counterparts that had reluctantly agreed to a rescue package. With many challenges still lying ahead and the debt crisis still unfolding, uncertainties persist and key questions remain unanswered.

Can Greece manage the crisis and succeed in rebuilding growth, jobs and living standards?

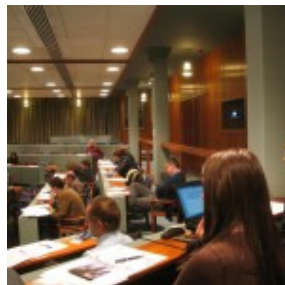
To what extent are the austerity measures politically, economically and socially viable?

What will the political and public response be?

What led to the crisis and what lessons and recommendations can be drawn from it?

What has been the impact of the Greek crisis on the EU itself?

The GPSG successfully organized an international conference in collaboration with the School of Government and Public Policy at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow on 8-9 December 2011 to address these and other related questions, bringing together international and Greek experts, academics and practitioners, under a highly stimulating forum of discussion and exchange of ideas. The panels included papers ranging from the political economy of the crisis to party politics, civic culture, citizenship and identity, and public policy reforms.



For full pictures, programme and other information please visit www.austeritypolitics.com and <http://www.gpsg.org.uk/activities/glasgow-conference-11/>

Panel 1: The Political Economy of the Crisis (1)

Chair: Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent)

Discussant: Tony McGrew (Strathclyde)

“Informal social protection and family indebtedness: some hidden economic crisis dynamics”

Antigone Lyberaki (Panteion) and Platon Tinios (Piraeus)

“Poverty and inequality during the Great Recession: the case of Greece”

Manos Matsaganis (AUEB) and Chrysa Leventi (AUEB)

“The Greek tragedy: the abject failure of national austerity in the context of an unfinished monetary union”

Sotiria Theodoropoulou and Andrew Watt (European Trade Union Institute)

“Repeating the Mistakes of Austerity? Lessons for Greece from the Irish Economic Experience of the 1920s and 1930s”

Eoin Drea (Cork)

Panel 2: The System under Pressure: Party Politics and Populism

Chair: Christopher Carman (Strathclyde)

Discussant: Myrto Tsakatika (Glasgow)

“The electoral politics of extreme austerity”

Georgios Karyotis and Wolfgang Rudig (Strathclyde)

“The cartel party thesis revisited: Greek party politics in the austerity era”

Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent)

“Populism, victimhood and ethical austerity: addressing the root cause of the problem”

Roman Gerodimos (Bournemouth)

“Greece in crisis: the politics of populism in the age of austerity”

Sofia Vasilopoulou (York), Theofanis Exadaktylos (Surrey), Daphne Halikiopoulou (LSE)

“The Greek Right towards austerity politics: aspects of euroscepticism”

Yannis Balampanidis (Panteion) and Katerina Labrinou (Panteion)

Panel 3: Protest and Civic Culture

Chair: Ioannis Tsalavoutas (Stirling)

Discussant: Catherine Eschle (Strathclyde)

“Social protest in Greece during the Memorandum period: the case of political disobedience against cuts and taxes”

Athanasios Tsakiris (Athens) and Valia Aranitou (Crete)

“Who protests? An analysis of the profile of veteran and new protesters in Greece”

Georgios Karyotis and Wolfgang Rudig (Strathclyde)

“Reactions to the crisis: appropriation movements in Greece and Germany”

Hartwig Pautz (Independent Researcher) and Margarita Komninou (Edinburgh)

“Alienated Politics: Understanding the Street Protests in Greece at Times of Crisis”

Saliha Metinsoy (LSE)

Panel 4: Constitution, Legitimacy and Citizenship

Chair: Nondas Pitticas (University of West of Scotland)

Discussant: Roman Gerodimos (Bournemouth)

“Constitutional amendments and legislative politics in Greece”

Christos Papastilianos (The Greek Ombudsman)

“Recovery through leadership: citizenship, Europeanization, legitimacy”

Manos Papazoglou (Peloponnese)

“Greek politics and passion(s): reconstituting national identity in the midst of financial crisis”

Eleni Christodoulou (Birmingham)

Panel 5: Public Policy and Public Administration Reforms

Chair: Laura Cram (Strathclyde)

Discussant: Bice Maiguashca

“The Politics of the Economic Crisis and Governance in Greece and Cyprus: Opportunities and Constraints”

Stella Ladi (Panteion)

