

GPSG Newsletter #25

July 2012

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www.gpsg.org.uk

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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An open letter to the British Prime Minister, David Cameron in reaction to his recent statement on Greek immigration in the UK*

The Rt Hon David Cameron MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London
SW1A 2AA

5 July 2012

Dear Mr Cameron,

On behalf of the Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) of the Political Studies Association (PSA), I am writing to express our concern about your recent statement regarding the possibility of enforcing restrictions to the movements of Greek nationals across UK borders.

The Greek Politics Specialist Group has a membership of more than 300 academics, researchers and practitioners based in many universities and institutions across the UK and Greece. During the last 8 years, we have worked very hard to promote and strengthen the ties between the British and Greek academic communities, to support collaborative and cross-national research and to encourage the sharing and exchange of expertise between the two countries.

Britain and Greece have always enjoyed a very close relationship of mutual respect. The ties between the two countries are both historic and continuous, spanning many sectors of British life, including research and development, tourism, higher education, shipping, banking and culture to which Greek citizens and institutions have been making a considerable contribution, competing with domestic and international candidates on an equal basis.

We believe that your recent statement – and the government's contingency plans as outlined by both yourself and the Home Secretary on an earlier occasion – may have an adverse effect on our effort to further reinforce a climate of trust between the two communities. The statement could be perceived as offensive and disrespectful, both to the thousands of highly skilled, productive, law-abiding, well integrated Greek residents within Britain, and to a country which is a European Union partner, an ally and, hopefully, a friend. Furthermore, in the long term it could be harmful to both countries' interests. At a time of economic uncertainty and rising extremism across Europe, we feel it is vital to protect and nurture solidarity and trust across the EU and particularly between Britain and Greece.

We hope that the government will have the opportunity to reconsider its contingency plans and we look forward to continuing working to support the ties between the two academic communities.

Yours Sincerely,

Roman Gerodimos, PhD

Founder and Convenor, Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) of the Political Studies Association
Senior Lecturer in Global Current Affairs, Bournemouth University

Co-signatories:

The Executive Committee of the Greek Politics Specialist Group
Dr Andrew Liaropoulos, University of Piraeus
Dr Georgios Karyotis, University of Strathclyde
Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas, Bilkent University
Dr Stella Ladi, Panteion University
Dr Vasilis Leontitsis, London School of Economics
Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos, University of Surrey

** This letter has also been copied to British and Greek media outlets on behalf of our Group.*

Review: GPSG Publishes Pamphlets on the Greek Elections

“First thoughts on the 6 May 2012 election in Greece” and “First thoughts on the 17 June 2012 election in Greece”



The run-up to, and the outcome of, the Greek national elections was one of the stories that occupied plenty of pages and airtime in the international media. Following the results, and given the wide range of expertise in our group, the Greek Politics Specialist Group invited short commentaries from its members, colleagues and affiliates as a first response to the electoral outcome of May 6th, 2012. The result was a collection of 28 short essays in a pamphlet format pooling together various opinions by our members. Whereas this collective effort was by no means a

comprehensive, detailed or definitive account of the election it provided an excellent springboard for discussion and an opportunity for colleagues to reflect on this landmark event.



As a summary of the first pamphlet, the contributors agree that the Greek political system is going through a violent transformation which will lead to realignment of political parties, ideologies and voters. At the same time it offered some insight into highly related topics, such as EU-Greece relations, the role of opinion polls and of the electoral system, as well as different ways and means of mobilising and understanding voters.

Our pamphlet was picked up by international media as well as the wider academic community who in its pages found some insightful guidance through the outcome of the election. Hence, and following the announcement of a second round of elections, we decided to follow this up with a second publication for the June 17th election. The second edition of the pamphlet was published just a week after the election and only a couple of days after the formation of a coalition government in Greece, successfully capturing the atmosphere of those days. This time, in the span of 23 short essays, our contributors considered the implications of the electoral result for the political parties, the political system and Greek society in general. A novel theme was developed focusing on the emergence of new social cleavages (along the pro-Euro / anti-Memorandum axis, as well as age, professional background, locality and professional background) and the significant challenges that the continued success of extremist parties poses for political scientists and practitioners alike. The reaction by the wider academic and policy-making community was again very encouraging.

We would like to thank all of you who contributed to this collective effort either through your pieces or your feedback and the newsletter editor would also like to extend a warm thanks to Roman Gerodimos who managed to put the pamphlets together under a high pressure of time. We hope that these two publications will lead to a fruitful dialogue and we welcome further contributions through our various outlets, such as the GPSG Working Papers series, the series of Articles on our website and newsletter and, of course, our forthcoming events and panels.