“Policy Implementation and Political Trust: Greece in the Age of Austerity”

Theofanis Exadaktylos (Surrey) and Nikolaos Zahariadis (Alabama)

“The 2010 municipality mergers in Greece: A lesson regarding the limits of reforms in periods of fiscal crisis”

Vasilis Leontitsis (LSE)

“First Tier Local Government in Greece within the Administrative Reform and the Economic Crisis: Some Aspects of the Problem”

Georgios Chryssafis (Ministry of the Interior)

Panel 6: The Political Economy of the Crisis (2)

Chair: Roman Gerodimos (Bournemouth)

Discussant: Dimitris Papadimitriou (Manchester)

“‘Off-the-Shelf Reforms’ and their blind spots: Pensions in post-memorandum Greece”

Platon Tinios (Piraeus)

“A Greek Tragedy: Neoliberalism, Securitization and Consent”

Bill Paterson (Stirling)

“Can the literature on the ‘Varieties of Capitalism’ provide sufficient conceptual explanations about the configurations of the Greek political economy?”

Anastasios Chardas (Sussex)

“The Paradox of Finance-led Growth: The Controversial Cases of Argentina and Greece”

Mariana Jimenez Huerta (Queen Mary University of London)

The keynote speech was delivered by Professor Richard Rose (Strathclyde) on the topical issue of “Two Dimensions in Comparing Macro and Micro European Responses to the Crisis”. A wide keynote roundtable with experts across the board took place during the second day of the conference alongside an interesting interactive discussion between the panellists and the conference delegates. Panellists included Stella Ladi (Panteion), Neil Mitchison (Head of the European Commission, Scotland), Dimitris Papadimitriou (Manchester), Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent), Andrew Watt (ETUI) who were also joined by Prof. Richard Rose. The panel addressed the following questions: What are the immediate, short-term conditions for Greece to move beyond the crisis? How can Europe as a whole best manage the crisis? Are we witnessing a fundamental shift in the Greek political system? To what extent does the interim coalition government mark a new era in Greek politics? What is the role of academia and of social scientists in times of crisis?

We are extremely grateful to the University of Strathclyde for their hospitality facilitating our conference despite the extreme weather conditions in Glasgow at the time. Above all, we would like to thank the *PSA Specialist Activities Fund*, *HSBC Plc.* and the *Glasgow City Chambers* for their financial and technical support.

A podcast of the first panel will be shortly available on the GPSG website on “The Political Economy of the Crisis.” The full book of abstracts is available for download on our website: http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/GPSG_Glasgow_Book-of-Abstracts.pdf

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Review: GPSG Panel at the 2011 ECPR General Conference

"Post-Crisis Public Policy Reform in Southern Europe" 25-27 August 2011, University of Iceland, Reykjavik

During the 2011 ECPR General Conference, our Group organised a panel session in collaboration with the ECPR Standing Group on Southern Europe for the section on state quality and democratic quality in Southern Europe. The purpose of the panel was to provide a platform for comparing the problems, solutions and challenges that Southern EU member states are facing. Stella Ladi (Panteion) and Dimitris Tsarouhas (Bilkent) chaired the session and the following papers were discussed by Prof. Leonardo Morlino (Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane):

“Accounting for variation in the impact of and response to economic crisis in Greece & Portugal” C. Paraskevopoulos (University of Macedonia) [Paper abstract](#)

“Economic crisis and public attitudes towards domestic and EU institutions in Greece, Portugal and Spain” B. Clements (Leicester) and K. Nanou (European University Institute) [Paper abstract](#)

“Economic crisis and welfare reform in Greece” M. Matsaganis (AUEB) [Paper Abstract](#)

“Spain's goose chase: the flexibilisation of the labour market and the reduction of its public deficit under Zapatero's presidency” M. Clua-Losada (Pompeu Fabra) [Paper abstract](#)

Coming up: GPSG Panels at the 62nd Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association

**"Post-Crisis Public Policy Reform in Southern Europe"
3-5 April 2012, University of Ulster, Belfast**

The GPSG will be participating at the 62nd Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association (PSA) which will take place on 3-5 April 2012 in Belfast, Northern Ireland under the auspices of the University of Ulster. Continuing our chain of panels in the annual conferences of the PSA we are delighted to present the following sessions:

Panel 1: A Nation in Crisis: National Identity, Radical Right and Immigration in Greece

This panel focuses on the challenges that Greece is facing due to the on-going crisis. It examines the effect the crisis is having on the construction of national identity, the reason why radical right political parties have increased their power stakes and the impact of that rise on immigration and asylum policy.

"The radical right parties under the economic crisis: The Greek case"

Vasiliki Georgiadou (Panteion), Spyridoula Nezi (Athens), Anastasia Kafe (Panteion)

"The immigration discourse of an extreme right political party in Greece"

Lena Karamanidou (City University, London)

"Greek politics and passion(s): Reconstituting national identity in the midst of financial crisis"

Eleni Christodoulou (Birmingham)

Panel 2: A Nation in Crisis: Populist responses, social mobilization and protest in Greece

This panel considers the way Greek society responds to the financial crisis. The populist frames and blame-shifting strategies, the role of online social networks in mobilizing citizens and the cultures of rioting, are all used to highlight the various reactions of Greek society.

"Greece in Crisis: the populist response to Europe at times of austerity"

Sofia Vasilopoulou (York), Theofanis Exadaktylos (Surrey), Daphne Halikiopoulou (LSE)

"Square Politics: Key characteristics of the indignant mobilizations in Greece"

John Karamichas (Queen's University, Belfast)

"Cultures of Protest in Greece"

Aikaterini Andronikidou (Queen's University Belfast)

"'Based on various mathematical formulas': Knowledge and legitimization of claims on immigration in the Greek parliament"

Lena Karamanidou (City University, London)

The final date for registration for paper-givers is 5 March 2012 and for all delegates on 27 March 2012. For conference details and other relevant information please visit: www.psa.ac.uk/2012/.

GPSG Experts comment on the crisis in Greece

The GPSG provides access to a unique, international network of experts and researchers who can comment on all aspects of Greek politics, including public administration and governance, elections and political parties, security and intelligence, foreign policy and European affairs. During the last few months, GPSG members have been asked to provide expert commentary which has featured in media outlets around the world.



Highlight: 5 February 2012, GPSG Founder Dr Roman Gerodimos interviewed live on BBC News on the Greek debt crisis talks. Roman was interviewed by the BBC's Martine Croxall. This interview was broadcast live on Sunday, 5 February 2012 at 8pm. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-9vRDnai92w>

- 21/02/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos: interviewed for the daily radio show *The Briefing* on the second bailout agreement alongside Anthee Carasavva (Journalist, CNN and *Time*)
- 20/02/2012 – “Europe ready to sign Greek bailout package” – *Australian Financial Review*
- 16/02/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos: interviewed for the daily radio show *The Briefing* on the outlook of German-Greek political relations in the financial – Monocle 24 Radio, London
- 15/02/2012 – “Ďalšia pohroma? Gréci idú voliť” – *Pravda* (Slovakia)
- 14/02/2012 – “Grecki parlament wczoraj tuż przed północą zatwierdził nowe oszczędności. Ale politycy pod wpływem gwałtownych protestów tracą resztki zapału do wdrażania reform” – *Rzeczpospolita* (Poland)
- 14/02/2012 – Greek reform package means years of pain – CNN
- 13/02/2012 – Dr Roman Gerodimos: Opinion: Extreme austerity breeds extreme politics – CNN
- 13/02/2012 – “Greek Poll could undo austerity” – *Australian Financial Review*
- 13/02/2012 – “Grecja przyjęła plan oszczędności. W Lizbonie demonstracje” – *Rzeczpospolita* (Poland)
- 25/01/2012 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: “Γιατί κατέρρευσε το Κέντρο; (Και πώς θα ανακάμψει;)”, *To Βήμα*
- 07/01/2012 – Στέλλα Λαδή: “Προϋποθέσεις για μια ουσιαστική αλλαγή” – *Η Καθημερινή*
- 03/12/2011 – “Biznesmeni w matni” – *Rzeczpospolita* (Poland)
- 02/12/2011 – “Don’t gloat at Europe, says Turkey-based Greek academic” – *Hürriyet* (Turkey)
- 30/11/2011 – Dr Roman Gerodimos: “Greek Democracy at a Crossroads” – *The Edinburgh Journal*
- 30/11/2011 – “Update: Academic News” – *The Edinburgh Journal*