Both pamphlets are available through our website at:

<http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/GPSG-Election-2012.pdf>, for 6 May, and
<http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/GPSG-Election-June-2012-Pamphlet.pdf>, for June 17.

New on the GPSG Podcast Series

Our podcast series content has been updated on our website with two new series with links:

Podcast Series 3: Post-Crisis Public Policy Reform in Southern Europe

Post-Crisis Public Policy Reform in Southern Europe, GPSG Panel at the ECPR General Conference, Reykjavik, August 2011



1. C. Paraskevopoulos (University of Macedonia), "Accounting for variation in the impact of and response to economic crisis in Greece & Portugal"



2. M. Matsaganis (Athens University of Economics & Business), "Economic crisis and welfare reform in Greece"



3. B. Clements (University of Leicester) and K. Nanou (European University Institute), "Economic crisis and public attitudes towards domestic and EU institutions in Greece, Portugal and Spain"



4. Reykjavik panel Question and Answer session

Available for download through our website:

www.gpsg.org.uk

Podcast Series 4: The Political Economy of the Greek Crisis

GPSG International Conference: "The Politics of Extreme Austerity: Greece Beyond the Crisis", University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, December 2011. Panel 1: Political Economy of the Crisis



1: Prof. Antigone Lyberaki (Panteion) and Dr. Platon Tinios (Piraeus), "Informal social protection and family indebtedness: some hidden economic crisis dynamics"



2: Dr. M. Matsaganis (AUEB) and Chrysa Leventi (AUEB), "Poverty and inequality during the Great Recession: the case of Greece"



3: Dr Sotiria Theodoropoulou and Dr Andrew Watt (European Trade Union Institute), "The Greek tragedy: the abject failure of national austerity in the context of an unfinished monetary union"



4: Eoin Drea (Cork), "Repeating the Mistakes of Austerity? Lessons for Greece from the Irish Economic Experience of the 1920s and 1930s"

Two forthcoming international conferences in Greece

"The Debt Crisis in The Eurozone: Social Impacts" European Sociological Association and University of the Aegean, Lesvos 13-14 September 2012. Interim conference organized for Research Network 8 "Disaster, Conflict and Social Crisis Research Network" at the Chamber of Commerce in Lesvos.

"Economic Crisis, Racism and Anti-Semitism in Europe" at the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 31 August–2 September 2012. Midterm conference organized for the European Sociological Association, Research Network 31 "Ethnic Relations, Racism and Anti-Semitism". For info please contact: Ben Gidley ben.gidley@compas.ox.ac.uk and Achilleas Fotakis afotakis@yahoo.com

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

**"A Nation in Crisis: Identity, Mobilization and Protest in Greece"
3-5 April 2012, University of Ulster, Belfast**

The GPSG participated at the 62nd Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association (PSA) in Belfast, Northern Ireland, under the auspices of the University of Ulster with two dedicated panels on the ongoing crisis in Greece. The panel themes focused on issues of national identity, the rise of the right wing parties, as well as issues of populism, citizen mobilization and political culture. We were delighted with the high turnout by conference participants and we thank them for their contribution to the discussion.

Our group continues in this way to contribute to the activities of the PSA conference. Over the last eight years we have convened, independently or in collaboration with other specialist groups, 29 panels and roundtables at PSA conferences featuring 84 papers and presentations in total.

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

"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

"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 legitimation of claims on immigration in the Greek parliament"

Lena Karamanidou (City University, London)

Abstracts and papers are available via the PSA website on the Belfast conference, accessible through <http://www.psa.ac.uk/2012/> and our website at: <http://www.gpsg.org.uk/psa-conference-panels/belfast-2012/>.

Some pictures from the PSA Conference GPSG Panels



(L-R) Dr Takis Pappas, Eleni Christodoulou, Dr Lena Karamanidou, Dr Andrew Liaropoulos, Anastasia Kafe, Dr Vassiliki Georgiadou



Panel 1 - Anastasia Kafe (Panteion) presents a paper on "The radical right parties under the economic crisis: The Greek case"



(L-R) Dr Lena Karamanidou, Katia Andronikidou, Dr John Karamichas, Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou, Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos, Dr Andrew Liaropoulos



Panel 1 - (L-R) Eleni Christodoulou (Birmingham), Dr Lena Karamanidou (City), Dr Andrew Liaropoulos (Chair - Piraeus)



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



Panel 2: Katia Andronikidou (Queen's University Belfast) presents her paper entitled "Cultures of Protest in Greece"

* * *

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 crucial months for Greece and the Eurozone's future, GPSG members have been asked to provide expert commentary which has featured in media outlets around the world.