- 16/11/2011 – Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas: “For A New Approach to EU Social Policy” – *Social Europe Journal*
- 14/11/2011 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos on BNN’s Business Day – Business News Network (Canada)
- 13/11/2011 – Dr Roman Gerodimos: Interview on the award-winning public affairs show “You are here” – Boston WERS
- 11/11/2011 – Dr Georgios Karyotis: “New PM’s credentials mean he can offer internal stability and external credibility” – *The Scotsman*
- 11/11/2011 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: “Κυβέρνηση Μετάβασης” – *Το Βήμα*
- 09/11/2011 – “En Grece, le futur gouvernement suscite déjà la mefiance” – MediaPart (France)
- 09/11/2011 – “Sucastou greckeho pribehu je aj slabost Europy” – *Pravda* (Slovakia)
- 08/11/2011 – Dr Roman Gerodimos: Interview on the Mike Hosking Breakfast show – Newstalk ZB (New Zealand)
- 07/11/2011 – “Mozolne negocjacje koalicyjne w Grecji irytuja Bruksle” – *Rzeczpospolita* (Poland)
- 05/11/2011 – “La Grece, radiographie d’un pays exsangue” – MediaPart (France)
- 04/11/2011 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: “Αξιοπρέπεια – και σταθερότητα – τώρα!” – *Το Βήμα*
- 02/11/2011 – “Greci referendum sokuju Europu” – *Pravda* (Slovakia)
- 02/11/2011 – Dr Georgios Karyotis: Interviewed in John Maytham’s ‘Hard Drive’ news show – 567 Capetalk FM (S. Africa)
- 24/10/2011 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos: “Eureka? The entrepreneurial spirit in public debts” – *LSE Blogs*
- 22/10/2011 – Θεοφάνης Εξαδάκτυλος: “Εύρηκα; Το επιχειρηματικό πνεύμα στο δημόσιο χρέος” – *Το Βήμα*
- 21/10/2011 – Dr Roman Gerodimos: “The week that will define Greece’s future” – *The Independent*
- 17/10/2011 – Δημήτρης Τσαρούχας: “Δεν θα προβεί σε μονομερείς ενέργειες η Τουρκία” – *Η Καθημερινή* (Κύπρος)
- 17/10/2011 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos: “Of Union and Trust” – *LSE Blogs*
- 11/10/2011 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: “Η Τελευταία Ευκαιρία” – *Το Βήμα*

All links to the media appearances of the members of GPSG are available for downloading, streaming or viewing at on our website: <http://www.gpsg.org.uk/about-us/press-media/>

GPSG Working Paper Series

WP08, November 2011

Repeating the mistakes of austerity? Lessons for Greece from the Irish economic experience of the 1920s and 1930s.

Eoin Drea – IRCHSS Postgraduate Scholar, University College Cork

Abstract

The financial support accepted by Ireland from the European Union (EU), European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in December 2010 marked the end of eighty nine years of Irish economic independence. It also formalised a process of on-going financial support provided by the ECB to Irish banks since the latter half of 2008. Ireland is one of three EU member states, along with Greece and Portugal, engaging in medium term austerity programmes as set out in their respective framework agreements with the EU/IMF. This paper addresses the current austerity policies being pursued in Greece in the context of the Irish economic experience of the 1920s and 1930s. The paper comprises of three parts. Firstly, a brief summary is provided charting the events which culminated in Irish acceptance of the EU/IMF Programme of Support in late 2010. This will serve as a contemporary context point for assessing the current Greek situation and the historical Irish experience of the early 20th century. Secondly, an analysis of the key influences shaping Irish monetary policy in the 1920s and 1930s is provided. This paper, in assessing the role of bankers, politicians, public servants and outside experts, defines them as “attributes of austerity”. This reflects their significant success in consolidating their key interests in the new monetary independence bestowed on the Irish Free State (IFS) from 1922 onwards. This paper examines how the multi-layered financial caution of the IFS resulted in domestic social and economic concerns becoming subservient to wider international commitments. Finally, this paper considers if the Irish economic experience of the 1922-1937 period offers any lessons for the current crisis in Greece and the wider Euro Zone.

http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Working_Paper_08.pdf

WP09, December 2011

Civil servants’ permanent tenure in Greece

George Aspridis – Assistant Professor, Technological Educational Institution of Larissa

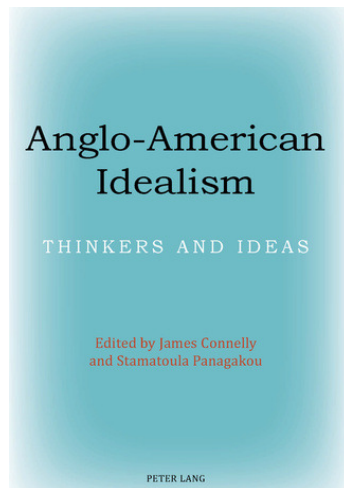
Marina Petreli – Research Associate, Institute of European Integration and Policy, University of Athens

Abstract

Civil servants are regarded by many as ineffective, counterproductive and not conducive to improving public administration. Public administration must be flexible and efficient for the citizens. This view has been reinforced after the entry of the I.M.F. in the socio-economic life of Greece. In 2010 the debate on the permanent tenure for civil servants, and the implications this has both on society and public administration, has arisen again due to the severe consequences of the present economic crisis.

http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Working_Paper_09.pdf

Featured Publications



**Stamatoula Panagakou (University of Cyprus)
and James Connelly (Hull), editors**

Anglo-American Idealism: Thinkers and Ideas

Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010
ISBN 978-3-03910-895-4 pb.
389 pp./ € 50.00 / £ 45.00 / US\$ 77.95
Link: www.peterlang.com

This volume is devoted to a critical discussion and re-appraisal of the work of Anglo-American Idealists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Idealism was the dominant philosophy in Britain and the entire English-speaking world during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The British Idealists made important contributions to logic, metaphysics, aesthetics, ethics, social and political philosophy, philosophy of history, philosophy of religion and philosophy of mind. Their legacy awaits further exploration and reassessment, and this book is a contribution to this task.

The essays in this collection display many aspects of contemporary concern with idealistic philosophy: they range from treatments of logic to consideration of the Absolute, personal idealism, the philosophy of religion, philosophy of art, philosophy of action, and moral and political philosophy.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, the work of the Anglo-American Idealists has once again been widely discussed and re-considered, and new pathways of research and investigation have been opened.



From the book launch event at the University of Cyprus, 6 April 2011.

Members' Activities and News

Dora Giannaki participated in the 3rd workshop on the “History of Youth Work in Europe and its Relevance for Today’s Youth Work Policy” in Tallinn-Estonia, from 4 to 7 October 2011, which was organised by the European Union – Council of Europe Youth Partnership and the Estonian Youth Ministry and Youth Work Centre. The workshop focused on eight different countries covering particularly the relationship between youth employment and youth policy. Dora has given a paper entitled ‘A Journey in the History of Youth Work in Greece’. The main purpose of the paper was to provide an outline of the history of youth work in Greece showing that although there is as yet no official definition or comprehensive legal framework concerning youth work in Greece, youth work does exist as a social practice in the country since the early 19th century and acquires relatively stable characteristics at least since 1900. Dora’s paper will be included in a book based on the contributions of the workshop speakers, which will be published by the Council of Europe later in 2012.



The GPSG is now on Twitter!



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Newsflash:

Foreign Affairs – The Hellenic Edition: Foreign Affairs magazine, well-known for its longstanding contribution to international relations and politics is now published in Greek. Please visit www.foreignaffairs.gr for more information.

Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas gave two guest lectures on “Deciphering the Greek Economic and Political Crisis”, Kadis Has University, Istanbul, 30 November 2011 and on “EU Enlargement: more and more a political process?”, PES Convention, Workshop on EU Politics, FEPS.

Dr Stella Ladi was invited to speak on «Οικονομική Κρίση και Διοικητική Μεταρρύθμιση στην Ελλάδα και στην Κύπρο: Ευκαιρίες και Περιορισμοί, Σειρά Κειμένων Πολιτικής» at the University of Cyprus, Nicosia 23 January 2012.

Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos was appointed in September 2011 lecturer in European Politics for the School of Politics at the University of Surrey.

“Don’t gloat at Europe” says Turkey-based Greek academic

Interview of Dimitris Tsarouhas to Barçın Yinanç for Hürriyet Daily News*

Some Turks have expressed a touch of smugness about the European Union’s current economic malaise, but such misplaced joy is improper, according to Turkey-based Greek academic Dimitris Tsarouhas. “It is not in the interest of Turkey to gloat about the EU crisis – the EU still remains the safest market for Turkey,” says Tsarouhas.

Turks should not gloat at Europe’s economic woes, according to a Greek academic based in Turkey.