- 03/07/2012 – Dr Vassilis Leontitsis interviewed for “Grècia podria arribar a viure una crisi humanitària aguda” – *El Temps* (Catalonia, Spain)
- 29/06/2012 – Δρ. Θεοφάνης Εξαδάκτυλος – Γνώμες: Ούζο και έξω! Μετά την «έξοδο» της Ελλάδας από το Euro 2012 – *Το Βήμα*
- 28/06/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos “Ouzo and Out! It remains to be seen what Greece is in for after ‘exiting’ the Euro 2012” in the *EUROPP* and *Greece@LSE* blogs
- 26/06/2012 – “Grécko si za proeurópsku vládu kupuje čas” – *Pravda* (Slovakia)
- 19/06/2012 – Dr Roman Gerodimos interviewed on BBC Radio 5 Live on Greece and the Eurozone
- 19/06/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos interviewed on BBC Radio 5 Live show Morning Reports
- 19/06/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos interviewed on BBC Radio Surrey
- 19/06/2012 – Dr Zoe Lefkofridi interviewed by Ernst-Johann Schwarz on Greece and Europe – ORF 2 (Austria)
- 19/06/2012 – “Greek battle over, but war’s just begun” – *Australian Financial Review*
- 18/06/2012 – Dr Roman Gerodimos interviewed on BBC Radio 5 Live on the results of the Greek election
- 18/06/2012 – Dr Zoe Lefkofridi answering readers’ questions in online chat – *Der Standard* (Austria)
- 18/06/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos for Ideas on Europe Blog on the Greek elections
- 17/06/2012 – “Pro-bailout party wins, but future uncertain for Greece” – *The Washington Times*
- 16/06/2012 – “Greek tragedy forces change” – *Australian Financial Review*
- 15/06/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos interviewed in “Alexis Tsipras, un leader tra speranza e paura” – *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso* (Italy)
- 15/06/2012 – “Polarized Greece girds for crucial election” – *MarketWatch*
- 14/06/2012 – “Greek voters headed back to the polls” – *USA Today*
- 22/05/2012 – “They’re playing with fire” – *Toronto Standard* (Canada)
- 22/05/2012 – “Las claves del caos político tras la caída griega” – *El Mercurio* (Chile)
- 18/05/2012 – “Greeks vote against leaving the euro zone in legislative election” – The Voice of Russia (Russia)
- 17/05/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos interviewed live on CTV (Canada)
- 17/05/2012 – “Grækenland er i et limbo – styres af teknokrateregering” – *Politiken* (Denmark)

- 16/05/2012 – Dr Zoe Lefkofridi interviewed by *Der Standard* (Austria)
- 14/05/2012 – Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos interviewed live on BNN (Canada)
- 13/05/2012 – Dr Stella Ladi interviewed live on CTV News (Canada)
- 09/05/2012 – Dr Zoe Lefkofridi at the live panel discussion CLUB2 “Sparen oder Schulden machen? Was rettet Europa?” – ORF (Austria)
- 09/05/2012 – “Græsk højrefløjsparti tæller forbrydere og flugtkonge” – *Politiken* (Denmark)
- 09/05/2012 – “Európa na križovatke. Šetrenie, ale aj rast” – *Pravda* (Slovakia)
- 09/05/2012 – “Greece faces repeat election” – *Australian Financial Review*
- 08/05/2012 – Dr Athanasia Chalari interviewed live on CTV News (Canada)
- 08/05/2012 – “Grécia enfrenta a falta de governo” – *Correio Braziliense* (Brazil)
- 08/05/2012 – Dr Stella Ladi interviewed on Danish Radio
- 07/05/2012 – Dr Roman Gerodimos interviewed on BBC Radio 5 Live on the results of the Greek election
- 07/05/2012 – “Greece: Anti-Austerity Vote Raises Risk of Eurozone Exit” – MNI
- 07/05/2012 – Dr Stella Ladi on the rise of far-right Golden Dawn – Al Jazeera
- 07/05/2012 – “Greek voters vent rage on major parties” – *GlobalPost*
- 07/05/2012 – “Ekspert: Græsk manøvre ligner pokerspil” – *Politiken* (Denmark)
- 07/05/2012 – “Grækerne siger nej til sparepisen” – DR (Denmark)
- 06/05/2012 – “Greek voters see hope on the fringe” – *The Washington Times*
- 04/05/2012 – “Fringe parties tug at Greek power slate ahead of election” – *USA Today*
- 03/05/2012 – “Fringe parties tilting Europe left and right” – *The Washington Times*
- 26/04/2012 – “EuroView: Greek Anti-Austerity Vote Poses Eurozone Danger” – MNI
- 14/04/2012 – “Greece’s Elections in May Will Not Solve the Country’s Many Crises Nor Heal Disunity” – *Newsweek / The Daily Beast*
- 10/04/2012 – “Greek election fuels austerity anxiety” – *Australian Financial Review*
- 31/03/2012 – Ρωμανός Γεροδήμος: “Επιστροφή με ανάμεικτα συναισθήματα στην πόλη που πληγώναμε” – *Η Καθημερινή*
- 17/02/2012 – Dr Vasilis Leontitsis interviewed live on Frost over the World – Al Jazeera English

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/>

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GPSG Working Paper Series

WP10, April 2012

Greek Politics and Passion(s): Reconstituting National Identity in the Midst of Financial Crisis

Eleni Christodoulou – Doctoral researcher, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham

Abstract

The broader aim of this research paper is to examine the significance of emotions, and their role in (re)constituting national identity in the wake of the recent Greek socio-economic crisis. Furthermore, this research paper intends to shed light on how it is possible that emotions can foster new identity commonalities, and hence, new identity antagonisms (since with every hegemonic discourse, there is always a marginalised one, and an impact on the one will inevitable have an impact on the other as well) in the face of financial crises. Greece is the country of focus here, and methodologically, I will attempt to analyse public discourses communicated through the media, old and new, written and visual, as well as through ethnographic research.

http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Working_Paper_10.pdf

WP11, forthcoming

Representations of terrorism in online media: a comparative examination of UK, Germany, Greece and Turkey

George Pleios – Associate Professor, Media & Communication Department, University of Athens

Stamatis Poulakidakos – Specialized Research Personnel, Laboratory of Social Research in the Media, Media Department, University of Athens

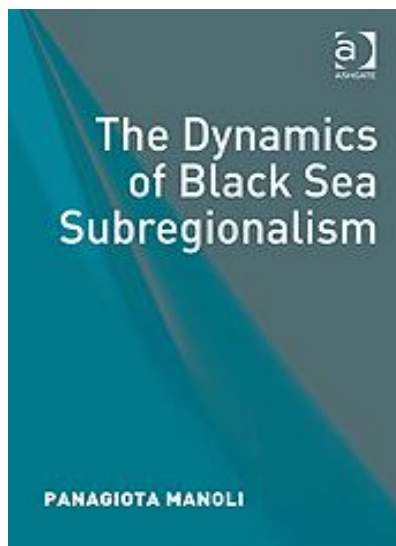
Anastasia Veneti – Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Public Relations & Communication, Technological Educational Institution of Ionian Islands

Abstract

The scope of this paper is to examine the representations of terrorism within center-left and center-right online media in the UK, Germany, Greece and Turkey, by analyzing comparatively which particular cases attract the journalistic interest in these countries. The rationale of the current research grounds itself on the agenda setting approach in terms of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of terrorism presentation in the news sites. By applying the rationale of content analysis through a coding protocol, we explore the journalists' conceptions and specific understanding in these countries about historical roots of terrorism as well as its economic, social and cultural dimensions and consequences.

The Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) invites submissions for its Working Papers series. We welcome scholarly contributions on all fields and topics of Greek political and social studies. Interdisciplinary, comparative and innovative approaches are particularly welcome. All types of scholarly papers can be submitted and will undergo a through a peer review aiming to provide authors with constructive feedback, as well as ensure that published papers meet certain standards of coherence, structure and argumentation.

Featured Publications



Panagiota Manoli (University of the Aegean) ***The Dynamics of Black Sea Subregionalism***

Farnham: Ashgate, 2012; ISBN: 978-0754679912;
270 pp. / £ 54.00; Link: www.ashgate.com

Conflict and cooperation are two dynamics that have shaped the political economy and international relations around the Black Sea since the early nineties. Despite the negative structural environment and the persistence of a high security dilemma, cooperative efforts among Black Sea actors (primarily state elites but increasingly non-state actors) have been advancing, even though slowly.

Representing a new development in the study of contemporary regionalism, Panagiota Manoli examines the process of institutionalized subregional cooperation and casts new light on the factors influencing the reconfiguration of subregional structures in the region. Focusing on the primary initiative in the region, Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Manoli traces how subregionalism has evolved since the early nineties and what has been driving and conditioning this process. Questioning whether there is a definitive nature to subregionalism, Manoli then discusses Black Sea subregionalism within the European integration process, examining the impact of the European Union.