There is a degree of Schadenfreude among some Turks, said Dimitris Tsarouhas, who teaches at Bilkent University in Ankara. “Europe is on a downturn and Turkey is on an upturn. But things can change really fast.”

The Turkish economy is doing well but it is impossible for it to remain unaffected by the eurozone crisis, he told the Hürriyet Daily News in a recent interview.

How is the Greek crisis perceived in Turkey?

People in Turkey don’t tend to emphasize the Greek crisis. Greece for the Turkish public is not as important a country as Turkey is for Greece, for instance. [The view in Turkey is] that there is a crisis in Europe and that the European Union is facing a crisis. There is a degree of Schadenfreude. “You Europeans, you got pretty much what you deserved. You have not worked as hard as we do.”

But is this said about Europeans or about Greeks?

I don’t think the Turkish public makes a major distinction between the two. With Greece, actually there is a high degree of sympathy. They say, “We know how you guys feel; we’ve been through these crises.”

They don’t see it as a Greek thing. And actually, it’s not just a Greek thing. By now it has gained a European dimension. It is right to say Europeans are in trouble. The question is [whether Turkish people should be characterized as having Schadenfreude or not]. I don’t think it should.

Yes, Europe is on a downturn and Turkey is on an upturn. But these things change can change really fast. So it is not in the interests of the Turks to propagate on the European crisis. The argument is being made by state representatives and ministers that what is happening in Europe will affect the

Turkish economy. It will inevitably affect the Turkish economy. I think Turkey is doing well. But this is a world where connections are getting deeper, especially between Turkey and the EU and especially on the economic front.

Now, one thing is very clear: the safest market for Turkish products and the safest root of investment coming from outside is Europe. The highest amount of FDI [Foreign Direct Investment] flow is from EU member states. The largest share of trade between Turkey and the outside world is taking place with the EU. For both practical and political reasons, Turks should not gloat about what’s happening in Europe. I don’t want to suggest this is happening too much or that Turkey has turned its back on the EU; it did not. In fact, the crisis has highlighted yet again that Turkey [presents] a major opportunity for Europe rather than a threat.

“The crisis has highlighted yet again that Turkey [presents] a major opportunity for Europe rather than a threat.”

Why is Greece not cutting its defense expenditures in view of its improved relations with Turkey?

At the beginning of the crisis two years ago, the debate on the need to lower military spending in line with rapprochement with Turkey was high on the agenda and the [George] Papandreou government approached it favorably. But the debate shifted, I am afraid. As the crisis grew deeper, people turned more inward and fears have risen. They have become more conservative. The idea of reducing military spending as part of the dialogue with Turkey, which was attractive two years ago, is no longer attractive. People are focused on the national sovereignty debate; especially when the Turkish economy is posting a high growth rate that makes it even worse. People start saying, “As we are losing our economic sovereignty, our neighbor Turkey is [growing] stronger.” Therefore, the more extreme wings of the debate say, “Turkey could seek to exploit the opportunity [presented by] Greece’s weakness for its own purposes.” So, there are these alleged scenarios being built up on how Turkey can take advantage of Greece’s current problems.

How is Turkey's economic success perceived in Greece? Is there a sense of "We were in a much better situation, now even Turkey has passed ahead of us"?

There is this sense of "Turkey has now passed us, whereas a few years ago we were the ones Turkey was looking at us in terms of welfare, prosperity." But what is interesting is that when we talk about the so-called Turkish miracle – the way I describe it is as a European BRIC ... many Greeks, quiet astonishingly, ascribe a large part of it to the political leadership of Turkey. They believe that leadership in the form and shape of the current prime minister has not only portrayed the country as independent and dynamic, but has also combined this with very sound economic management skills; the supporters of this view say that this is what this country needs. And the more nationalist wing, those opposing Turkey or [who are] even jealous of Turkey's rise, even they seem to be applauding [Turkish Prime Minister] Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, congratulating his style of leadership.

How do you explain Turkey's success?

I believe it started before the current government. I don't believe the Turkish upswing begins in 2002, although it has certainly continued [since then]. You [had] a major crisis in 2001 and it is very different than the current crisis in Greece and then you [had] a very effective regulatory regime being put in place. You [had] political determination even under a coalition to sort out the economy in the long run, you [had] a comparative advantage of a young population, an economy adjusting to international modes starting from the 1980s; and all this led to a situation whereby – from a certain point onwards – the country [started] reaping the benefits.