Contributing to the conceptualization of the subregional phenomenon, this book should be read by scholars and policy-makers alike unclear on how local elements interface with extra-regional forces in the shaping of a subregion.



**THE MAKING
OF THE
GREEK CRISIS
JAMES PETTIFER**



James Pettifer (Oxford University) ***The Making of the Greek Crisis***

Penguin Short Series, 2012; ISBN: 9780241963227 – eBook
£1.99; Link: www.penguin.co.uk

The financial and social crisis in Greece has deep roots in the country's society and history. In this new Penguin Short, the leading Balkan commentator and Oxford University historian James Pettifer explores the reasons for Greece's current situation, tracing the deep fissures caused by unresolved issues dating back to the Second World War, Greece's often difficult relationships with Turkey and the Balkan neighbours to the north, and its problematic position in the European Union. In 1981, Greece

became the tenth member of what was then the European Economic Community, and for a time seemed to be making good progress in democratisation and economic development. Now that achievement is at serious risk. The author has extensive experience in Greece dating back to the time of the Colonels dictatorship in the early 1970s and its bitter aftermath. *The Making of the Greek Crisis* sets the scene for the country's intractable financial crisis and associated conflict with the European Union institutions in Brussels, and explains the practical, difficult choices facing the Greek people at this important turning point in their history.



**Theofanis Exadaktylos (University of Surrey)
and Claudio M. Radaelli (University of Exeter),
editors**

***Research Design in European Studies:
Establishing Causality in Europeanization***

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; ISBN: 9780230285316;
296 pp. / £60; Link: www.palgrave.co.uk

Informed by epistemological pluralism and state-of-the-art debate on research design in the social sciences, this volume combines conceptual elaboration with substantive research puzzles. Research Design in European Studies investigates different notions of causality and relates them to methods and techniques. Designed for use either in a course on European Union politics or in preparing projects on Europeanization, the book offers an applied perspective on research methods in specific areas of qualitative approaches to causality, as well as chapters introducing quantitative, critical realist, and discursive strategies. Substantively, the contributors tackle research issues in the domains of compliance, EU external relations, foreign policy, health care, party politics and urban governance.

Contributions by A.E. Töller; I. Bache, S. Bulmer and D. Gunay; K. Lynggaard; S. Saurugger; D. Panke; D.S. Martinsen; S. Dossi; R. Ladrech; T. Exadaktylos; S. Ladi; K. Moumoutzis; and, C.M. Radaelli.

Web Bookmarks

We commend this important initiative by the Athens Centre of International Political Economy – ACIPE, made possible by the research team of Dr. Andreas Antoniadis, which provides the research and scholarly community with an excellent database on the Greek financial crisis.

GREEK CRISIS TIMELINE: a chronology of key events for the Greek debt crisis and a database of key official documents & pronouncements – Dr. Andreas Antoniadis

The Athens Centre of International Political Economy – ACIPE (part of the Institute for International Relations in Athens) presents one of the most concise timelines of the Greek Crisis. The innovative characteristic of the timeline is that it includes direct links to most key official documents related to the Greek Crisis, as well as indicative press coverage of key events.

Weblink: <http://www.idis.gr/acipe/timeline/>

HOW CAN GREECE EXIT THE CRISIS: Proposals and opinions put forward by various actors of the Greek society including political parties, civil society, institutions, private sector actors and individual researchers

This research initiative by ACIPE aims at contributing at the wider debate on the ways Greece can exit the crisis. The platform acts as a forum for political, academic and social dialogue for strategic planning and orientation to policy-making.

Weblink: <http://www.idis.gr/acipe/crisis>

Member Activities and News:

Congratulations to **Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas**, who was promoted to Associate Professor at Bilkent University in Ankara, after the prestigious recognition by the Turkish Higher Education Council (YÖK).

Congratulations to **Dr. Theodora Kotsaka** who successfully completed her doctoral thesis on 'Social cleavages and political organisations: The case of PASOK at the peripheries of Florina and Iraklio 1974-1981' at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens.

Dr. Stamatoula Panagakou was an invited speaker at the International Conference on the Political Thought of John Stuart Mill which was held at the University of Cyprus. Her talk was on "Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill on Women." On 7 March 2012, she was invited to speak on "A Cry for Freedom and Justice: Mary Wollstonecraft and J. S. Mill on the Emancipation of Women" at the Research Seminar of the Department of European Studies and International Relations, University of Nicosia, Cyprus. She was also invited to lecture in the Series of Lectures for Spring Term 2011-2012 for the prestigious European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation (European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation and University of Cyprus).

Dr Roman Gerodimos delivered a guest lecture at the University of Sussex on "Is the Greek crisis symptomatic of EU failure? In defence of institutions" on 8 March 2012, in an event organized by the University's European Union Society.

Professor Gregory T. Papanikos, President of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER) gave a talk at the 10th Annual International Conference on Communication and Mass Media on the May 2012 Greek Elections. During the first two days of the conference, over 70 papers were presented by 80 academics and

researchers from 33 different countries. Prof. Papanikos' talk can be found here: <http://www.atiner.gr/gtp/P2012-06Elections.pdf>.

Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos was invited to give a keynote lecture on political trust in the age of austerity with a focus on the Greek public policy reforms and opposition movements at the IPEC Conference "Global Protest in the Age of Austerity" at Queen's University in Belfast on 11 May 2012.

A debate and roundtable discussion on "Who is in Charge? Democracy v. Technocracy - The limits of democratic representation within a globalized economy" took place with **Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos** (Surrey), **Dr. Panos Kapotas** (LSE), **Dr. Athina Karatzogianni** (Hull), **Dr. Vassilis Monastiriotis** (LSE), **Dr. Dimitris Papadimitriou** (Manchester), and **Dr. Sophia Vasilopoulou** (York) as invited speakers. The roundtable was part of the conference "No country for old systems? Democracy, technocracy, and the markets" organized by the Greek Public Policy Forum at the University of Nottingham on 17 March 2012.

Dr Dimitris Tsarouhas gave a series of guest lectures: "The EU Crisis and Greece", Michigan State University Summer School, 1 June 2012; "The Greek Crisis and the EU", SETA Foundation, Ankara, 30 May 2012 (<http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=120184&q=turk-ve-yunan-perspektiflerinden-avrupa-nin-krizi>); "Social policy in the EU and Turkey: the limits of Europeanization", Bilkent University- Maastricht University Digital Lecture Series, 2 May 2012; and "EU-Turkey relations: past, present, future", Aarhus University, Denmark, 16 March 2012.

Dr Stella Ladi was invited to give a guest lecture at the American College of Greece Business Week on 14 March 2012, under the subject "Policy Transfer and the Reform Process in Greece".

Latest publications by our members

Antoniadis, A. (2012) "At the Eye of the Cyclone: The Greek Crisis in Global Media" *Institute of International Relations (IDIS) Research Report* on "Greek economic crisis in the International Press", supported by the Hellenic Observatory, LSE and the University of Sussex, CGPE unit: [http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Research/Greek_Econ_Crisis_in_the_International_Press\[en\].pdf](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Research/Greek_Econ_Crisis_in_the_International_Press[en].pdf)

Chardas, A. (2012) "State capacity and 'embeddedness' in the context of the European Union's Regional Policy: the case of Greece and the third Community Support Framework (CSF)" *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12 (2), 221- 242.

Chardas, A. (2012) "Multi- level governance and the application of the partnership principle in times of economic crisis in Greece." GreeSE Paper No.56 Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe.

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“Greek shock therapy”

Dr. Lois Woestman*

GPSG Opinion Article 35 – May 2012

The May 6 elections were a cathartic, clear, “no” to the economic shock therapy and accumulation by dispossession that Greece has been undertaking the past two years.

After the announcement that Greece had the highest public deficit in the Eurozone, and the subsequent soaring of the price of Greek public debt as speculators attacked the Euro by hitting its weakest link, the “socialist” PASOK-led Greek government agreed to two structural adjustment packages within two years. These “troika” programmes have most of the conditionalities of other structural adjustment programs carried out in the global south - and have been wreaking similar kinds of economic and social havoc (think Naomi Klein’s shock doctrine). In the case of Greece, however, the EC institutions have been more austere than the IMF; maybe we should have been speaking of a “Brussels consensus” instead of a Washington one.

In order to reduce the public budget deficit, public sector services, jobs, and pensions have been cut repeatedly. Taxes have also been increased time and again, hitting the easier-to-tax lower and middle class workers harder than professionals, who still manage to “hide” much of their incomes. (Not to mention our “political class’s” spiriting of substantial funds out of the country prior to the elections, and the runs on banks/transfers of funds abroad being made by many more since). Some privatizations have been carried out, many more are planned.