Is there a difference in the democracy deficit between the two countries? Turks accepted the bitter pill, never hitting the streets, while the Greeks are always protesting.

I believe every country has its own political culture and its own historic heritage. Turkey has an institutional heritage from political, economic and societal dimension. That's the legacy Turkey still has. The legacy of that period is very much felt in Turkish political economy. For example: in the area of industrial relations and social partnership, we observe very weak trade unions; in the private and even more so in the public sector, they are basically disempowered, although measures have been taken recently to address some of these issues. In Greece we don't have this. This example illustrates my point: In Greece, trade unions are not representing society anymore; I believe they have become a small interest group. But, it is also true that there is a very strong culture, political heritage from the 1974 transition to democracy

that stresses the right of people to strike, to protest governmental policies they find unjust.

But this leads us to this odd question: looking at where the two countries' economies stand, are we to conclude that it is better to have a weaker democratic culture?

Turkey has been, until recently, a developing economy. In developing economies you don't have strong trade union rights, you don't have a sizable middle class. You have a large population working hard to survive and a small population enjoying a wealthy life. From now on things will not be the same for Turkey. Turkey will not, for instance, be a cheap labor site. Turkey is moving toward the wealthy league of states. This will create a bigger middle class than today. That will have consequences on what we've been talking about before. I don't think there is anything genetic or cultural about Turks not voicing themselves.



But some argue that the religious dimension, belief in faith and conservative values, such as family solidarity, plays a role in how Turks approach the economic crisis.

I don't believe any nation, not just Turkey, will tolerate conditions of massive inequality in their societies for too long. In Turkey, you have the rise of a middle class, creating a set of new expectations. But, of course, there is an element of a cultural dimension if we use the Turkish example: in more traditional societies, where you don't have an elaborate, comprehensive, state-sponsored social protection regime, then you have substitutes and the substitute in Turkey is fundamentally the family. Family plays a major, stabilizing role in Turkish society and economy.

Although you claim the nature of the crisis is different – and noting that the two do have their difference – are there no lessons to be taken from the Turkish experience?

Turkey has been good at introducing structural reforms, making its economic growth rate sustainable in the long run. Turkey has created a regulatory regime in the economy; it has reformed parts of its social protection system, such as the pension system or healthcare system. It is the

structural reform parts of the Turkish story that the Greek policy-makers are advised to take.

People are drawing parallels between Kemal Derviş, who was appointed as Turkey's economy minister during the 2001 crisis, and new Greek Prime Minister Lucas Papademos, as they are both bureaucrats.

I don't agree with the analogy. Since [neither] are strangers to the world of politics, they are not people taken from the academic amphitheater or from banks and imposed on politics.

But there is a major difference between the two.

Derviş was invited by the then-prime minister and was given very wide room to maneuver in how he would design a healthy recovery from the crisis and was backed by the three parties in Parliament. He was not asked to play the chief role of heading the government. In Greece, the situation is different. We had a prime minister who decided or was forced to leave, there was an agreement between him and the leader of opposition and the far-right party to invite a fourth person to head a national unity government with a specific mandate and to [stage general elections] at the first available opportunity. Papademos is heading a

political government. That makes his job more difficult.

It took years for Turkish banks to open a branch in Greece and, even afterwards, there are complaints that they can't expand. The general view in Turkey is that there will be resistance from Greece in the event that the Turkey offers its assistance or buys some Greek assets.

It's not all about politics. The Greek bureaucracy is legendarily slow, much slower than the Turkish bureaucracy, which has been reformed to a certain degree. There will always be some resistance. When the National Bank of Greece bought Finansbank, some said the deal was not in the interest of Greece [but] we now know this was a sound move from an economic point of view. There will always be people with a negative response. For mainstream opinion, what matters is the kind of cooperation; if there is state-sponsored cooperation, there won't be a reaction. Things could be different if the Turkish private sector wanted to make certain acquisitions that may be potentially more problematic – not just because it is Turkish. At a time when you feel vulnerable, you don't differentiate between Turkey, Germany or France.

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Workshop on Social Change: Theory and Applications – The Case of Greek Society

The workshop will take place at the London School of Economics under the auspices of the Hellenic Observatory and the Department of Sociology at the University of Manchester. Keynote lectures will be delivered by Prof Margaret Archer on 'Social change and changes in reflexivity' and Prof Nicos Mouzelis on 'Developments leading to the Greek crisis'. The two sessions will feature research presentations by Dr Vanessa May; Dr Vasilopoulou, Dr Exadaktylos and Dr Halikiopoulou; and Dr. Athanasia Chalari. For information please contact Dr. Chalari at A.Chalari@lse.ac.uk.