Being in the Eurozone, Greece has been unable to devalue its currency to make goods cheaper (for non-Greeks), as many other adjusting countries have done (think Argentina and the pegging of its currency to the dollar before it defaulted). And, tax prices are raising prices. So, purportedly to make the economy more competitive, to encourage foreign direct investment (the chosen path for growth instead of domestic-driven), wages have been cut on average 40 to 50 percent to date – for those lucky enough to still have paid work.

A quarter of Greeks are unemployed. More men than women lost their jobs initially. But, with public sector job cuts, more women than men are losing them now. Women’s low labor force participation was increasing prior to adjustment; this trend has reversed. Youth unemployment has hit 50%. More young women than men are unemployed. Many young women are “choosing” to be “just housewives” because they see no chance for a meaningful career.

As a result of the growing gap between dropping incomes and rising cost of living, a third of Greeks now live in poverty. Practically unknown before, hunger and homelessness are on the rise. Time poverty is rising, too.

“The lazy Greeks” were working more hours than their European counterparts before the crisis (think OECD study). Trying to fulfil traditional breadwinner roles, many men are taking on more low-paid work. As few men seem to be stepping in to help out, Greek women’s unpaid work is increasing to make up for cuts in state services and in paid help with the house/care work – causing many immigrant women to lose their jobs. Single heads of household, the majority of which are women, face a particularly difficult combination of income and time poverty, are becoming increasingly indebted and economically dependent on family and friends.

Until the May 6 elections – which have sparked some hope - many Greeks had been losing their “Zorba the Greek” joie de vivre, ironic sense of humor – tenacity, hope - to the point where the suicide rate increased 40% over the past year.

“The Greek crisis has clearly shown that the core-periphery model upon which the Euro was based is breaking down. Either some growth needs to be brought to the PIIGS, fast, or it is over.”

The outcome of all this pain (and, remember, the second programme is just beginning to be implemented): Adjustment is not working. With no growth mechanism in place, Greece has had a recession for five years running. GDP has already dropped by 16%. Lower incomes—induced reduced tax revenues have been causing the public debt to grow, not shrink. The cost of servicing the debt remains fairly high, due inter alia to EC/ECB insistence on interest rates higher than those recommended by the IMF. The debt/GDP ratio has ballooned to 170%. One of the main aims of the second adjustment programme is to bring this ratio down to 120% by 2020 – where it was before Greece started structural adjustment in the first place. The few gains have been a few getting richer while the rest grow poorer (think Harvey’s accumulation by dispossession), Greece managing to service its foreign debts, while allowing the EC time to fix a firewall to protect other Euro countries in case of our default.

The May 6 elections seem to indicate that the consensus that ruled over the past two years – the majority of Greeks agreeing with politicians that they, too, had “eaten”, and should also pay the cost of past corruption/clientalism/tax evasion through adjustment of politico-economic behaviour – appears to have broken down. The elections indicate that

those who “ate” least are getting fed up with bearing the brunt of the cost.

In their trumping of the center parties that supported the adjustment programmes, the May 6 elections are the culmination, if not yet consolidation, of the mounting protests over the past two years – the first “referendum” on the adjustment process. (There is no need for a referendum on in/out of the Euro as German Chancellor Merkel just proposed; 90% of Greeks want to remain in the Euro. For Greeks all along the adjustment process, this has never been in question. What is in question is whether we want to stay in the Euro, if it means the planned continued worsening economic and social devastation of the memorandum as is.

“Moments of crisis are also potential moments for positive change. We should seize the moment, and work toward a European 99% movement. Time is of the essence.”

The jump of SYRIZA, a heretofore marginal left party, to second place, shows that the groups that have been enacting new kinds of survival strategies (think direct marketing, exchange currencies), intertwined with a broader-than-“clan” notion of citizenship may be “cohesing”. It remains to be seen if, as in formal politics - especially because most of these “alternative” activities are unpaid – whether women will be doing most of the work, while men do most of the talking.

Golden Dawn’s election into parliament does not bode well for many “others.” Emboldened by the newly-acquired political legitimacy (they entered parliament for the first time in these elections, with 7% of the vote) they gained largely through blaming/beating up immigrants, Golden Dawn party members have taken to handing out papers to gay-appearing men, saying “you are next”. It does not take much imagination to suspect that women might be the next “next”. There is fodder for this fire in the comments being made by men that women are taking the (paid) jobs, and should go home and take on all the (unpaid) work.

Perhaps it is time for a feminist economy minister to take the helm and guide us through the difficult times to come, in or out of the Euro. Feminists have a great deal of experience envisioning what a more encompassing, empowering, economics could look like. For this to happen, Greek feminists would need to surpass party divides that their male brethren as yet cannot. I am by no means suggesting that this would have to be a woman – that women are necessarily feminist, and men not.

The May 6 elections in Greece and France have provided a whiff of a potential sea change away from the mono-focus on austerity. The month between now and the June 17 elections will potentially see some proposals by Hollande

and Merkel, to back up their yesterday’s tantalizing promises of growth-inducing measures for Greece - for Europe more broadly. In Greece, these proposals offer a glimmer of hope to people looking otherwise at another twenty years of deepening depression. This, along with the non-stop ominous warnings from “Eurocrats,” and Merkel’s proposal, that the June 17 vote is about in/out of the Euro - not about in/out of adjustment - and the doomsday discourse about the havoc that a default would certainly bring with it, may be enough to shift the currently 20% undecided voters away from SYRIZA, back toward the more tried staid adjustment fostering center.

There is much more at stake in the upcoming elections than “just” Greece, of course. The Greek crisis has clearly shown that the core-periphery model upon which the Euro was based is breaking down. Either some growth needs to be brought to the PIIGS, fast, or it is over.

I am hoping that this also indicates that Europeans are no longer buying into the European-level blame games (think e.g. “lazy and cheating Greeks”, “fascist Germans”) that have precluded a 99% movement from arising. And, hopefully, are questioning more also the vilification of the public sector that has been used to convince us to see our hard-earned entitlements treated as no longer affordable “luxuries”. Cutting the public sector is a move intended not only to balance budgets, but to free up more space for markets - for the few getting rich at the expense of the many (Harvey’s accumulation by dispossession again). And, we have seen where these cuts leave not only immigrant, women, and youth “others”, but also most men.

Moments of crisis are also potential moments for positive change. We should seize the moment, and work toward a European 99% movement. Time is of the essence. One of the challenges faced not only by feminists across Europe – but by an emergent 99% movement - has to do with the differing nature of core vs. peripheral states. Core economy states still provide some - however minimized – social solidarity support. The state may still be seen as an ally. Many of us in Greece (and I suspect in the rest of the PIIGS) are experiencing our states changing into primarily extractive ones. In elaborating our common strategies, we will have to overcome this core/periphery divide.

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Conferences, Events & Opportunities

Coming Up – GPSG sponsored: Immigrants in Europe: between the Eurozone Crisis and the Arab Spring

London, 9 November 2012

The German Politics Specialist Group will organize a joint conference alongside the Comparative European Politics Specialist Group; the Greek Politics Specialist Group and the Italian Politics Specialist Group. The conference is supported by the Political Studies Association's Specialist Activities Fund. Conference themes include: Security aspects of immigration into the EU; Institutions and politics; and, Integration, identity and discourse.

Organisers: Patricia Hogwood, University of Westminster: P.Hogwood@westminster.ac.uk and Katja Sarmiento-Mirwaldt, London School of Economics: k.sarmiento-mirwaldt@lse.ac.uk

The Greek Politics Specialist Group (GPSG) in collaboration with the organisers of this event will offer **two travel grants of £200** to outstanding applicants on a competitive basis. For more information please contact GPSG convenor, Dr Roman Gerodimos at rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk

Coming up: Political Strategy in the Era of Social Media and Social Networks 7th International Political Marketing Conference

European University Cyprus, 17-19 October 2012, Nicosia

The conference coincides with the Cyprus Presidency of the Council of the EU and will focus on issues of political strategy in the era of social media and social networks. In particular, the conference theme poses essential questions in the framework of the overarching inquiry about the relation among social media, politics and marketing. The conference is co-organized by the European University Cyprus and the Cyprus University of Technology. More information to Prof. Kosta Gouliamos at K.Gouliamos@euc.ac.cy

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Χορηγός Επικοινωνίας: Η ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ

Reporting: Anti-system and extreme phenomena in Greece during the crisis: social, political and cultural dynamics

University of Macedonia, 7-8 June 2012

The Hellenic Political Science Association organized a two-day conference at the University of Macedonia on 7-8 June 2012 under the wider theme of studying phenomena that influence or determine the political and electoral behaviour and the political party strategies in Greece. We would like to extend our thanks to the organizing committee: Prof. Christoforos Vernardakis, (HPSA), **Prof. Vasiliki Georgiadou** (HPSA), Dr. Ioannis Konstantinidis (University of Macedonia) and Prof. Nikos Marantzidis (University of Macedonia) for hosting a number of GPSG members' papers and for the pristine organization of the conference.