9 March 2012, London School of Economics

Conferences, Events & Opportunities

CfP – Two-day conference, University of Macedonia, 7-8 June 2012

Anti-system and extreme phenomena in Greece during the crisis: social, political and cultural dynamics (Αντισυστημικότητα και Εξτρεμιστικά Φαινόμενα στην Ελλάδα της Κρίσης: κοινωνική, πολιτική και πολιτισμική δυναμική)

Organized by the University of Macedonia (Institute of International Relations and European Integration) and the Hellenic Political Science Association

Διημερίδα με αντικείμενο τη μελέτη φαινομένων που επηρεάζουν ή και καθορίζουν την πολιτική και την εκλογική συμπεριφορά και τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα.

Η ενίσχυση των κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων και η απώλεια της εμπιστοσύνης στην πολιτική ελίτ έχουν παραδοσιακά συνδεθεί με την εμφάνιση φαινομένων λαϊκισμού, την έξαρση του εθνικισμού αλλά και την πολιτική κινητοποίηση, συχνά μάλιστα σε μορφές μη συμβατικής πολιτικής συμμετοχής. Σε περιπτώσεις που οι διαθέσεις αυτές ικανοποιούνται εντός του κομματικού συστήματος, τα κόμματα των άκρων είναι οι συχνότεροι αποδέκτες, ωστόσο συχνά η αμφιβολία για το βαθμό αντισυστημικότητας αυτών των κομμάτων οδηγεί τμήματα της κοινωνίας στην υιοθέτηση εξτρεμιστικών συμπεριφορών που προσεγγίζουν ακόμα και την πολιτική βία. Το κεντρικό ερώτημα της φετινής συνάντησης σχετίζεται με το εάν η τρέχουσα συγκυρία, η οποία πληροί και τις δύο παραπάνω συνθήκες, ευνοεί ακραίες πολιτικές, κοινωνικές και πολιτιστικές συμπεριφορές και πρωτοβουλίες δράσης στον ελληνικό και στον ευρωπαϊκό, χώρο. Επιπλέον, τη συνάντηση θα απασχολήσει ο εντοπισμός των παραγόντων εκείνων (π.χ. πολιτική ευκαιρία, δομικοί μετασχηματισμοί της κοινωνίας, οργανωτική ετοιμότητα, προγραμματική ιδιαιτερότητα ή καθαρότητα, λαϊκισμός) που ερμηνεύουν την απήχηση τέτοιων ακραίων μορφών δράσης.

Αποσκοπώντας στη διερεύνηση των παραπάνω ερωτημάτων, η διημερίδα θα οργανωθεί γύρω από τους παρακάτω θεματικούς άξονες:

- Μέτρηση του εξτρεμισμού και της αντισυστημικότητας
- Όρια αντισυστημικότητας των κομμάτων των άκρων
- Ζήτηση για τα άκρα στην Ελλάδα: ζητήματα και κοινωνικές διαιρέσεις
- Πολιτικές ευκαιρίες για τα κόμματα των άκρων στην Ελλάδα
- Σημασία των ζητημάτων στον πολιτικό λόγο των άκρων στην Ελλάδα
- Λαϊκισμός και άκρα στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη
- Σχέσεις μεταξύ κομμάτων των άκρων, παραδοσιακών κομμάτων και εξτρεμιστικών κινημάτων
- Συγκριτική αξιολόγηση της σημασίας της ιδεολογίας, της ηγεσίας και της οργάνωσης των κομμάτων των άκρων στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη
- Ένταση και πλαίσιο προβολής των κομμάτων των άκρων και του εξτρεμισμού από τα ελληνικά ΜΜΕ
- Ζητήματα ορισμών: άκρα, εξτρεμισμός, ριζοσπαστισμός, λαϊκισμός. Περιεχόμενο των εννοιών, συγκλίσεις και αποκλίσεις κοινωνικό-πολιτικών φαινομένων.

Organising committee, Christoforos Vernardakis, (HPSA), Vasiliki Georgiadou (HPSA), Ioannis Konstantinidis (University of Macedonia), Nikos Marantzidis (University of Macedonia)

Deadline for Abstracts: 5 April 2012 at greekparties@uom.gr